THE

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

PHILIP DE COMINES;

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS

OF

LEWIS XI. AND OF CHARLES VIII. OF FRANCE;

AND OF

EDWARD IV. AND HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.

INCLUDING

The History of Europe for almost the half of the Fifteenth Century.

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THE PREFACE.

WHOEVER has read or heard of this historian Philip de Comines, needs no further light into his character, he being one of the first of the moderns for his manner and veracity. His manner is easy, his reflections judicious, his facts true and impartial, and the whole so polite and natural, that he shews himself all along to be an accomplished courtier and politician. He conceals his learning as much as he thought convenient, to give himself the more room for his politics; and in them he proves himself to be a complete master of the cabinet, for which his own good sense, his breeding, and life, in the courts of the greatest princes in Europe sufficiently qualified him. Indeed Sleidan and others have accused him of want of learning, but his knowledge in the world and mankind was infinitely preferable to all scholarship; in which, though he did not abound, he was not deficient. However, notwithstanding what Sleidan and some others have been pleased to say of our author, the learned Justus Lipsius highly extols him; and in his notes upon the first book of politics says, that he has written with so much judgment and accuracy, that he may boldly venture to compare him with the most celebrated historians among the antient Greeks and Romans. In short, it would be endless to enumerate all the eulogies and encomiums both on the author and his history, that are to be found in the writings of Jacobus Marchantius, Aubertus Miræus, Valerius Andreas, Scevola Sammarthanus, Gerard Vossius, Guicciardini, Mariana, Thuanus, and several other persons of learning and merit; and therefore I shall here content myself with only giving the reader a character of him and his Memoirs, as it is admirably well drawn, in respect to his manner of writing, by Mr. Dryden in his life of Plutarch. "Next to Thucydides," says he, "in this kind may be accounted Polybius among the Grecians: Livy, though

not free from superstition, nor Tacitus from ill nature, amongst the Romans: amongst the modern Italians, Guicchiardine and d'Avilla, if not partial; but above all men, in my opinion, the plain, sincere, unaffected, and most instructive Philip de Comines among the French; though he only gives his history the humble name of commentaries. I am sorry I cannot find in our own nation (though it has produced some commendable historians) any proper to be ranked with these."

As to the subject of these memoirs, he gives us a prospect of all the most memorable occurrences in the reigns of Louis XI. his son Charles VIII. Charles the last duke of Burgundy, and Mary his only daughter and heir, (who was married afterwards to Maximilian of Austria, the first emperor of that name); as likewise a description of the most remarkable passages in England, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Spain, and other neighbouring countries, which happened in the space of thirty-four years, from 1464 to 1498. He teaches with as much verity, as plainness and simplicity of style, such fair lessons, as will shew princes the way of governing their people with gentleness and order. There it is to be seen how kings can never be at peace with their subjects whilst they are at variance with the king of kings, to whom all mankind, of what dignity or qualification whatsoever, must give an account. There it is to be seen how justice, equity, moderation, and uprightness in all things, is that which gives them a quiet and happy dominion over the hearts of their subjects, without employing either menaces or force. In short, his book is a pleasant and profitable field, full of infinite good fruits useful for all conditions, in good fortune as well as bad, for him that commands as well as him that obeys; and all enforced with such Christian-like persuasions, and fortified with such important and excellent precepts, that it is impossible to read them without being affected.

Monsieur Godefroy's edition of these memoirs, from whence the following translation was taken, is esteemed by all learned and judicious persons to be the best and most exact that was ever yet published. For not being satisfied with comparing all the former editions with each other, he has also interspersed several observations of the learned Thuanus, Monsieur Godefroy his father, and abundance of other curious and valuable remarks, which serve no less to illustrate the author, than to justify the truth of several important passages in it. Besides the indefatigable care and pains that were taken in printing the original in the royal press at the Louvre, in that noble and beautiful letter

so much admired all over Europe, the editor compared with all possible exactness and accuracy these Memoirs with two manuscripts he had by him that were written about the time of the author. One was in parchment in quarto, taken out of the king's library in the custody of M. de Puy, counsellor of the king in his councils; the other in folio, written also on parchment, and lent him by one M. Hardy, counsellor for the king in the Chastellet; besides which, he had got some other copies printed above a hundred and fifty years since, all which he compared and perused with great diligence, to the end that the book might come forth the most perfect and correct that could be, and the most agreeable to the conception of the author. And that this book might receive all the advantages and improvements it was capable of, he has also been extremely assisted in this work by the Sieurs de St. Marthe, the worthy historiographers of France, who contributed their share too, not only in their judgment and advice, but in lending him several books and memoirs, in order to render the edition complete. Monsieur Joly, canon of Notre Dame de Paris, was much his friend in this affair; and M. de Vuyon, Sieur de Herouval and auditor of the exchequer, was the same; M. Buisson-Aubenay, and one Monsieur Camusat, a canon of the cathedral of Troyes, were very serviceable to him; and in short, he had all the help and assistance that the most learned and ingenious men of France in that age could give him.

There have been so many other impressions of this renowned history, that there is scarce any book (the bible excepted) which in the space of six score years has been printed so often.

There have been also several copies of the original; the first was printed in September 1524, by Anthony Coutean; the second the year after; the third at Lyons, 1526; the fourth, 1529; the fifth in octavo at Paris, 1539, in an old Gothic character; besides which there were two impressions in octavo at Paris, one in 1546, and the other in 1529; in 1559 there was another at Lyons by John de Tournes; in 1552, 1561, and 1580, there were three more printed in folio at Paris; and besides all these, there are several other smaller editions.

And not only the French, but foreign nations, as is said before, have testified their esteem of it. John Sleidan, almost contemporary with our author, one of the most eminent writers in Germany, took the pains to translate it into Latin, to render it the more communicable in Europe, and put it forth in Paris in duodecimo in the year 1568. There have been translations of it likewise in Italian, Dutch, and in Spanish printed at Antwerp,

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her neighbour the king of France, whose designs were bent wholly upon the destruction of her family.

As to the other part of our history under the reign of Charles VIII. whatever might be observed in an enterprise of great consequence, resolved and executed with as much rashness, indiscretion, and disorder, as was ever known of that nature, is most accurately presented by our author.

The house of Arragon, which was a long time settled in the government of Naples and Sicily, received an extraordinary concussion, yet greater in its effect than duration; for growing to an excess of oppression, it became grievous and burdensome to the people.

But above all, Lodowick Sforza was the principal motive of the king's voyage into Italy, to secure himself of his nephew's estate, which he thought would be much easier by that expedition. And indeed it not only answering, but exceeding his expectation, the same Lodowick made but an ill return to his most Christian majesty, whose passage into those parts secured Lodowick in his usurpation; till afterwards Lewis XII. who succeeded Charles, executed the judgment of Heaven upon Lodowick, and it is well that the son, and by consequence the race of the said Lodowick, felt the effects of his father's transgression under the reign of Francis I.

John Sleidan, who translated the memoirs of Philip de Comines into Latin, has divided his translation into two parts, before each of which he has put epistles or prefaces in praise of the author, and recommendation of his history; to the first of which the reader, if more than ordinarily curious, is referred.

Those, says that author in his second preface, who are desirous to make themselves known to the world by their writings, are by no means to shew themselves affected or ambitious, but to consider which way they may make the reader better or more knowing; in which method few authors have proceeded as they ought. But we may put Philip de Comines in another rank, and indeed he deserves it. It is true, his excellence was not great in the Latin tongue, otherwise he was a man of great dexterity, and a genteel wit. He has written the history of Lewis XI. and his son Charles VIII. in French, and has done it so well, he ought to be imitated by any man that expects to gain credit by writing of history. He had all the advantages of doing it that could be desired; for first, he served both the said princes in the quality of ambassador to several courts, and managed most part of the

affairs which he mentions in his memoirs, so that he had no need of assistance from any body. He was a person of singular sagacity, and excellent natural parts; and France being in great troubles in his time, he had a curiosity of transmitting what he had experienced and seen, to those who should come after, and have the charge and care of such public affairs; to whose benefit and improvement having a particular respect, he made a diligent collection of all the enterprises and counsels which occurred in his time, without the least regard to any man's favour or displeasure. He commends no man the more for being of his own family or country; nor the kings themselves in whose court he had been raised, unless the goodness of their actions could justify his relations; and where they were faulty he never fails to shew it. In a word, he is all over like himself, honest, entire, and faithful, as he ought to be; what he says is graceful, and his relations are intermixed with many wise sayings. When he falls upon any thing more than ordinarily remarkable, there is an advertisement to the reader; and particularly to young princes, to consider it seriously, to have a care of what has proved dishonourable or prejudicial to other people; and when he has done, shews them frankly and generously what is their duty. I would not be thought to have insisted too long upon his praise; what I have said is true, and his excellence will be better discovered by reading his history, in which it is not to be doubted, but that those who peruse it, will find in it several important and memorable occurrences; and one may venture to recommend him with the greater confidence, because we find but few that imitate him.

But besides this character that Sleidan gives him, he has another qualification to recommend him to the favour of an Englishman; and that is, that whenever he has an occasion of mentioning the English in his history, he always does it after an honourable manner; and though indeed he will not allow us to be as cunning politicians as his own countrymen, yet he gives us the character of being a generous bold spirited people, highly commends our constitution, and never conceals the grandeur and magnificence of the English nation.

Nothing more can be said after all this, with reference to the author's design, and his execution of it; but something may be added as to his extraordinary merit and mastery in politics. Let a man have never so great a genius for conquest, says he, if he wants good sense, his other qualities will avail him nothing. How just is that observation of his! and yet a brutal courage, a fierceness which is founded on stupidity, is enough now to form a hero.

Could we not give instances of this in our times, and of that excellent remark of his, that a prince who has ten thousand men, and is able to maintain them, is more to be feared than ten princes, allies and confederates, of six thousand men each? Yet, had he ever known an alliance which had so solid a foundation, as the mutual interest of each, the security of public liberty, confirmed by many glorious victories and conquests, and just at the point of accomplishing the great work for which it was formed, what would he have said of the weakness of all confederacies, had he seen the last great one in Europe broken in such a manner? He, who from his own penetrating judgment, without any such convincing example, had so well described the impotence of all alliances. Besides his being such a finished politician, he was an admirable orator; and having a process issued out in parliament against him, he was his own advocate, and pleaded his cause himself. Though he was by birth a Fleming, he was one of the greatest masters of the French tongue in his days; which to learn, he read their best historians and poets, and became himself the best pattern of style for the age he lived in; there being many authors much more modern than Philip de Comines, whose language is not so new and elegant as his, which in a great measure is owing to his court life and conversation.

There have been two editions of these memoirs in English before; but both of them imperfect, and capable of great improvements, as well with respect to the facts as the expression, which has varied so much of late, that it is with pain one reads so fine an author in such rude language as is the old obsolete version especially. To this edition are added in their proper places, all the treaties at large that have relation to these memoirs, pieces which are very curious and instructive to such as are conversant in history. The Scandalous Chronicle was added to the late French edition, and though not written by this author, nor of equal value with the memoirs, yet touching on some parts of his period, this edition could not have been as perfect as the French without it. There is so much said of England in these memoirs, that it is hoped the illustrations in this edition relating to our history, will not be the least acceptable part of this work.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ADDRESSED TO

SEIGNIOR ANGELO CATTO,

IT was your request, my good lord archbishop of Vienna, that I should give you in writing the memoirs of what I knew, and had heard of the transactions of the late king Lewis XI. our master and benefactor; a prince indeed whose actions deserve to be transmitted to posterity. In compliance to your lordship's desire I have done it, and as near the truth as my memory would permit me. Of the occurrences that happened in his youth, I shall say little besides what his majesty was pleased to communicate to me; but from the time of my first being entertained in his service, to his death, I shall be more particular; for I was present when he died, and as constantly attending him as any about the court, being always of his bed-chamber, and employed in the most important affairs of the kingdom. In him, and in all the rest of the princes that I have had the honour either to serve, or to be known to, there was always a mixture of good and bad, which I plainly discerned; and no wonder, for they are men like us, and perfection only belongs to God himself. However, that prince, whose virtues and good qualities outweigh his vices, is certainly worthy of more than ordinary commendation and applause. Because persons of their rank and dignity are more obstinate and inclinable to exorbitancy in their actions than other people, by reason their education in their younger years is with less strictness and discipline; and when they are grown up, the generality of those who are about them, make it their study and business to conform themselves to their humours. I have been unwilling to dissemble the matter, and perhaps in several places may have said something that seems to lessen the character of my master; but I hope the reader will consider the reasons that induced me to do it. Yet this I dare affirm in his favour, that I never knew any prince less faulty in the main, though I have been as conversant among them as any minister of state in my time in France; and not only in this kingdom, but in Bretagne, Flanders, Germany, England, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, spiritual

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princes as well as temporal, besides several whom I never saw, but understood their natures and conditions from their letters, instructions, and my conferences with their ambassadors, which gave me no imperfect character of them.

However, it is not my intention in the least to detract from the rest, by making encomiums upon, and praising my master. What I have written was only what readily occurred to my mind, to assist, as I conceive, your design of publishing it in Latin, a language which your lordship understands to perfection; and I question not but when it appears in the world, it will shew the learning and abilities of the author, as well as the magnificence and grandeur of the prince.

Where I am defective, you have the lord de Bouchage and others to apply to, who can give you a better account, and in better language; though, considering the honour king Lewis XI. did me, the possessions he gave me, the privacies he admitted me to, and his never discontinuing any of his favours to his dying day, no person ought to remember him better than myself; and if I could be guilty of so much ingratitude as to forget his good actions, then my misfortunes and sufferings since would be sufficient to remind me of them; though it is not unusual upon the death of great princes to see confusion among their officers, and some of them advanced, whilst others are laid aside: for honours and preferments are not always distributed according to the inclination of every one that desires them.

Your lordship seems only to demand of me an account of such occurrences as happened during the time that I was near the king's person; but I am obliged to begin a little higher, and having deduced them from the time of my being first entertained in his service, shall continue them in a regular manner to his death.

THE

LIFE OF PHILIP DE COMINES,

LORD OF ARGENTON.

Written in Latin by the learned Sleidan.

PHILIP DE COMINES, the author of the following memoirs, was by birth a Fleming, of a noble extraction, and allied to the most illustrious familes in Flanders. His surname was de la Clite, his father and his uncle had been chief governors of Flanders under Philip duke of Burgundy, and are called by John le Maire author of the annals of Flanders, "Summi Prætores Flandriæ." He had large possessions both in Hainault and Flanders. He was tall, fair, well-shaped, and of a comely personage. He spoke Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, incomparably well, but his excellence consisted in the French; in which he had read all the histories that were extant in that language, especially that of the Romans. His conversation was chiefly among foreigners, being desirous to inform himself of all things and places, and very careful of employing his time well; so that he was never known to be idle. He had a prodigious memory, and such a wonderful facility in expressing his

thoughts, that he would at the same time dictate to four secretaries different things, all of them of great importance, and with the same ease and dexterity as if there had been but one. As he grew in years, he extremely lamented his deficiency in the Latin tongue; and complained of the little care that had been taken of his education in that respect. He was in great favour with Lewis XI. and during that monarch's reign was extremely beloved and respected in France; where at last he married Helen of Montsoreau, which is upon the frontiers of Anjou. After the death of Lewis XI. he fell into great troubles; for being a foreigner, the envy of his adversaries prevailed so far, that he was imprisoned at Loches in the county of Berry, a place where such persons that are accused of High Treason are usually committed. In his imprisonment there (as he says himself in his memoirs) he was used very severely; but the diligence of his wife removed him to Paris, where not long after he was convened before the parliament. He had great factions against him, and his enemies were so very great and powerful, that no advocate durst undertake his defence; being forced to do it himself, he pleaded his own cause so well, that after a speech of two hours in full court, he convinced them of his innocence, and was discharged. He insisted much upon what he had done both for the king and kingdom, and the favour and bounty of his master Lewis XI. He remonstrated to them, that he had done nothing either through avarice or ambition; and that if his designs had been only to have enriched himself, he had as fair an opportunity of doing it, as any man of his condition in France. He lay three years in prison; the next after his releasement his wife was brought to bed of a daugh-

ter, who was christened Joan, and married afterwards to Renè count of Penthieure, of the house of Bretagne; by whom she had among other children a son called John, who is at this time governor of Bretagne, knight of the king's order, and duke of Estampes, and enjoys several other dignities and preferments besides.

Philip de Comines was sixty-four years old, and died in a house of his own called Argenton, October 17, 1519, and his body being carried to Paris, was interred in the church belonging to the Augustins, in a chapel which he had built himself. In his prosperity, he had the following saying frequently in his mouth against such persons as were idle—"He that will not work, let him not eat." In his adversity, he used to say—"I committed myself to the sea, and the tempest has overtaken me." This I write not of myself, but by the dictates of Matthew of Arras, a man of great probity and knowledge, who is still living at Chartres in France, knew Philip de Comines extremely well, had served him, and was afterwards tutor to his grand-son the duke of Estampes. This Matthew of Arras having seen the memoirs of Philip de Comines concerning the affairs of Lewis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy, (which not long before I had translated into Latin) and being (as he was pleased to say), delighted with the subject, for the better commemoration of his master, he sent me this character by a friend of mine; which being soberly presented, was credibly received by me, and the rather, because it agreed exactly with what I had heard of this great man in France.

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Some particular annotations and remarks upon the Author's life, serving to shew what important places and considerable rewards he had in the reigns of Lewis XI. and Charles VIII.

Extracted from the seventh account of M. John de Brisonnet Receiver-general of the Finances, from the first of Oct. 1472, to the last of Sept. 1473.

TO Philip de Comines, knight, lord of Ravestures, counsellor and chamberlain to the king, the sum of forty-one thousand two hundred livres, besides the thirty thousand crowns of gold which the king presented him in consideration of several services that he has done his majesty; to aid and assist him in buying and purchasing of the lord de Montsoreau, the land and seigniory of Argenton. To him more, the sum of four hundred livres, which the king has given him, besides other gifts, pensions, and revenues, to furnish the castle of Berry, which belongs to him.

Extracted from the record O. in the Register-office of the chamber of accounts, beginning in Jan. 1470, and ending in Aug. 1474.—P. lxx.

LETTERS of king Lewis XI. by which he gives to his trusty and well-beloved counsellor and chamberlain Philip de Comines, knight, and lord of Ravestures, a pension of six thousand livres, (this was upon his first coming into the king's service) which he is to receive as well out of the additional tax of threescore pence upon each measure of salt that is carried to Pont de Cee, as out of the corn-house and excise of Chinon. These letters were granted or written at Amboise the 28th of October 1472.

In the same record, page cl. are the deeds of gift of the principality, lands, and seigniory of Talmont sur Tonne-Boutonne, Chateau-Gontier, Curson, la Chevres Berre, and other lordships given by Lewis XI. to Philip de Comines, lord of Ravestures: And there are also letters, importing, that it was for some singular services that he did the king during his imprisonment in the castle of Peronne, and in his expedition against the Liegeois, in which he was forced to accompany the duke of Burgundy. These

are the words—"Who by his good advice, and other services that he did us, was the chief means of preserving our royal person from danger." And at the bottom of these letters is written with the king's own hand—"You know how desirous I am that this affair should be dispatched immediately according to my intentions, and the causes that have induced me to do it; therefore pray take care not to make any difficulty about it, but dispatch it presently without any manner of delay." Signed Lewis. Tilhart.

By letters patent granted at Plessis du Parc near Tours the 12th of January 1473, King Lewis XI. gives to Philip de Comines lord of Argenton and Ravestures, the money arising from the free fiefs and new acquisitions that were raised in the bailiwicks of Tournay and Tournesis, in consideration of the great and important services he had done him in the most secret and weighty affairs. These deeds of gift are transcribed in the beginning of the account of free fiefs and new acquisitions in the bailiwicks of Tournay and Tournesis, which was made up by M. James de Bailleux, from the first of March 1475, to the last day of February 1476. At the foot of this account, in the chapter of grants given by the king, there is a disbursement under the name of the lord de Comines, of four thousand eight hundred and fourscore livres, being the sum to which the money arising from the free fiefs amounted.

An extract of a record which is in the Register-office of the chamber of accounts in Paris, and endorsed P. beginning in 1475, and ending in 1478.

PHILIP de Comines, lord of Argenton, was admitted into the chamber of accounts at Paris, and having taken the usual oaths at the bar of that court, was advanced to the office of seneschal of Poictou by the resignation of the lord de Chaumont, and by the king's letters patent, given at Plessis du Parc near Tours, the 24th of November 1476. Signed by the king in the presence of the lords du Lude, Bouchage, and several others.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The occasion of the wars between Lewis XI. *and the count de Charolois, afterwards duke of Burgundy.*

AS soon as I was fit for business, and capable of performing my exercises, I was presented at Lisle, to Charles duke of Burgundy, at that time only count de Charolois, who entertained me in his service in the year 1464. About three days after my coming thither, the count de Eu, the chancellor of France, called Morvillier, and the archbishop of Narbonne, as ambassadors from the king of France, arrived there also, and in the presence of Philip duke of Burgundy, the count de Charolois his son, and their privy council, were admitted to a public audience in open court. Morvillier's speech was sharp and arrogant, accusing the count de Charolois for having, upon his late being in Holland, caused a small man of war belonging to Dieppe to be seized, and in it the bastard of Rubemprè, whom he had also caused to be imprisoned, upon pretence that his design was to have surprised and carried him into France; which report he had published wherever he came, and especially at Bruges, (a town of great resort for strangers of all nations) by Monsieur Oliver de la Marche, a Burgundian knight; whereupon his majesty, finding himself, as he said, unjustly traduced, demanded of duke Philip, that Monsieur Oliver de la Marche might be sent prisoner to Paris, to receive such punishment as his offence deserved. To which duke Philip made answer, that Sir Oliver de la Marche, being a native of Burgundy, and steward of his household, was upon no account subject to the crown of France; but however, if it could be fairly proved that he had done or spoken any thing that reflected on the king's honour, he would take care to see him punished according to the nature of the crime. That as to the bastard of

Rubemprè, he was taken indeed by some of his people, upon information of intelligence which he and his confederates held in the Hague, where his son Charles the count de Charolois had his residence at that time. That if his son was more suspicious than he ought to be, he learned it not from him, for he never was of a jealous temper, but rather from his mother, who was, he must confess, the most fearful and apprehensive lady he had ever known: but yet, though he was not timorous himself, had he been in his son's place, when the bastard of Rubemprè was hovering about that coast, he should have caused him to be appre hended as his son had done: however, if upon inquiry, the said bastard should not be found to have conspired against his son, as was reported, he would cause him to be released immediately, and sent back to the king, as the ambassadors demanded.

No sooner had duke Philip ended his speech, but Morvillier began again with new and dishonourable complaints against Francis duke of Bretagne, affirming that the said duke of Bretagne, and the count de Charolois, at the time when the count de Charolois made his majesty a visit at Tours, had interchangeably set their hands and seals to an instrument of amity, whereby they obliged themselves to a mutual assistance; and were become associates in arms; which instrument was delivered by Tanneguy du Chastel, who was since made governor of Roussillon, and has borne great authority in this kingdom; and this action Morvillier heightened and exaggerated in such a manner, that he omitted nothing that could possibly be said on this subject, that might tend to the shame and dishonour of a prince. The count de Charolois, being nettled at the severe reflections he had cast upon his ally, often attempted to answer him, but Morvillier still interrupted him, saying—"Sir, I was not sent hither on an embassy to you, but to the prince your father." The count growing still more impatient at his abusive and injurious language, often entreated his father to give him leave to speak, who at last replied—"I have answered for you already; and in my judgment, as a father ought to do for a son; however, since your desire is so great, consider of it to-day, and to-morrow you shall have the liberty of saying what you please." Morvillier still urged the matter further, and declared, that he could not imagine what could induce the count de Charolois to enter into that association with the duke of Bretagne, unless it was a pension the king had given him, with the government of Normandy, which for some reasons his majesty had since taken from him.

The next morning, before the same audience, the count de

Charolois kneeling upon a velvet cushion, addressed himself first to his father, and began his discourse about the bastard of Rubemprè, alledging the causes of his apprehension and imprisonment were just and reasonable, as would appear upon his trial; yet I am of opinion nothing was ever proved against him, though the presumptions were great; however, I saw him discharged out of prison, where he had continued five years. Having cleared this point, his next business was to vindicate the duke of Bretagne and himself: he confessed that the duke of Bretagne and he had entered into an alliance and friendship together, and had sworn to the mutual defence of each other; but that the said alliance was not intended any ways to the prejudice of the king or his kingdom, but rather for his service and support when occasion required. And lastly, as concerning the pension that had been taken from him, he said, he never enjoyed it but one quarter, and that amounted to no more than 9000 franks; and that, as for his part, he never was solicitous either for that pension, or the government of Normandy, for as long as he was so happy as to be in favour with his father, he should not much concern himself for the bounty of other people. I really believe that if the respect he bore his father, who was there present, and to whom he directed his speech, had not restrained him, he would have answered in much sharper terms than he did. However, duke Philip concluded his discourse with great modesty and wisdom, beseeching his majesty to preserve him in his favour; and that he would not easily entertain an ill opinion of him and his son. After which, he called for wine, and a collation, and then the ambassadors took their leave of them both. When the count de Eu and the chancellor had taken their leave of the count de Charolois, who stood at some distance from his father, the archbishop of Narbonne coming last, the count said to him—"My most humble respects to the king, and let him know he has handled me very roughly by his chancellor, but before the year is at an end, his majesty may have reason to repent it." The archbishop delivered his message punctually at his return, as you will find hereafter, which the king highly resented; and the count had conceived a mortal hatred against his majesty, not only for the arrogance of the chancellor, but upon the king's late redemption of certain towns upon the Somme: as Amiens, Abbeville, St. Quintin, and others; delivered formerly to duke Philip by Charles VII. upon the treaty at Arras, to be enjoyed quietly by the said duke and his heirs male, until the sum of four hundred thousand crowns should be paid. How this affair was

managed, I can give no certain account; only this I can say, that the duke in his declining years was so entirely governed by the lords of Croy and Chimay, who were brothers, and others of that family, who had the sole administration of affairs, that he consented to take the king's money, and restore the towns that were mortgaged to him, to the great concern and disadvantage of the count de Charolois, for they were all upon his frontiers, limits to both their dominions, and besides, he lost, in parting with them, several thousands of brave soldiers, that would have been very serviceable to him in his wars. The count charged the whole matter upon the house of Croy, and when his father was grown decrepit, and superannuated, which at that time he was very near, he banished all the said lords out of his dominions, took away their employments, and confiscated their estates.

A treaty of alliance mentioned page 14, *between Francis duke of Bretagne on the one part, and Charles count de Charolois, on the other, made at Nantes, March* 22, 1464.

FRANCIS, by the grace of God, duke of Bretagne, earl of Montfort, Richmond, Estampes, and Vertus, to all who shall see or hear of these presents, greeting—WHEREAS love, unity, and agreement, between princes, are a means to preserve them and their dominions, in due obedience towards God, in a flourishing state, virtue, magnificence, and tranquillity, and even to improve and augment them; in order to which, all princes and lords ought to be very intent and watchful, so as to repress the contentious, and all such as would invade or form any enterprises against them: and seeing there has been time immemorial, a firm friendship and alliance made, cultivated, and maintained, as well in respect to consanguinity, affinity, and natural affection, as otherwise, between the late most high and potent princes the dukes of Burgundy, and the late dukes of Bretagne our predecessors, who may rest together in glory; and seeing we are and have for some time been assured, that some people in authority, and near the person of the king of France, excited thereto by an evil and accursed disposition, have, and do daily move him to entertain enmity, indignation, displeasure, and ill-will, towards several princes of his own blood, and by false and wicked reports set him at division and variance with them, to the detriment of the whole kingdom; advising and exciting him to invade and divest them of their countries, and seigniories; and among others, the most high and potent princes, our most

dear and well-beloved uncle and cousin, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Charolois his son, and especially us, upon the account of them, their territories and subjects, so as to do us and ours, all the damage and displeasure they can; for the prevention whereof, we being desirous to make use of all just and reasonable means, have, in conformity to the rules of right reason, and the most just and laudable actions of our predecessors, and to prevent any sudden, unexpected, and injurious enterprises, which the said king by the persuasions, counsels, and earnest solicitations of those our ill-willers, may form against us, the better to enable us to withstand and resist the same, and to defend our territories, subjects, and seigniories, as we are in duty bound, have entered, and do by these presents enter into an alliance, confederacy, and agreement, with our said most dear and well-beloved cousin the count de Charolois, son and only heir of our said most dear and well-beloved uncle of Burgundy, in the following manner and form, that is to say—That we are and shall continue a true friend and ally to him, will assist him, take his part, advise, comfort, and succour him, and with all our power protect, save, and defend his person, and those of his children, born, or to be born, the estates, countries, territories, seigniories, and subjects, as well those dominions which he now holds and possesses, as those which he may, or shall possess, for the future, in the same manner as we do our own, without any distinction, against all, and every person, and persons, who shall molest, lessen, make war upon, or usurp any thing from him, and his said children, their countries, territories, seigniories, and subjects, in any manner whatsoever, without any reservation or exception of the said lord the king; and in case he shall, by the advice and enticements of our said enemies, or otherwise, invade, or make war upon our said cousin de Charolois, we do promise our aid and assistance, to him our said cousin, against the king, and all others whomsoever, that would invade, or make war against him. And to this end we will for, and in favour of him, and for his assistance, engage ourselves, our territories, countries, and seigniories, in possession or reversion, our whole power, in making war against such invaders or assailants; and we will signify and impart to him whatever shall come to our knowledge, that shall be said, done, projected, or contrived, to his prejudice, and will defend him to the utmost of our power: and we do comprehend in this alliance, convention, and confederacy, my most honoured lord the duke of Berry, and our most dear and well-beloved cousins, the dukes of Calabria and Bourbon; and in regard to the

engagements we have already entered into, and may do hereafter, we do comprehend therein our said cousin de Charolois, his countries, subjects, and seigniories, with his friends and allies, present and to come, and their countries and subjects, as much as we do ourselves, and our own dominions, so far forth as they are willing to be received and comprehended therein; and we shall not enter into any other alliances or confederacies, that are prejudicial to this treaty; and we do by these presents promise and swear by our faith, and upon corporal oath, on the word of a prince, and upon our honour, firmly to observe these alliances and confederacies, without doing any thing to the contrary whatsoever; upon condition and so far forth as our said cousin de Charolois gives us the same assurance, and promises and observes the same. In witness whereof we have signed these presents with our own hand, and sealed them with our seal.—Done at Nantes, March the 22d, in the year of our lord 1464. Signed Francis, with a flourish: upon the fold was written, by the duke's command, and signed Milet, with a flourish.

CHAP. II.

Count de Charolois, and several great lords of France, raise an army against Lewis XI. under pretence of the public good.

A FEW days after the departure of the king's ambassadors, John late duke of Bourbon came to Lisle, pretending a visit to his uncle Philip duke of Burgundy, who loved the family of Bourbon before all the families in the world, and very justly too; for the duke of Bourbon's mother was sister to Philip duke of Burgundy, and was at that time with him, herself, three of her daughters, and one son. However this was not the true cause of the duke of Bourbon's visit, but his coming thither was to persuade the duke of Burgundy to consent to the raising of an army in his dominions, as the rest of the princes of France had agreed to do, in theirs; to demonstrate to the king the injustice and ill conduct in his kingdom, and to put themselves into a condition to compel him, if fair application could not prevail. This war was afterwards called the public good, it being undertaken upon that pretence. Duke Philip, who since his death was called the good, consented to the raising of the men, but the intrigue and mystery of the business was never discovered to him, nor did he ever

think they would have proceeded to blows. Immediately they began to list forces in his countries, and the count de St. Paul (since constable of France) being come with the marshal of Burgundy, who was of the house of Neufchatel, to wait upon the count de Charolois at Cambray, the count assembled the council, and others of his father's chief subjects in the bishop of Cambray's palace, and there declared the house of Croy enemies both to his father and himself, though the count de St. Paul had long since married one of his daughters to a son of the lord of Croy, and alledged it would be much to his prejudice. In short, the whole family was forced to fly out of the duke of Burgundy's territories, and lost great part of their estates. These proceedings were highly displeasing to the duke of Burgundy, whose chief chamberlain was one of them, called afterwards lord of Chimay; a young gentleman of good education, and nephew to the said lord of Croy. This gentleman, for the security of his person, was forced away so abruptly, that he had not time to take his leave of his master, otherwise (as he was informed) he would have run a great hazard of being made prisoner, or killed. The duke himself was too old to oppose it, and therefore he took every thing patiently; but the true reason of this declaration against his favourites, was the restitution of the towns upon the Somme, which the duke had restored for four hundred thousand crowns, and the count de Charolois charged it upon that family, as if they had persuaded it.

The count de Charolois having made up this business, and reconciled himself to his father as well as he could, immediately took the field with his army, being attended by the count de St. Paul, chief manager of his affairs, and general of his forces under him, which consisted of about three hundred men at arms, and four thousand archers, besides several volunteers, and gentlemen of Artois, Hainault, and Flanders, all under his command, by the appointment of the count de Charolois: there were other brigades as great and considerable, under the command of the lord Ravestin, brother to the duke of Cleves, and lord Anthony bastard of Burgundy; besides several other eminent officers, whose names for brevity sake I shall omit. But above all the rest, there were two officers in more than ordinary reputation with the count de Charolois: one of them was called the lord of Haultbourdin, an old soldier, bastard brother to the count de St. Paul, and trained up in the wars between France and England, when Henry V. (king of that country) reigned in France, and duke Philip joined with him as his confederate and ally. The other

was the lord of Contay, much about the age of the other; both of them wise and valiant commanders, and of great power in the army. There were also abundance of young gentlemen, and among them one more particularly famous, who was called Philip de Lallaing, of a family very remarkable for their courage and loyalty, most of them having lost their lives in the service of their princes. The whole army consisted of about one thousand four hundred men at arms, neither well armed nor well exercised, by reason of the long peace which those princes had enjoyed; for from the treaty at Arras they had had little or no wars, only some small differences with the citizens of Ghent, which lasted not long; so that, if I am not mistaken, they were at peace thirty-six years together. However, the men at arms were well mounted, and well attended; for few or none were to be seen without five or six lusty horses in his equipage. The archers might be about eight or nine thousand; out of which, at the general muster they selected the choicest, and dismissed the rest; but it cost them more trouble to disband, than to raise men.

The subjects of the house of Burgundy lived at that time in great plenty and prosperity, grew proud, and wallowed in riches, by reason of the long peace they had enjoyed, and the goodness of their prince, who laid but few taxes upon them; so that in my judgment, if any country might be called then the land of promise, it was his country, which abounded in wealth and repose, more than ever it did since, and it is now three-and-twenty years since their miseries began. The expenses and habits both of women and men were great and extravagant: their entertainments and banquets more profuse and splendid than in any other place that I ever saw. Their baths and their treats for women, lavish and disorderly, and many times immodest: I speak of women of inferior degree. In short, the subjects of that house were then of opinion no prince was able to cope with them, at least to impoverish them: and now in the whole world I do not know any people so desolate and miserable as they are; and I question not but the sins they committed in their prosperity, are in some measure the occasion of their present adversity, and have pulled down this heavy judgment upon them; especially since they did not own and acknowledge that all good things proceed from God, who distributes and disposes of them according to his heavenly wisdom and pleasure.

The count de Charolois having drawn his forces to a rendezvous, as it were in an intsant, and being furnished with all things necessary for a campaign, marches forward with his whole army,

which was all on horseback, except such as were ordered to bring up the train of artillery, which was large and fine for those times, accompanied with such a vast number of waggons, that with his own only, when he lay in the field, he enclosed the greatest part of his army. At first he marched towards Noyon, and besieged a small castle called Nefle, in which there was a small garrison, and took it in a few days. Joachim, a marshal of France, having drawn what forces he could out of the garrison of Peronne, observed his motions, but was too weak to attempt any thing against him; and therefore when the count de Charolois drew near Paris, he threw himself and his small body of forces into that town: the count de Charolois kept an exact discipline in his army during their whole march, and would not suffer the least act of hostility to be committed, but made his soldiers pay wherever they came, as much as if they had been in Flanders; so that all the towns upon the Somme, and all the rest as he marched, received his troops, in small bodies, within their walls, and furnished them with what they wanted for their money; being willing, as it seemed, to carry things fair, as not knowing whether the king or the princes would be master of the field. The count advanced so far, that he came to St. Dennis, about a league from Paris, where all the lords of that kingdom had promised to come in to him, but all of them failed him: however, the vice-chancellor of Bretagne, that duke's ambassador, being then with the count, and having blanks by him signed with his master's hand, he made use of them as he saw occasion, to pacify the count: this vice-chancellor was by birth a Norman, a wise and cunning man, and so it imported him to be, for the whole army murmured against him: the count de Charolois presented himself before Paris, had a smart skirmish at their very gates, and much to their disadvantage. In the town there were no men at arms, but those under the command of the marshal Joachim, and the squadron of the lord of Nantoüilet, who was afterwards grand-master of the houshold, and did the king as much service in his wars as any young gentleman in France; yet at length he was ill requited; but it was more the malice of his enemies than the king's fault; though to speak impartially, neither of them was altogether excusable. The common people in the city, as I was since informed, were in so great a consternation that day, that they cried out—"The enemy was entered," but without any grounds: however, the lord Haultbourdin, whom I mentioned before, and who had formerly lived in that town, when it was nothing near so strongly fortified as it is now, was entirely for storming it; and

the soldiers, despising the citizens whom they had beaten up to their very gates, were also eager for it. Yet perhaps, after all, it was found impracticable, and so the count de Charolois marched back to St. Dennis.

The next day in the morning the count de Charolois called a council of war, in which it was debated whether or no he should march forward to meet the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, who were not far off, as the chancellor of Bretagne affirmed, and produced letters to that purpose; but the truth is, he had written them upon his master's blanks, and knew nothing of them besides. The result was, that they should pass the river Siene with their army. The greatest part of his officers opposed it; and were of opinion that it was best to return home, since the rest of the princes who were engaged in the same confederacy had not been punctual to their day; saying, it was enough for them to have passed the Somme and the Marne, without endeavouring to pass the Seine too. Some that were of a fearful temper, began to start great difficulties in this undertaking, upon the account of not having some places in the rear to retreat to in case of necessity; yet notwithstanding all this, the count de Charolois passed the river with his whole army, and posted himself at Pont Saint Clou, which made the whole army murmer extremely against the count de St. Paul and the vice-chancellor of Bretagne, whom they looked upon as the chief persons that persuaded him to it.

The next day after his arrival, news was brought from a certain lady of that kingdom, written with her own hand, that the king was come out of the county of Bourbon, and advancing against him with more than ordinary marches. But before I proceed, it will be absolutely necessary to say something of the occasion of the king's march into Bourbonnois.

The king, understanding that all the great lords of his kingdom had declared against him, at least against his government, resolved, if possible, to defeat their designs; and, before they could raise an army, to invade the duke of Bourbon's dominions, who was the first that openly declared himself against him; and because his country was in an ill posture of defence, he believed he might easily conquer it; and accordingly he made himself master of several places, and had entirely subdued the whole province, had he not been prevented by supplies from Burgundy, under the command of the lord of Coulches, the marquis of Rottelin, the lord Montague, and others; with which supply there was also in arms William de Rochefort, chancellor of France, a person at this day in very good esteem. These forces were raised in Bur-

gundy by the count de Beaujeu and the cardinal of Bourbon, who was brother to John duke of Bourbon, and by them thrown into Molins. Nor was this the only succour they had; for on the other side, reinforcements were sent to the duke of Bourbon by the duke de Nemours, the count d'Armagnac, and the lord of Albret, with a strong party of men, some of which were very good soldiers, who had deserted the king's side, and were retired to them; yet the greater number of them were very ill provided, and having no pay, they were forced to live upon free quarter. But the king, for all their great numbers, found them employment enough; so that by degrees they came to a treaty, especially the duke de Nemours, who swore fealty to the king, and engaged to continue firm and loyal to his majesty; however, he afterwards revolted, which was the occasion, as the king often told me, of the displeasure he retained against him so long. But when the king found he could not finish the war in Bourbonnois so soon as he expected, and that the count de Charolois was advancing to Paris, apprehending lest the Parisians should give admission to him, and the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, who were marching out of that province to the assistance of the count de Charolois, and all of them pretending the good of the kingdom; and fearing likewise that if the Parisians should receive them, all the rest of the towns would do the like, he resolved by great marches to throw himself and what forces he had with him into Paris, and, if possible, to hinder the conjunction of those two mighty armies, but without any intention of fighting, as he has since told me many times in our discourse about those affairs.

CHAP. III.

Of the encampment of the count de Charolois with his army near mount l'Hery, and of the battle fought in that place between him and the king of France.

AS soon as the count de Charolois was informed of the king's motion, as I said before, and of his having left Bourbonnois, believing he was marching directly to fight him, he resolved also to advance forward and meet the king. Then communicating the contents of the letter he had received from the above-mentioned lady, still concealing her name, he declared his resolution of venturing a battle; and encouraged his soldiers to behave themselves

like men, and to fight for the honour and glory of their country. Upon this, he immediately advanced with his army, and took up his quarters at Longiumeau, a vilage not far from Paris; but the count de St. Paul, with the whole vanguard, marched forward to Mont l'Hery, which is about two leagues beyond; from whence several scouts and spies were immediately sent out to discover which way the king took, and to give notice of his approach. After some deliberation, Longiumeau was chosen for the place of battle in the presence of the count de St. Paul, the lord Haultbourdin, and the lord de Contay; to which place, by agreement among themselves, the count de St. Paul was to retire upon the first notice of the king's approach.

Now you must know that the count du Maine with seven or eight hundred men at arms was marched against the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, who had several wise and experienced officers in their army, which had been cashiered by the king at his first accession to the crown, although they had done his father eminent service in the recovery and pacification of his kingdom; which usage the king afterwards acknowledged to be an error, and repented it sufficiently. Among the rest there was the count de Dunois, a person considerable in all things, the marshal de Loheac, the count de Dampmartin, the lord of Bueil, and several others, besides five hundred men at arms; who having deserted his majesty's service, were retired to the duke of Bretagne, being all his subjects, born in his country, and at that time in his army. The count du Maine, who as I said before, was marching against them, finding himself too weak to engage them, retired before them still as they advanced, and retreated towards the king; the dukes of Berry and Bretagne endeavouring to join with the Burgundians; some would have it that the count du Maine held intelligence with them; but I could never understand it, and therefore do not believe it.

The count de Charolois being posted, as I said before, at Longiumeau, and his van at Mont l'Hery, was informed by a prisoner that was brought to him, that the count du Maine was joined with the king, who had then in his army all the standing forces in the kingdom, amounting to about two thousand two hundred men at arms, besides the Arrierban of Dauphinè, and about forty or fifty gentlemen of Savoy, all very good soldiers.

In the mean time the king had called a council of war; at which the count du Maine, monsieur de Brezey, grand seneschal of Normandy, the admiral of France, who was of the house of Montaubon, and several other general officers assisted; and in conclu-

sion, whatever had been said either for or against it, his majesty resolved not to fight, but to throw himself into Paris, without coming near the place where the Burgundians were encamped; and in my judgment his resolution was good. He had no great confidence in the grand seneschal of Normandy, and therefore asked him one day very seriously, whether or not he had given any thing in writing under his hand and seal to the princes who were confederate against him? to which, in his jocular way, the grand seneschal replied he had, and they might keep it; but his body should be the king's. With which answer the king was so extremely pleased, that his majesty gave him the command of his vanguard, and the charge of his guides; because, as was said before, he had no mind to engage. But the seneschal being obstinately bent and wedded to his own humour, privately told some of his confidents that he would bring the armies so close together that day, that he must be a very experienced general that could part them without fighting; and indeed he was as good as his word, but he dearly paid for his obstinacy, for the first that were killed was himself and his troops. This expression of his the king told me afterwards himself; for at that time I was in the service of the count de Charolois.

In short, on the 27th of July 1465, the king's vanguard was advanced near Mont l'Hery, where the count de St. Paul was posted, who immediately informed the count de Charolois of their arrival, who was encamped at Longiumeau, about two leagues off, at the place marked out for the field of battle; desiring him to send him a reinforcement with all speed, letting him know that all his men at arms were dismounted, and on foot, and so incumbered with their waggons that they could not possibly retreat to Longiumeau according to the orders he had received, without seeming to run away, which would both discourage the soldiers, and hazard the loss of the whole army. Upon receiving this message, the count de Charolois immediately sends a detachment of forces under the command of the lord Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, to reinforce the count de St. Paul; and was himself in suspense whether he should follow him or not. At length he marched with the rest of the army, and arrived about seven in the morning; but before he could reach Mont l'Hery, five or six of the king's standards were already planted along the side of a great ditch which separated the two armies.

There was at that time attending the count de Charolois the vice-chancellor of Bretagne, called Bouville, and with him an old soldier called Madre, who had surrendered Pont St. Maxence to

the Burgundians. These two were in no little fear, in respect that the whole army murmured against them, seeing the battle was ready to begin, and the forces they had so much boasted of were not yet arrived to join the army. Hereupon, before the fight began, they betook themselves to their heels, and fled that way by which they presumed the Bretons would march. The troops of the count de Charolois ranged themselves in order of battle as they marched up; and upon his arrival he found the count de St. Paul on foot, and drawing up the rest of the army in the same order, all the archers being dismounted, and every man with a stake planted before him; several pipes of wine had their heads beaten out, and were set for them to drink; and by what little I saw, never men had more desire to fight, which I took to be a good omen, and which rejoiced me extremely. Our first orders were, that every man should alight, without any exception; but that was countermanded afterwards, and most of the men at arms mounted again. However, several persons of quality were continued on foot, and among the rest the lord des Cordes, and his brother; the lord Philip de Lalain was likewise on foot, for at that time, among the Burgundians, it was most honourable to fight in that manner among the archers, and there was always good store of those volunteers among them, to encourage the infantry, and make them fight the better; which custom they had learned from the English, when duke Philip was confederate with them, and made war upon France for two-and-thirty years together, without any cessation: but the greatest part of the burden lay then upon the English, who were powerful and rich, and governed by a wise, graceful, and valiant prince, Henry, who had several sage and brave men under him, and very good commanders, as the earl of Salisbury, Talbot, and others which I pass by, (as being before my time), though I have seen some few of them which remained; for when God was, as it were, weary of doing them good, that wise king died at Bois de Vincennes; and his son, a weak prince, was crowned king of France and England, at Paris, after which all things went to wreck; and civil wars arose in England, which have almost lasted till this present time, by reason of the usurpation of the crown by the house of York. But whether their title was good or not, I cannot determine, for the disposal of those things is from heaven.

But to return to my history. The dismounting and mounting again of the Burgundians, took up a great deal of time, and occasioned the loss of abundance of men, and by that means the valiant gentleman Philip de Lalain was slain, being but slightly armed. The king's troops marched in disorder through the forest

of Torfou, and were not at their first appearance above four hundred men at arms; so that if they had been presently charged, in all probability there had been but little or no resistance, because, being obliged to pass a narrow defile, they could not possibly extend their front, but was forced to march one a-breast: but their numbers still increasing, the lord de Contay, who was an experienced officer, rode up to the count de Charolois and told him, that if he had a mind to win the battle, now was the time to charge the enemy, giving his reasons for it, and telling him, that if he had attacked them upon his first coming up, he would certainly have routed them, for then there were but few, but now they increased visibly; and indeed it was true. Upon which, the whole order and disposition of the battle was altered, every man throwing in his advice; whilst in the mean time a great and smart skirmish was begun at the end of the village of Mont l'Hery, between the archers on both sides.

The king's troops, consisting of all the archers of his guards glittering in their liveries, and very well disciplined, were commanded by Poncet de Riviere. Those of the count's party, being in the nature of volunteers, were in no order, and under no command; however, in this manner they began the engagement, in which the lord Philip de Lalain, and James du Mas, an excellent officer, afterwards master of the horse to Charles duke of Burgundy, fought on foot among the archers. The Burgundians, who were superior in numbers, possessed themselves of a house, and unhinging two or three of the doors made use of them, instead of shields, to defend them from the enemy; after which they advanced to the entrance of the street, set fire to one of the houses, and the wind driving it upon the king's forces, they began to give ground, retire to their horses, and fly. Upon which, the noise and shout was so great, that the count de Charolois marched forward, and changed the whole order which he had first given out.

By the count's first orders, the body of troops that were commanded by himself in person, was to halt twice by the way, because of the great distance between the vanguard and the main-battle. The king's forces were drawn up towards the castle of Mont l'Hery, with a large hedge and ditch in their front; and besides, the fields that lay behind them were full of corn and beans, and such kind of grain, the soil being very rich and good. All the count's archers marched on foot before him, in very ill order; though I am of opinion, that the chiefest strength of an army in the day of battle, consists in the archers; but they must be strong and very numerous, for few signify nothing; I would have them

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ALLAHABAD.

also but indifferently mounted, that they might not be afraid of losing their horses; or rather, that they had none at all; and for one day it is better to have raw soldiers that have never been in any action, than those that have been trained up in the wars; and in this I am of the same opinion with the English, who, without dispute, are the best archers in the world. It was said, that orders were given that the army should halt twice by the way, to give the foot time to breathe, because it was a great distance which they were to march, and the stiffness and stubbornness of the corn incommoded them extremely in their march. However, all things were done as perfectly contrary, as if they designed to lose the battle on purpose, whereby God did plainly manifest to all the world, that all battles are in his hands, and that he disposes of victory as he pleases: and indeed, I cannot be persuaded, that the abilities of any one man are sufficient to manage and command so great a number, nor that things can be executed in the field, in the same manner as they have been concerted in the council. And I am of opinion, that whosoever presumes upon his own strength, and is so arrogant as to think himself able, detracts much from the honour that is due only to God. For though every man is obliged to perform his duty, and to endeavour to do what lies in his power, yet at the same time he ought to acknowledge, that war is one of God's peculiar works, which he often begins upon small and trivial occasions, and gives the victory sometimes to one, and sometimes to another; and this is a mystery so great, that from it all the kingdoms and governments of the world take their first rise, and their final dissolution.

But to return from this digression. The count de Charolois advanced, without giving any breath either to his archers or foot. The king's troops, being all men at arms, marched out at both ends of the hedge, and when they came near enough to make use of their lances, the Burgundian horse broke through the ranks of their own archers, which were the flower of their army, without giving them leisure to discharge one arrow. The whole number of our horse was not above twelve hundred, and of them, scarce fifty understood how to manage a lance; not four hundred of them armed with back and breast, and very few of their servants with any arms at all: and the reason of it was, because of the long peace, and because, for the ease of their subjects, the house of Burgundy had not been used to keep any standing forces in pay. But since that time, that country has not enjoyed any repose, but is rather grown worse than better at this very day. However, though the strength and flower of their army was thus broken and

put into disorder by themselves, God, who disposes, as is said before, of those mysteries as he pleases, ordered things so, that on the right wing towards the castle, where the count de Charlolois commanded, victory declared on his side without any considerable opposition. It was my fortune to be with him all that day, during the whole action, in less fear than in any engagement I have ever been in since, which I impute to my youth, as not having a just sense and apprehension of the danger, but rather wondered at the presumption of any man that durst be so impudent as to oppose the prince I served, whom I believed to be, without comparison, the greatest monarch in the world: such vain notions people void of sense frame to themselves, for want of which, they often maintain strange and irrational arguments, without any ground or foundation at all, for which reason it is good to make use of his advice, who says—"That a man never repents of speaking little, but often of too much."

The left wing was commanded by the lord Ravastain, the lord James de St. Paul, and several other men of quality, who plainly perceived that their body of men at arms were too weak to encounter the enemy, but they were too near to alter the order of battle. To be short, this wing was vigorously attacked, entirely broken, and driven, some of them, to their waggons, but the greatest part of them made towards a forest, which was near half a league from the field of battle; where some of the Burgundian infantry rallied and stood to their arms. The chief of those who pursued us, were the volunteers of Dauphinè and Savoy, with a great party of horse, who verily believed they had won the victory, and not without reason, for the Burgundians that composed that wing fled after a most shameful manner, among whom were several persons of note and distinction, the greatest part of which fled upon the spur towards Pont St. Maxence, which they supposed still held out for the count de Charolois. However, a good number of officers still maintained their ground in the forest, amongst whom was the count de St. Paul, who had retreated thither with a good body of forces, which he drew up in what order he could, by the side of the forest, and declared to them afterwards, that he did not not think the battle utterly lost, nor their condition absolutely desperate.

CHAP. VI.

Of the imminent danger the count de Charolois was exposed to, and the manner of his being rescued.

THE count de Charolois pursued the enemy on that side where he commanded, about half a league beyond Mont l'Hery, and with a very small body of forces; for though the enemy was numerous, yet in the consternation they were in, they made little or no resistance, and therefore he concluded the victory was his own; but it was not long before one Monsieur Anthony le Breton, an ancient gentleman of Luxembourg, came up to him and told him the French had rallied their forces, and if he followed the pursuit any farther, he would certainly be lost; yet, though he repeated his opinion over and over, the count would not stop for him, but continued the chase; but immediately the lord de Contay, whom we have mentioned before, came in also, brought him the same intelligence the old gentleman had done, and delivered it with such eagerness, that knowing him to be a person of great conduct and experience, he began to hearken to his counsel, and presently faced about; and it was well he did; for had he advanced but two bow-shots farther, in my judgment he had been taken prisoner, as several were that had got before him. In his return, near the village of Mont l'Hery, he discovered a flying body of foot, whom he pursued, though he had scarce an hundred horse with him, and of that whole brigade, but one single footman made any opposition, who gave the count such a contusion on the stomach with a javelin, that the mark of it was to be seen at night. Most of the rest saved themselves in the gardens, but he who struck the count, was killed upon the spot. As he marched by the castle, we discovered the archers of the king's guards drawn up before the gate, who never abandoned their post upon our coming up to them, at which the count was extremely surprised; as imagining the day had been his own, and not a man left to have opposed him; but he soon found his mistake; for as he wheeled about to march into the field, part of his guards being at some distance from him, he was so furiously attacked on a sudden by fifteen or sixteen of the French archers, that at the very first charge they slew one Philip d'Oignies, who was both his carver and standard-bearer. The Count de Charolois himself was in imminent danger in this encounter; and received several wounds, but especially one in the neck, with a sword, (the mark

of which remained to his dying day), for want of his beaver, which being slightly fastened on in the morning, dropped from his head in the battle, and I myself was by him and saw when it fell. The enemy immediately laid hands on him, crying out—"My lord, surrender yourself, we know you very well, do not obstinately throw away your life." However, he still made a gallant defence, and at that very instant one John Cadet, a physician's son of Paris, who was in his service, a stout lusty person, mounted on a horse as monstrous as himself, broke in and parted them by riding between them; upon which the French party wheeled, and marched off to the ditch, where they had been drawn up in the morning; for they were afraid of another party which they perceived advancing towards them: the count being all over blood drew out into the field. The party we discovered was the colours of the bastard Burgundy, which were so shattered when they came, there was scarce a foot of them left; and to the colours of the count's archers, there was not above forty left in all, to whom we joined ourselves, being about thirty, but in no little fear. The count de Charolois changed his horse immediately, and had another given him which belonged to one Simon de Quingey, who was at that time his page, but has since been very well known. The count, as I said before, drew out into the field to rally his men, but for the half hour we staid there, we were all in such a terrible consternation, we thought of nothing but running away, provided we had seen but an hundred of the enemy advancing in a body to attack us. At length the count de Charolois himself returned with not above ten or twenty men, both horse and foot. Most of our infantry were either wounded or extremely fatigued with the battle and their long march in the morning; and for an hour together our whole body did not exceed an hundred; but by degrees it increased. The corn, which not long before was very high and thick, was now trodden down flat, which occasioned such a terrible dust to arise, that though the whole field was scattered with dead horses and men, yet none of them could be known, the dust had so disguised them.

Immediately afterwards, we discovered the count of St. Paul marching out of the forest, at the head of about forty men at arms with his own colours, and advancing directly towards us, still increasing in numbers as he moved on; but thinking him a little too tedious, we sent to him three or four times to hasten his march, but he kept his own pace, marching on very slowly and in good order, causing his men to gather up the lances that lay scattered on the ground, which sight greatly rejoiced and animated

our troops. With him a great number rallied again, and at last came and joined us, so that upon a review we found ourselves to be a complete body of about eight hundred men at arms; but we had few or no foot, which was a great misfortune to the count, who had certainly obtained the victory, if his infantry had been there; for there was only a ditch and a thick hedge between the two armies.

On the king's side there fled the count du Maine with several other persons of quality, and not much less than eight hundred men at arms. Some will have it, that the count du Maine held correspondence with the Burgundians; but to speak truth, I think there was no such thing: never was there a greater rout on both sides; but, which is remarkable, the two princes themselves kept the field: of the king's side there was a considerable person fled as far as Luzignan without stopping, and on the count's there was another ran as far as Quesnoy-le-Comte, which two gentlemen certainly had no intention or desire to encounter one another.

While both armies stood thus drawn up in order of battle facing one another, the cannon began to play briskly on both sides, which killed abundance of men, but neither party cared to venture a second engagement. Our army was more numerous than the king's, yet so powerful was his royal presence, and so efficacious the obliging language he used to his soldiers, that had it not been for him they would certainly have all fled, as I have been since well satisfied from what I have learned from others. Some few there were on our side who were for fighting again, and particularly the lord Haulbourdin, who affirmed he saw the enemy filing off, and preparing to run; and doubtless had we had but a hundred archers to have shot through the hedge, the victory had been entirely ours.

Whilst both armies were in this posture and suspense, without offering to engage, the night came upon us, and the king retired to Corbeil, though we supposed he had encamped in the field, by reason that a barrel of their powder being accidently blown up, set fire to several waggons which were placed along the hedge, which we imagined to be fires in their quarters. The count de St. Paul, who seemed to be a great man among us at that time, and the lord Haulbourdin, who was a greater, commanded our carriages to be brought to us where we lay, and our whole body to be enclosed with them, which was presently done. As we stood thus rallied, and drawn up in order of battle, several of the king's soldiers who had been following the pursuit, believing all was their own, being obliged to pass through our camp, were slain, and very few of them escaped. The men of note that fell of the

king's side were the lord Jeffery of St. Belin, the grand seneschal of Normandy, and one Floquet a captain. On the count's side there was slain Philip de Lalain. Of infantry and common soldiers we lost more than the king: but of horse and men at arms the greatest loss was on the king's side: the king's forces took most of those which fled prisoners. On both sides there were at least 2000 men slain; however, the battle was well fought in the main; both sides had brave men, and both sides had enough of it. But in my opinion it was an extraordinary action to rally in the field, to draw up, to advance, and to face one another for several hours together; and certainly both princes had great reason highly to esteem those subjects that stood so firmly by them: but in short they acted like men, and not like angels; for one man lost his place and estate for running away, which were given to others, who ran ten leagues beyond him. One of our great men lost his employment, and was banished the count's presence, yet in a month's time he was restored again, and in greater authority than ever.

When we had thus surrounded ourselves with our waggons, every man reposed as well as he could: we had a great number of wounded men, and the whole army almost dispirited, fearing lest the Parisians, under the command of the marshal Joachim, who was the king's lieutenant in that city, should sally out upon us with two hundred men at arms which were there in Garrison, and attack us on the other side. As soon as it was quite dark, fifty lancers were commanded out, to get intelligence where the king was quartered, of which number about twenty only, obeyed the orders. The place where we believed the king lay, was not above three bow-shots from our camp. In the mean time, the count de Charolois eat and drank a little, and all the rest of the army did the same; after which the wound in his neck was carefully dressed; but before he could do either, four or five dead men which lay in the way, were fain to be removed, and two trusses of straw brought for him to sit on; and as we were removing the men, one of the poor creatures, stark naked, called out for some drink, and putting a little of the ptisan, of which the count had drank, into his mouth, he came to himself, and proved to be one Savarot, an archer of the count's guards, and a very brave fellow; upon which his wounds were immediately dressed, and he was afterwards perfectly cured.

It was then debated in council what measures were best to be taken; the count de St. Paul, who was the first that gave his opinion, said—That we were posted in a very dangerous place, and

was entirely for our retreating towards Burgundy by break of day, that we should burn part of our waggons, reserving only such as belonged to the artillery, and to that purpose an order should be published, that no man should carry off his waggon who had not above ten lancers under his command; and that it was impossible for us to remain in the camp we were in, between Paris and the king's army, without a speedy supply of provisions. Next to him the lord Haulbourdin made a speech much to the same purpose, only his advice was, that we should not decamp, till we heard what intelligence the scouts we had sent out, would bring us. After him three or four more spoke, and all of them concurred. The last who gave his opinion was the lord de Contay, who said, that as soon as these resolutions should be spread abroad in the army, the soldiers would immediately prepare for flight, and be either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces before they could get twenty leagues; which opinion he strengthened with several substantial reasons, and therefore his advice was to rest themselves that night as well as they could, and that in the morning by break of day, they should attack the king's army, with a full resolution either to conquer, or die upon the spot, which he conceived a much safer way than to fly. The result of all was, the count de Charolois took the lord de Contay's advice, and gave orders that every man should repose himself for two hours, and be ready at sound of trumpet, and at the same time desired several Officers that were about him, to go and encourage his men.

About midnight the commanded party returned, and you may believe they went not far; for they brought word the king was encamped where the fires were seen: immediately others were sent out, and about an hour after, every man put himself into a condition to fight, but the greatest part had more mind to have retreated. About break of day, the party that had been sent out last, met a waggoner of ours, whom the enemy had taken that morning, as he was bringing a pitcher of wine from Mont l'Hery, who told them the enemy were all fled, whereupon they sent us back the news, and went on themselves to the place, and finding all true as he had told, they posted back to acquaint us with it, which greatly rejoiced and animated the whole army, and abundance of them were then very eager for the pursuit, that but an hour before, thought of nothing but running away. It was my fortune that day to be mounted on an old tired horse, which having drank up a whole pail of wine, into which he accidentally thrust his head, became lustier, and more serviceable than he was before.

As soon as it was broad day, we all mounted on horseback, and our troops made a very fine appearance, though our whole body of forces were not together; however, immediately after, a great number of them that had lain concealed in the woods came and joined us. The count de Charolois caused a friar to come in, and pretend he came from the duke of Bretagne's army, and that they would be with us that day; which news comforted the whole army, though not a man of them gave any credit to it. However, about ten o'clock in the morning the vice-chancellor of Bretagne, called Bouville, and Madre with him, of both which I have spoken before, arrived in our camp, attended by two of the duke of Bretagne's archers, of his guards, in their regimental clothes, which was a very welcome sight to us all. They were asked where they had been, and highly praised and commended for absenting themselves, considering the murmurs against them, but more for their return; and every one entertained and treated them kindly.

All that day the count de Charolois kept the field, rejoicing extremely, and imputing the whole honour of this action to himself alone, which cost him dear since, for after that he was governed by no counsel but his own; and whereas before he was altogether averse and unfit for the war, and took delight in nothing that belonged to it, his thoughts were so strangely altered upon this, that he spent the remainder of his life in wars, in which he died, and which were the occasion, if not quite the ruin of his family, at least the misery and desolation of it. Three illustrious and wise princes, his predecessors, had advanced it to that height of strength and grandeur, that few monarchs, except the king of France, were more powerful than he, and in large and fair towns none of them exceeded him: no man ought, but especially a prince, to assume too much upon himself, but freely to acknowledge that it is God alone that crowns all our actions with success. However, two things I dare boldly say of him, by way of commendation; the one is, that I believe no man ever endured more fatigues in all sorts of bodily labour and exercise, when the occasion required it, than he; and the other is, that, in my opinion, I never knew a person of greater valour and intrepidity: I never heard him complain of being weary, nor betray the least signs of fear, during the whole seven years I was in his service in the wars, though he was constantly every summer in the field, and sometimes winter and summer: in short, his designs and enterprises were always so bold and daring, that nothing less than an almighty power was able to accomplish them, being far beyond the reach of human capacity to do it.

CHAP. V.

The king's brother the duke of Berry, and the duke of Bretagne, join with the count de Charolois against the king.

THE next day, which was the third after the battle, we took up our quarters in the village of Mont l'Hery. The inhabitants were in so great a consternation on our approach, that they were all fled, some to the church steeple, and others into the castle; but the count de Charolois caused them all to return to their houses, and they lost not the value of a farthing, for every soldier paid for what he had as exactly as if he had been in Flanders. The castle still held out for the king, and was never attempted. After we had refreshed ourselves there for three days, the count de Charolois, by the lord of Contay's advice, marched from thence to possess himself of Estampes, which was good and convenient quartering, and situated in a plentiful country, that he might be there before the Bretons, who were marching that way, and dispose his sick and wounded men in the town, and encamp with the remainder of his forces in the fields surrounding the town: and this was very good counsel; for that little time which they staid there saved the lives of abundance of his men. At Estampes arrived also the lord Charles of France, at that time duke of Berry, the king's only brother, the duke of Bretagne, the count de Dunois, the count de Dammartin, the marshal de Loheac, the lord de Bueil, the lord de Chaumont, and the lord Charles d'Amboise his son, who since that time has been a great man in this kingdom; all which lords, the king upon his first accession to the crown had turned off, and disposed of their places, though they had done his father and the kingdom eminent service in his conquests in Normandy, and several other of his wars. The count de Charolois, attended by all the officers of the army, went out to meet them; and having received them with abundance of civility and respect, conducted them to their quarters that were prepared for them in the town, but their army encamped in the field. Their army consisted of eight hundred men at arms, completely armed and well mounted, the greater part of whom were Bretons, who had lately deserted the king's service, as you have heard elsewhere, and were a great reinforcement to their army; besides, they had a great number of archers and other soldiers well disciplined, and armed with strong brigandines; so that one might compute them at about six thousand men on horseback,

well accoutred, and in good order; and to behold them drawn up was enough to convince a man that the duke of Bretagne was a great lord, for all of them were paid out of his treasury.

The king, who as I have already informed you, was retired to Corbeil, did not lie idle, neither was he forgetful of what he was about, but hastens into Normandy, as well to raise men, as to secure the country from any commotion, having put some of his guards into Paris, and disposed more of his troops in other places, where he conceived there was any necessity.

The princes spent the first night of their arrival at Estampes, in relating their several adventures. The Bretons, it seems, had taken some of the king's party that fled, and had they been but a little forwarder in their march, they would have taken or cut in pieces the third part of the army. At first, indeed, they had ordered a party out to get intelligence how near the count's army was to the king's; but those orders were afterwards countermanded. However, the lord Charles d'Amboise, and several other officers, with a small detachment marched before the army farther into the country to see what they could meet with, who took several prisoners, and some pieces of the king's artillery. The prisoners told them that for certain the king was dead; and they believed as they said, for they had fled as soon as the battle began. The lord d'Amboise and his party brought this news to the army, where it was exceedingly welcome; every man fancying to himself mighty rewards when the lord Charles should come to the crown; and so credulous were they of it, that a council was immediately called, as I have been told since by a person of honour and credit who assisted at it, in which it was proposed how they might rid themselves of the Burgundians, and send them packing; and the general opinion was, if nothing else would do, to do it by force. But their joy was not long lived, from whence it may naturally be collected to what changes and revolutions all kingdoms are subject.

But to return to my design and the army at Estampes. When the princes had supped, and many people were walking with great liberty in the street, the lord Charles of France and the count de Charolois withdrew to a window, to discourse of some affairs in a very friendly manner: it happened that among the Bretons was a person who took great delight in throwing squibs, and seeing them fall and break among the people; and for his faculty he was called Monsieur John Boutefeu, or Monsieur John of the serpents, I know not which. This idle fellow, having hid himself in a neighbouring house, that he might throw them securely, without

being perceived by any body, from a garret where he was, cast two or three into the air, one of which by accident, in its coming down, happened to strike against the bar of the window where the two princes were leaning, and in discourse with their heads very near together. Both of them started in a very great surprise, and stared upon one another, suspecting it a design, and done on purpose for mischief. The lord de Contay came up to the count, and having wispered a word in his ear, went down and ordered all the guards, and what other soldiers were at hand, to stand immediately to their arms: he likewise persuaded the duke of Berry to do the same; so that in a moment there were two or three hundred men at arms drawn up before the gate, and a great number of archers, who were employed to search every where, in order if possible to find out from whence the squib came. At last the poor fellow who had caused all this uproar by throwing it, came and threw himself at their feet, confessed the whole matter, and by throwing two or three more of them into the air, entirely took away the jealousy several persons had conceived of one another. Thus was this surprising accident turned into a jest, and the troops were ordered to return to their quarters.

The next day, early in the morning, the count de Charolois called a council of war, at which the princes and their chief officers assisted, to consult what measures were best to be taken; and as they were under different lords, and by consequence of different interests, their sentiments were also different; as in such assemblies it cannot well be otherwise: but of all that was said, nothing was so much taken notice of as some expressions of the duke of Berry, who was but young, and had seen nothing of the war. By his words he seemed to be weary already, taking occasion to mention the great number of wounded men which he had observed in the count's army; and by way of compassion he declared, he had rather the war had never been begun, than that so much mischief and destruction as had already happened, should be occasioned through his means; which language was very unpleasant to the count and his party, as I shall shew afterwards. Nevertheless, the result of this council was, that they should march towards Paris, to try if they could bring that city to join with them for the good of the kingdom, for which, as they pretended, they had taken up arms; and they were all of them fully persuaded, that if they could carry their point there, all the rest of the towns in the kingdom would follow their example. As we said before, that expression of the duke of Berry so startled the count de Charolois and his party, that they asked one another—"Did you

hear the young duke? He is astonished at the sight of five or six hundred wounded men in the town, which are neither his soldiers nor acquaintance; he would certainly be more troubled where he was concerned, and it is not unlikely make his peace upon small invitation, and leave us in the lurch. And the count de Charolois farther told them, that in respect of the great wars which had long continued between king Charles, the father of the duke of Berry, and the duke of Burgundy his own father, it was to be feared they would easily unite, and turn all their forces against them, for which reason it would be necessary to look out for allies in time." And it was purely on this suspicion, that William de Cluny the prothonotary, who died afterwards bishop of Poictiers, was dispatched into England to the court of king Edward IV. who then reigned, and had been always his mortal enemy, for supporting against him the house of Lancaster, from which by the mother's side he was descended. In his private instructions, he had ordered to propose a marriage with Margaret, the sister of the king of England, but to treat only, and negotiate, without coming to any conclusion. For the count de Charolois, who knew how fond the king was of this match, believed by this means, either to bring him over to his side, if he should have any occasion for his assistance, or at least to hinder him from attempting any thing against him. However, though he had no real intention at first to consummate the marriage, on account of his inveterate hatred to the house of York, yet affairs were so managed, that several years after, the match was concluded, he married her, accepted the order of the garter, and wore it to his death.

Many such like actions as this have happened in the world on suspicion only, especially among great princes, who are always more suspicious than other men, by reason of the many false stories and groundless reports that are too often brought them by court flatterers, without any manner of occasion.

Renewal of the treaty of alliance mentioned p. 16, *between Francis duke of Bretagne, and Charles count de Charolois, made at Estampes, July* 24, 1465. [*The preamble being much the same as in the treaty, p.* 16, *we omit it.*]

WE, Francis duke of Bretagne, are, and will be, the good brother, perfect friend, ally, and confederate, of Charles count de Charolois; we will aid and assist, counsel, succour, and support, and, with all our power, guard and defend his person, and his children born

or to be born, their honour, estates, countries, territories, seigniories, and subjects, as much as we would do our own, without any manner of distinction, against all and every person and persons, (without excepting my lord the king), whoever they are, that would injure, make war upon, or usurp any thing from our said cousin and his children, their countries, subjects, lands, and territories, in possession or reversion, in any manner or upon any account whatsoever; and we also promise, in all the other good and laudable quarrels and enterprises of our said cousin de Charolois, to succour and assist him and his children, as well against my lord the king, as all other persons whatsoever; and to employ in their behalf and in their favour our own person, subjects, countries, territories, and seigniories, against all invaders or such as make war upon them; and to defend them in person and with all our power, in such a way and manner as our good cousin shall require: and moreover we will impart to him whatever shall come to our knowledge, to be done, said, or intended to his prejudice, and defend him to our power; and we shall use our lawful endeavours to have him comprehended in the alliances already made, or to be made hereafter, by us, so far as he has a mind to it; and we will make no alliance in prejudice to these presents. And in regard of the great love to, and sincere confidence we have in our said dear cousin de Charolois above all others, and also for his greater assurance that we shall on our part perform as aforesaid, we have been desirous to make, and actually do make him our comrade in arms; and forasmuch as we do desire with all our heart, that the said alliances may be inviolably maintained, kept, and observed, and to the end, lest for want of a declaration and good understanding, there may arise any difficulty or doubt, even in respect to the general clause above written, importing, that we will aid and assist our said cousin de Charolois in all his quarrels and enterprises, as well against our lord the king as all others as aforesaid; we do declare, and our meaning is, that whatever dispute or war by sea shall happen between the English, or any other nation whatsoever, and our subjects, or the subjects of our cousin de Charolois, the subjects of either of us both, which are not engaged in a contest or naval war against the English, shall not be obliged, notwithstanding the said alliances, to quarrel with, nor make war upon them, nor to do any thing upon that account, against the truces, treaties, or alliances, which for the benefit of trade have been made between the countries and subjects of our uncle the duke of Burgundy and our said cousin de Charolois his son; but they shall, as to this particular, remain in force according

to antient usage and custom. And if it should so happen, that any of our subjects, under pretence of their own war, or otherwise, should come into the countries, ports, and harbours of our said cousin de Charolois, and by sea or land, rob, pillage, and carry off any merchandise, or other people, who have the freedom of the said countries, ports, and havens, or shall be at truce and not in war, or have the protection of our said cousin de Charolois or his officers; in that case such of our subjects as shall do so, may be taken and seized in the said countries, ports, and havens of our said cousin de Charolois, where they can be found, and such punishment, correction, and justice inflicted on them, which in reason ought to be done, according to the customs and usages of the said countries, ports, and havens, where they shall be taken. Moreover, if any of our subjects should by sea rob or destroy any goods and merchandises belonging to the merchants of the countries and territories of our said cousin de Charolois, residing or dwelling therein, or in others who are in a truce or peace with, or under the protection of our said cousin or his officers as aforesaid, and should afterwards bring the said goods and merchandises, or cause them to be brought into any of the towns, ports, or havens of the said countries, belonging to our cousin de Charolois, in order to sell or barter them there; those who bring them thither, may in that case be taken and seized, and the said goods and merchandises put into the hands of our said cousin, as being forfeited to him, to dispose of them at his pleasure, either by restoring them to the right owners, or do otherwise as he thinks fit; and as for the offenders, they shall be punished for what they have done, as he our said cousin or his officers shall judge most convenient.

2. Seeing we are desirous to provide for the security of our dominions and territories for the time to come, and to preserve them for the future from the inconveniences which they have been liable to; if it should so happen, that any of our successors should hereafter contravene any of these present alliances, which God forbid, we do in such a case give unto our said cousin de Charolois or his successors, the countries, lands, and seigniories of Montfort, Estampes, and Vertus, with their appurtenances and dependencies; and we do divest and disseize ourselves of the said counties, lands, and seigniories, and do yield and transfer them from thenceforward, for ourselves, our heirs, successors, &c. to our said cousin de Charolois, to occupy and enjoy them with all their rights, profits, and emoluments, by way of inheritance for ever for himself, his heirs &c. as fully and in the same manner and form as we do now enjoy them, and as our predecessors have

done before us, without reserving any right to ourselves, our heirs, successors, &c. of suing for, or laying claim to any right therein, for any reason, or upon any account whatsoever.

3. And to the end that the said alliances may be the more strictly observed, we have again and anew pitched upon, named, and commissioned, and we do on our part pitch upon, name, and commission for the conservators of them, the same persons formerly pitched upon and nominated in our letters patent mentioning the same, preceding these in date, and also by these presents; conferring on them new authority, and the like power to maintain, support, favour, and secure them, as well in the execution of their commission, or otherwise, as our said letters patent of alliance, or conservation do impart or contain.

4. If it should come to pass that the said conservators or any of them should hereafter falter, and be justly accused of a failure in the discharge of the trust reposed in them; in that case we and our said cousin de Charolois and our successors, &c. and every of us in his own right may appoint one or more trustees in the room of him or them who shall transgress, or be justly accused as aforesaid.

5. That the said alliances between us and our said cousin de Charolois may be the better kept, and the more firmly maintained, we have been willing, and we do actually make the same alliances between our territories and subjects as we do between our own persons; promising upon our faith and corporal oath, on the word of a prince and upon our honour, firmly to keep and maintain the said alliances and brotherhoods in all their circumstances and dependencies, without contravening the same in any manner whatsoever, and to make out unto our said cousin de Charolois good and authentic instruments of consent and ratification in the presence of the estates of our said countries and territories, to last during our life and the lives of our heirs, successors, &c. for ever; in witness whereof we have affixed our seal to these presents.—Done at Estampes, July the 24th, in the year of our lord 1465. Signed "Francis" with a flourish. Upon the fold was written "By the duke's command," and signed "Milet" with a flourish.

CHAP. VI.

The count de Charolois and his allies pass the Seine upon a bridge of boats; after which, being joined by the forces of John duke of Calabria, they invest Paris.

THESE great lords, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of war, broke up from Estampes, where they had lain in quarters of refreshment for some days, and marched with their whole army to St. Maturin de Larchant and Moret in Gastinois, in which two villages the duke of Berry and his Bretons were quartered. But the count de Charolois and his men encamped in a large meadow on the banks of the Seine; having proclaimed in his army that every horseman should bring an hook with him to fasten his horse; he also caused seven or eight boats to be brought upon carts, and several pipe staves in order to lay a bridge over the Seine, there being no other way of passing it. The count de Dunois, who was unable to get on horseback by reason of the gout, attended him in his litter, and had his colours carried after him. When they came to the river, they clapped the boats together, and got over into a little island in the midst of the river, where some of our archers were already landed, and attacked a party of horse on the other side, who were posted there to secure that pass, under the command of the marshal Joachim, and Sallezard: they were posted in a place very disadvantageous for their horse, for it was steep, and thick set with vines; and the Burgundians had a fine train of artillery under the command of one Monsieur Girauld, a famous engineer, who had been all along on the king's side, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Mont l'Hery. In short, the enemy were obliged to abandon their post, and retire with precipitation to Paris. The very same night a bridge was laid from that side of the river we were on quite to the island, where the count de Charolois immediately ordered his own tent to be pitched, in which he lay that night under a guard of fifty horse of his household troops. At break of day several coopers were set to work upon the pipe-staves which were brought over into the island, and before noon the bridge from the island to the other side of the river being finished, the count passed over it immediately, ordered his tents to be pitched, of which he had abundance, and then passing over his army and artillery, he encamped with it on the brow of a hill towards the river, from whence they made a fine appearance.

The passing over the count's forces took up all that day; but the next morning, by break of day, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne advanced with their army to the bridge, found it very speedily and commodiously built, and having passed over it, they encamped also upon the hill. As soon as it grew dark, we perceived a number of fires at as far a distance as we could well discern; some were of opinion it was the king: but before midnight we were assured it was John duke of Calabria, only son to Renè king of Sicily, with about nine hundred men at arms out of the duchy and county of Burgundy. He had a good body of horse, but of foot he had few or none; however, for their number I never saw finer or better troops in my life. He had with him about six score Italians, and others, brought up under him in his wars in Italy, all men at arms and excellent soldiers, among which were James Galiot, the count de Campobache, the lord de Baudricourt, the present governor of Burgundy, and several others: these men at arms, were all very dexterous and ready, and to speak impartially, the very flower of our army, at least so many for so many: he had also, besides these troops, four hundred cross-bow men, which the count Palatine had furnished, all well mounted, and brave soldiers, and with them five hundred Swiss, the first that were ever seen in this kingdom, who behaved themselves with so much courage and bravery, in all the actions they were employed in, as have gained their nation immortal honour, which their countrymen that succeeded them have taken care to maintain. The next morning this gallant army drew nearer, and passed over our bridge, so that one might venture to say, the whole force of France, except what was with the king, passed over that bridge. This I can affirm, the number of persons of quality and officers was so great, in such complete order, and made such a fine appearance, that I could have wished that both the friends and enemies to the king and kingdom had been there to have seen the army; for by that means, the former would have had a just value and esteem for the kingdom, and the latter would for ever after have dreaded its power. The chief of the Burgundian officers were the lord de Neufchatel, Marshal of Burgundy, with his brother the lord Montague, the marquis de Rottelin, and a great number of gentlemen of great experience, some of which had been in Bourbonnois as I said before, and, to come to us with more security, had joined with the duke of Calabria, who appeared to be a brave prince, and as great a commander as any in the army, upon which account a mutual love and Friendship arose between the count de Charolois and him.

When the whole army had passed, which in my judgment were little less than an hundred thousand horse one with another, the princes resolved to present themselves before Paris, and joined all their vanguards together: the Burgundian van was led by the count de St. Paul, the duke of Berry's and the duke of Bretagne's, by Oudet de Rie, and, as I think, the marshal of Loheac: in this order they marched. The princes themselves were all in the main battle: the count de Charolois and the duke of Calabria rode up and down in their arms, and took abundance of pains to keep their battalions in order, and expressed a readiness to do their duties; but the dukes of Berry and Bretagne were at their ease mounted on little pacers, armed only with light brigandines, or as some said, with gilt nails sown upon satin, that they might weigh the less; but I cannot positively affirm it. In this order the whole army marched to Pont de Charenton, within two short leagues of Paris, where we attacked and routed an inconsiderable body of Frank-archers that were posted on the bridge to defend that pass, after which the whole army marched over it, and the count de Charolois encamped between that bridge and an house he had at Conflans, all along the river, enclosing a large compass of ground with his waggons and train of artillery, and drawing his whole army into it when he had done, and with him the duke of Calabria took up his quarters. The dukes of Berry and Bretagne were posted with a strong party of their men at St. Maur-des-Fossez, the rest of the army were sent to St. Dennis, about the same distance from Paris, in which quarters the whole army lay for the space of eleven weeks together, during which time those things occured of which I shall speak hereafter.

The next morning there was a little skirmishing at the very gates of Paris; in which place were, the lord de Nantoüillet high-steward of France, who, as I have elsewhere observed was very serviceable to the king, and the marshal Joachim. The meaner sort of people were in a great consternation, but many of the chief citizens seemed inclinable to admit the Burgundians, and the other lords into the town, believing, in their judgments, it would have been for the benefit and advantage of the kingdom. There were others who declared openly for the Burgundians, hoping by advancing their interest, to arrive at some good office or preferment, which in that city are more to be coveted than in any other part of the world besides; neither is it to be wondered at, for no man considers what ought in justice to be done, but every man makes his employment worth as much as he can; so that there are some offices, with no salary at all belonging to them, which

are sold for eight hundred crowns, and others, whose wages are very small, are sold for more than the salary will amount to, in fifteen years; from whence it happens that seldom any man is put out of his place, because the court of parliament has allowed it. Among the counsellors there is always a great number of honest and able practitioners, as well as base, ill-natured, illiterate blockheads; and so there are in all other societies and professions whatsoever.

CHAP. VII.

A digression concerning salaries, offices, and ambition, illustrated by the example of the English.

I AM the more willing to mention these offices and authorities, which are so ambitiously sought after in all changes and revolutions of kingdoms, because they are very often the occasion of them; which evidently appears not only by what we have seen in our own days, but in the time of Charles VI. in whose reign the wars, which lasted till the peace of Arras, began; during which wars the English had conquered so great a part of France, that at the time of that treaty, which lasted two months, the duke of Bedford, brother to Henry V. king of England, and husband to the duke of Burgundy's sister, was regent there, and had twenty thousand crowns a month at least, to support the grandeur and dignity of that office. At this treaty of Arras the king of France sent four or five dukes and counts, five or six prelates, and ten or twelve counsellors of parliament, as plenipotentiaries to take care of his affairs. On the duke of Burgundy's side there were more, and those very great persons; and no less from the king of England: besides two cardinals from the pope, to adjust any dispute that might arise among them. The duke of Burgundy being desirous to acquit himself handsomely towards the English before they broke, on account of the old leagues and alliances which had been between them, offered the duchy of Normandy and Guienne to the king of England, upon condition he would do homage for them to the king of France, as the kings of England his predecessors had done before; and that he would restore whatever else he held in that kingdom beside the said duchies: but the English absolutely refused to do any homage, and they suffered extremely by it; for being forsaken by the house of Burgundy, and the prosperous scene of their affairs being changed, they soon lost their

opportunity and intelligence in that kingdom, by which means their power daily declining, it dwindled at last to nothing, and soon afterward they lost Paris, and by little and little all they were possessed of in France. Upon their return into England, not one of the English lords thought of lessening his estate, or retrenching his expenses, and the whole revenue of the kingdom being not sufficient to satisfy the insatiable ambition of them all, immediately dissensions and wars arose among them, for command and authority, which lasted a long time, and in which Henry VI. who had been crowned king of England and France at Paris, was declared a traitor, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he continued the greatest part of his life, and was at last murdered there. The duke of York, father of Edward IV. proclaimed himself king, but in a few days he was beaten and slain, and his head struck off, as all that were killed in the battle with him had, and among the rest the father of the late earl of Warwick, who was so famous in England: this last earl of Warwick conveyed the earl of March, since called king Edward, to Calais by sea, with some few forces which remained of that battle: the earl of Warwick espoused the interest of the house of York, and the duke of Somerset that of Lancaster; but the civil wars lasted so long, till all of them of the house of Warwick and Somerset were either slain in battle, or lost their heads. King Edward caused his brother the duke of Clarence to be drowned in a pipe of Malmsey, charging him with a design of endeavouring to dethrone him; but after king Edward's death, his other brother, the duke of Gloucester, caused his two sons to be murdered, declared his daughters to be illegitimate, and proclaimed himself king.

Immediately after this, the earl of Richmond, the present king, who had been several years a prisoner in Bretagne, returned into England, and in a set battle defeated and slew this bloody king Richard, who had so barbarously murdered his two nephews. Thus have there been slain in these civil wars of England, since my remembrance, near fourscore persons of the blood royal, some of which I was acquainted with myself, snd the rest I have heard of by the report of several English gentlemen that resided at the duke of Burgundy's court during the time of my being in his service; so that one may see by this example, that it is not at Paris only, nor in France, that the riches and honours of this world occasion quarrels and disputes between people. Yet all monarchs and great princes ought to be very careful and circumspect, and not permit any faction or party to be encouraged in his court, for from thence the fire spreads, and dilates itself over the whole king-

dom. However, I am of opinion, that all these revolutions in states and kingdoms happen by the divine permission and appointment; for when kings and princes have enjoyed a long series of riches and prosperity, and forgot the fountain from whence those blessings and advantages flow, God has raised up enemies against them, of whom they never had the least suspicion, which appears evidently by the history of the kings mentioned in the Bible, and by the surprising events that have happened, and do daily happen, both in England, Burgundy, and other places.

CHAP. VIII.

The king of France enters Paris, while the princes were tampering with the citizens, to bring them over to their party.

I HAVE dwelt too long upon this subject, and therefore it is now time to return to my history.

As soon as the princes were arrived before Paris, they began to tamper with the citizens, offering several of them great places and rewards, and forgetting no cunning insinuations that might any ways contribute towards advancing their design. By that time we had lain three days before the town, the Parisians called a grand assembly in the town-hall, in which, after many and long harangues, upon the reading of the princes' summons and propositions, which (as was pretended) were for no other end than the good of the public; they unanimously resolved to send commissioners to treat for a peace. Whereupon a great number of substantial citizens went to wait on the princes at St. Maur-des-Fossez, having chosen one William Chartier, a person of great parts and eloquence, and at that time bishop of Paris, to be their speaker; and the lords appointed the count de Dunois, to be theirs. The duke of Berry, the king's brother, who was president of the council, sat in a chair of state, and all the rest of the princes standing round him: on one hand the dukes of Bretagne and Calabria, and on the other the count de Charolois completely armed, all but his head-piece and his gauntlet, with a very rich mantle thrown over his shoulders; for he came from Conflans and Bois-de-Vincennes, which had in it a strong garrison for the king, and it was not unnecessary for him, to come both well armed, and with a strong guard. The design and proposal of the princes, was to be admitted into Paris, that with greater friendship and expedition,

they might consult with them about reformation of the government, of which they sadly complained, and charged the king with several acts of injustice and male-administration. The answer of the citizens was full of respect and modesty, yet not without some hesitation and demur. However, notwithstanding that, the king was afterwards displeased with the bishop, and with all that went along with him. In this manner the commissioners returned, and great practices and intrigues were carried on, for every one of the princes had a private conference with the citizens, and I believe it was secretly agreed by some of them, that the lords in their own persons might enter the town, and their army pass through it, in small bodies at a time, if they desired it. This admission of the princes had not only been the means of gaining the town, but of finishing the whole enterprise; for the people of Paris would for several reasons have gone over immediately to their side, and by consequence the whole kingdom would have revolted: but God certainly inspired the king with wise and prudent counsel, and he executed it as vigorously, being informed of all their secret practices and cabals.

Before the commissioners, who had been to wait on the princes, had made their report, the king enters Paris in a splendid and triumphant manner, and like a prince that came to relieve and animate his subjects, for he brought with him above two thousand men at arms, all the nobility of Normandy, a great number of volunteers, all that depended on the court, his pensioners, and other persons of quality that were accustomed to attend so great a king, upon so important an occasion. Thus was the whole design quashed in its infancy, and the minds of the people, before almost debauched by their own citizens, entirely changed and become firm to the king's interest; so that not a man, how active soever he had been formerly for us, durst now speak one word in our behalf. Some of the commissioners who had been with us fared but very ill, some lost their places, and others were banished without any further cruelty or revenge; for which I think the king is highly to be commended, considering that if this intended design had succeeded, the best he could have expected, had been to have escaped out of the kingdom, and he has told me many times since, that if the town had revolted, and refused to admit him, his resolutions were to have retired, either to the Swiss, or to Francis duke of Milan, whom he thought his great friend, and so indeed he afterwards shewed himself to be, by the supplies which he sent him, which consisted of five hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, under the command of his eldest son Galeas

(afterwards duke) who came as far as the county of Forest in Auvergne, and made war upon the duke of Bourbon, but upon the death of Francis, he and his forces both were recalled: his affection to the king appeared likewise, by the advice which he gave him at the treaty of Conflans, which was to make a peace with the princes upon any terms whatsoever, in order to break the confederacy and separate their forces; but yet still to keep his own army on foot.

As far as I can remember, we had scarce been three days before Paris, when the king entered with his troops, upon whose arrival the war began very briskly, and they often fell upon us; especially our foragers, whom we were forced to send under a strong guard on account of their foraging at a great distance from our camp. But to say something in favour of the situation of Paris, it must needs be owned, it is admirably well placed in the Isle of France, or else it could never have been able to supply two such numerous armies with plenty of all manner of provisions. As for our part, we never found a scarcity of any thing in the camp before the town, neither did the inhabitants that were in it raise any of their commodities, except bread, which indeed was sold for a penny in a loaf dearer than the usual price; and the reason was, because we had not blocked up the rivers above it, which were three, the Marne, the Yonne, and the Seine, besides several little rivers which fell into them; to say all in a word, Paris is situated in the finest and the most plentiful country I ever yet beheld, and it is almost incredible what vast quantities of provisions are brought to it; since that time I have been there with king Lewis, for six months together, and never stirred, lodged in the Tournelles, eating and lying at court very frequently: besides, since his death, much to my sorrow, I was a prisoner twenty months in the Louvre, from whence I could see, out of my window, whatever came out of Normandy up the river Seine; and on the other side there came in much more, which I could never have believed, had I not been an eye-witness of it.

The Parisians made frequent sallies every day, which occasioned warm disputes on both sides; our guards consisting of fifty lancers, were posted near the Grange-aux-Merciers, but our scouts went as near the town as they could, and were often attacked and beaten back to our main guard, sometimes gravely, step by step, sometimes a full trot, with the enemy at their heels, who sometimes drove them to our very waggons; upon which, we used to send a fresh body of troops to reinforce the beaten party, who repulsed the enemy, and often drove them to the gates of Paris;

and this diversion happened daily and hourly, for there were in the town two thousand five hundred men at arms, well armed and in complete order, besides a great number of the nobility of Normandy, and volunteers, whom the sight of the ladies of Paris, who were constant spectators of their actions, inspired with an emulation of signalizing themselves, and gaining what reputation they could among them. On our side, we had a very fine army, but not altogether so strong in horse, as the enemy, for we had none but the Burgundian cavalry, consisting of about two thousand lancers good and bad, but not so well disciplined as the enemy's, by reason of the long peace they had lived in, as I said before, of which two hundred were with the duke of Calabria at Ligny, but our infantry was numerous, and generally very good. The Britons were posted at St. Dennis, and ravaged all the country on that side Paris; the rest of the lords were dispersed, some here, some there, for better convenience of their provision: At length the duke de Nemours, the count d'Armagnac, and the lord Albret came to our camp, but their forces were left at a good distance behind, because they had no pay, and it would have starved our army, if they should have taken any thing without: to my knowledge the count de Charolois remitted them a handsome sum of money for their subsistence, rather than suffer them to join him, though they were full six thousand horse, and did much mischief in the country where they lay.

CHAP. IX.

The count de Charolois and the king cannonade each other near Charenton, after which action, the count de Charolois lays a second bridge over the Seine.

BUT to return to the army before Paris: you may be sure scarce a day passed without some loss or gain on both sides, but nothing considerable on either. For the king would not suffer his forces to sally out in great bodies, as being very cautious of bringing his affairs to the hazard of a battle, his only desire being rather for peace, in order to break and divide our forces as wisely as he could: however, one day early in the morning four thousand of his Frank archers came and posted themselves all along upon the bank of the river, over against the Hostel de Conflans: the nobles of Normandy, and some few of the household troops were dis-

posed in a village about a quarter of a league off, with only a fair plain between them and their infantry, and the river Seine between us and them. The French began to throw up a trench over against Charenton, and afterwards made a bulwark there of wood and of earth, in the front of our army. The ditch or trench was thrown up, as was said before, before Conflans, with the river between us and them; and upon that trench and bastion they planted several pieces of cannon, which played briskly upon the duke of Calabria's quarters, and at the first firing drove his men out of Charenton, and forced them to retire in great confusion to our camp, with the loss of some few horses and men: but the duke of Calabria had taken up his quarters in a little house between the river and the place where the count de Charolois lay.

The enemy immediately began to cannonade our camp, which put the whole army into a consternation, for upon the first firing they killed us abundance of men, and two cannon shots coming through the room, where the count de Charolois was sitting at dinner, killed a trumpeter on the stairs as he was bringing up a dish of meat.

After dinner the count removed into a ground-floor, but resolved not to decamp: the next morning the princes called a council of war, which was always held in the count de Charolois's quarters, after which they dined together. The dukes of Berry and Bretagne sat next the wall upon a bench, and the count de Charolois and the duke of Calabria over against them, the count giving all of them the preference as to matter of place, as indeed he ought, to any body, in his own quarters: here they resolved to make use of all the artillery in the army, of which both the count de Charolois and the dukes of Bretagne and Calabria had a very fine and numerous train, in order to dislodge the king's troops, and dismount his cannon. Accordingly we made great holes in the walls, which were along the river behind the Hôtel de Conflans, and mounted all our guns, except those that were too big, and which could not conveniently be drawn, and were left in a place where they might do more service: so that on the prince's side we had many more than there were on the king's.

The trench, which the king's forces had thrown up, was of a great length, was carried a great way towards the city of Paris, and still they were working at it, throwing up the earth on the side next us, to shelter themselves from our cannon, for they wrought still in the ditch, and none of them durst venture so much as to put out their heads, for the place where they lay was in a large meadow as bare as a man's hand; in short, I never heard

such terrible cannonading for the time it lasted, for our design was to dislodge them by dint of cannon, and they daily received fresh supplies both of cannon and ammunition; neither were they sparing of their powder, or pains, but fired upon us briskly day and night: several of our soldiers dug pits before their tents to cover themselves, others had them provided to their hands, their quarters being in a great stone-pit, so that all got some shelter or other, and in this posture we passed three or four days; but the fright was much greater on both sides than the loss, for we had no officer of any note killed.

When the princes found they could not dislodge the enemy, they thought themselves not safe in their present situation, and they believed, that their being disappointed in their design would not only reflect on their honour, but also animate and encourage the Parisians against them, who were already grown so confident, that upon a single day's truce the people flocked out in such numbers to stare upon us, one would have thought there had been none left in the town: it was therefore concluded in council, that a large bridge of boats should be made, the noses to be coupled together, and the body of them to be covered with planks, with great anchors behind to fasten them into the ground; upon which several flat-bottomed boats were brought down the Seine, in order to pass that river, and to attack the king's forces.

Monsieur Girauld, the chief engineer, had the management and direction of this affair, who was of opinion, that the trench which the enemy had thrown up to defend themselves, would be of great advantage to the Burgundians when once they had passed the river, for the king's forces would find themselves as it were under us in their trenches, and would not dare to march out for fear of our cannon; which opinion greatly encouraged and animated our soldiers, and made them impatient to begin the attack. Thus the bridge being finished, all but the two last boats, which were there ready to complete it, and all the other boats for transportation arrived; on a sudden one of the king's heralds came to tell us we had broken the truce, which was made for that day, and the day before, and that he was come to see the meaning of these preparations: by accident he found Monsieur Bovillet, and some others, to whom he delivered his message. This night the truce ended.

Our bridge was so large, that three or four of our men at arms, with their lances in their rest, might pass easily a-breast; besides, we had got six great vessels, each of which would carry over a thousand men at a time, and several smaller for the artillery which we were to make use of in that expedition. The draught of such troops as were to be employed in this enterprize was already made;

and the count de St. Paul and the lord Haultbourdin were appointed to command them: those who were of that detachment began to prepare themselves about midnight, and before day all of them were ready, some of them hearing mass till day appeared, or employing themselves otherwise, as good Christians ought to do, upon such an occasion. I was that night in a great tent in the middle of our army, where the guard was posted, and to speak truth, one of the guard, for nobody was exempted, which was commanded by Monsieur de Chastel Guyon, slain afterwards at the battle of Granson, and as we stood there, expecting when the attack would begin, on a sudden we heard those who were in the French trenches cry out as loud as they could, "Adieu, farewell neighbours, farewell;" and immediately they set fire to their tents, and drew off their artillery. About day-break the detachment, that was commanded upon this attack, had already gained the banks of the river on the other side, at least part of it, where by the dawn they could descry the French at a good distance, and retiring with precipitation towards Paris, upon which all of them disarmed, and were extremely glad of their retreat. Without dispute the king had sent that body of troops thither, only to disturb and cannonade us in our camp, without the least intention of a battle; for, as I said before, it was not his way to put any thing to a hazard, though otherwise his army was strong enough to have engaged the united forces of all the princes together: but his mind was still bent upon peace, and dividing the forces of the confederates, without being willing to expose so important and valuable a concern, as the crown of France, to the uncertainty of a battle.

There was scarce a day passed, but some artifice or other was made use of to debauch and bring over people from one side to the other; and several times there were truces, and conferences between both parties in order to an accommodation, which conferences were held at the Grange-aux-Merciers, not far from our army: as commissioners from the king, there was the count du Maine, and several others: for the princes, the count de St. Paul, and as many with him. The commissioners met often, but came to no conclusion: yet the cessation of arms was continued, and several persons on both sides, who were acquainted, saw and conversed with one another, but with a great ditch between them, as it were in the mid-way between the two armies, which ditch by the articles of the truce no person was to pass. There was not a day passed, but by means of these interviews some or other were seduced and brought over; sometimes ten or twelve in a day would come running over to us; and some days as many of ours went away to them, all of them, in probability, being brought

over at those conferences; that place was afterwards called the Market, because the bargain was driven there. To speak truth, such liberty of communication is in my judgment very dangerous at such times, especially for that party which is visibly declining: for naturally most people are intent, if not upon their advancement, at least upon their safety, which inclines them more easily to the strongest side. There are some indeed who are above these kind of temptations, but they are very few, and hardly to be met with. But if ever such communications are dangerous, it is, when a prince himself makes it his business to oblige and cajole people; which is an excellent qualification in a prince who knows how to do it well, and renders him clear from that odious sin of pride and haughtiness, which all persons abhor. For which reason, when any treaty of peace is on foot, it is safest to commit it to the wisest and most faithful persons about the prince, and those of competent years; lest otherwise their want of experience betrays them to some dishonourable compact, or they alarm their master with false fears at their return. If it be possible, such persons ought rather to be employed who have received honours or advantage from their princes than any others; but above all, they ought to be men of great wisdom and experience, for nothing ever prospered that was managed by a fool. These kind of treaties ought likewise to be managed at a distance, and not near his camp; and when his plenipotentiaries return, he ought to hear them alone, or in as little company as he can, that if their news should be apt to dishearten the people, he may instruct and dictate what account they shall give to such as are inquisitive, for every body is inquiring after news from one that comes from a treaty; and particular friends expect they should tell them the whole secret of the negotiation; and several persons are so conceited as to brag "such an one will hide nothing from me;" but if the plenipotentiaries be such as I have prescribed, and know their masters to be wise, they will discover nothing to any man.

CHAP. X.

A digression concerning the virtues and vices of Lewis XI.

THE chief reason that induced me to enter upon this subject, is the observation I have made of the many fallacies and circumventions in the world, especially in servants towards their masters; and I have always found, that proud and stately princes who will

hear but few, are more liable to be imposed on than those who are open and accessible: but of all the princes that I ever had the honour to know, the wisest and most dexterous to extricate himself out of any danger or difficulties in time of adversity, was our master king Lewis XI. He was the most humble in his conversation and habit, and the most painful and indefatigable to win over any man to his side, that he thought capable of doing him either much mischief, or good; though he was often refused, he would never give over a man that he once undertook, but still pressed and continued his insinuations, promising him largely, and presenting him with such sums and pensions as he knew would satisfy his ambition; and for such as he had discarded in the time of peace and prosperity, he paid dear for their recovery when he had occasion for them again; but when he had once reconciled them, he retained no pique to them for what had passed, but employed them freely for the future. He was naturally kind and indulgent to persons of indifferent condition; and morose to such as he thought had no need of him. Never prince was so conversable, nor so inquisitive as he, for his desire was to know every body he could; and indeed he knew all persons of any authority or worth in England, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the territories of the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and in his own country; and by those qualities he preserved the crown upon his head, which was in much danger by the enemies he had created to himself by his inadvertency upon his accession to the crown. But above all, his great bounty and liberality did him the greatest service. And yet, as he behaved himself wisely in time of distress, so when he thought himself a little out of danger, though it were but by a truce, he would disoblige the servants and officers of his court by mean and trifling ways, which were little to his advantage; and as for peace, he could hardly endure the thoughts of it. He spoke slightly of most people, and rather before their faces than behind their backs, unless he was afraid of them, and of that sort there were a great many, for he was naturally timorous. When he had done himself any prejudice by his talk, or was apprehensive he should do, to make them amends whom he had injured, he would say to the person whom he had disobliged—"I am sensible my tongue has done me a great deal of mischief, but, on the other hand it has sometimes done me good; however, it is but reasonable I should make some reparation for the injury." And he never used those kind of apologies to any person but he did something for the person to whom he made it, and it was always considerable. It is certainly a great blessing for any prince to have experienced ad-

versity as well as prosperity, good as well as evil, and especially if the good outweighs the evil, as it did in our master. I am of opinion that the troubles he was involved in in his youth, when he fled from his father, and resided six successive years in the court of the duke of Burgundy, was of great service to him; for there he learned to be complaisant to such as he had occasion to use, which was no little improvement. As soon as his coronation was over, and he began to be a little settled in his kingdom, his mind was wholly bent upon revenge; but he quickly found the inconvenience, repented by degrees of his indiscretion, and made sufficient reparation for his error, by regaining those he had injured upon very dear terms, as shall be related hereafter. Besides, I am very confident that if his education had not been different from the usual education of such princes as I have seen in France, he could not so easily have worked himself out of his troubles; for they are brought up to nothing but an idle kind of vanity, both in their apparel and discourse. They have no knowledge of letters, no wise man suffered to come near them to improve their understandings; they have stewards and governors that manage their business, but they do nothing themselves: nay, there are some upstart ridiculous Frenchmen, who, though they have but a very slender income, will take a pride to bid you "Go to his servants, and let them answer you;" thinking by such answers to imitate the state and grandeur of a prince; and I have seen their servants manage them at such a rate, that all the world might see they were sots; and if afterwards they came to apply their mind to business, and would willingly have managed their own affairs, they began so late that they could make nothing of it. And it is certain, that all those who have performed any great or memorable action, worthy to be recorded in history, began always in their youth; and it is to be attributed to the method of his education, or some particular blessing from God.

CHAP. XI.

The Burgundians, drawn up near Paris, and in expectation of a battle, mistake high thistles for a body of lancers.

I FEAR I have dwelt too long upon this subject, though indeed it is of such a nature, I could not easily leave off; but however, to return to the war.

You have been informed how the king's forces that had entrenched themselves along the river Seine, abandoned their post and retreated to Paris the very hour we had designed to attack them. The truces never lasted above one day, or two at the most; at other times the war was pushed on with all the vigour imaginable, the skirmishes continuing from morning to night; and though they often beat our scouts home to our guards, yet they never sallied out of the town in any considerable body. I do not remember that one day passed without some action or other; and I believe the king would have been contented they should have been greater, but he was jealous of many persons, though without any cause. He told me once, that he found the gate of the Bastile, near the port St. Antoine, towards the fields, open one night, which made him entertain a great suspicion of Charles de Melun, whose father was then governor of that place. I shall say no more than I have done of the said Charles; but certainly never prince had a better servant than he shewed himself all that year.

It was resolved in a council of war which was held in the town one day, that they would sally out and venture a battle with us, I believe it was only a design of the great officers, and that the king was not privy to it. The project they had concerted, was to attack us in three several places at once; in one with a considerable body of forces that were to sally out of Paris; the other by Pont de Charenton, but that party could have done us no great mischief; and the third by a brigade of two hundred men at arms from Bois-de-Vincennes. About midnight we were informed of this design by a page who called to us over the river, by directions from some friends of the princes which were in the town, whose names he told us, and immediately returned. Just at break of day, the lord Poncet de Riviere appeared before Pont de Charenton; and the lord du Lau on the other side towords Bois-de-Vincennes, charged up as far as our artillery, and killed one of our engineers. The alarm was very great, and every body concluded it was the same design of which the page had given us notice in the night. The count de Charolois was immediately in arms, but not so soon as the duke of Calabria, who in all alarms was always the first mounted, his horse barbed, and himself completely armed; he wore such a garment as the great officers usually do in Italy; and indeed he had the air of a prince, and a great general. Whenever he came forth upon any alarm, his first course was to ride up to the barriers of our army, to keep our men from sallying out; and they obeyed his orders as readily as if the count had

been there himself, and to speak the truth he deserved it. In a moment our whole army was in arms, and drawn up within our waggons, all except two hundred horse who were abroad upon the guard; and unless it were that day, I never knew any great likelihood of a battle, but then every body expected it. By this time the dukes of Berry and Bretagne were come in, whom before that time I never saw in arms. The duke of Berry was armed at all points, but neither of them had any great body of troops with them; only they passed through the army and went to the quarters of the count and the duke of Calabria, where they had a conference together. Our scouts being reinforced, marched up as near as they could get to Paris, and could discover several of the king's party, who were sent out to learn what was the matter in our army. When the lord du Lau attacked us, our cannon played briskly upon him; and the Parisians having a large train of artillery mounted on their walls, fired as briskly into our camp, notwithstanding it was two good leagues off; but I supposed they mounted their muzzles and shot amongst us at random. This prodigious cannonading made both sides believe some great design was in agitation; and to be sure, we sent out our scouts, and the weather being cloudy and duskish, those who were got nearest the town discovered a party of horse upon the patrol; and beyond them, as they fancied, they perceived a great number of lancers standing upright, which they imagined to be the king's battalions drawn up in that field, and all the people of Paris with them; which fancy proceeded merely from the darkness of the day; upon which they retired immediately to the princes, who were then riding before our camp, acquainted them with what they had seen, and assured them of a battle. The French scouts seeing ours retreat, advanced continually upon them, which made their relation the more probable. The duke of Calabria came then where the standard of the count de Charolois was pitched, and most of the officers of his household ready to accompany it; his banner was ready to be displayed likewise, and the standard-bearer with his arms, which was the custom of that family; and being come up to us, he said "Courage gentlemen, we are now where we desired to be; the king and all his army, as our scouts inform us, are drawn out of Paris, and marching to engage us; behave yourselves like men, and as they march out we will march in, and measure out their commodities for them by the pike:" and after this manner he rode from rank to rank encouraging and animating the soldiers. By this time our scouts perceiving the enemy retreat, began to assume a little more courage, ventured

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something nearer, but still found the battalions in the same place and posture in which they left them, which put them into a new quandary; however, they stole up to them as near as they could, but could make nothing of them, till at length the day cleared, and they discovered them to be thistles: from thence they marched up to the very gates, but found no troops posted there, of which word was dispatched to the princes, and they went immediately to mass, and from thence to dinner. Those who brought the first news were much out of countenance, but the page's intelligence in the night, and the duskishness of the day, did in some measure excuse them.

CPAP. XII.

Of the conference between the king, and the count Charolois, in order to a peace.

HOWEVER, the treaty of peace between the king and the count went still on, and with greater vigour than ever; because the principal strength of both parties consisted in them: the princes' demands ran very high, the duke of Berry demanded all Normandy for his share, which the king positively refused: the count de Charolois, would have all the towns restored to him which were situated on the Somme, and had been delivered up by duke Philip to the king some three months before, for four hundred thousand crowns, which towns came into the hands of his father Philip, upon the treaty of Arras, and were surrendered to him in the time of Charles VII. These towns were Amiens, Abbeville, St. Quintin, Perronne, and others. The count de Charolois pretended, that during his life they ought not to have been ransomed, and put the king in mind of the great favours and obligations he had received from their family, how he had entertained and protected him for six years together, when he was in rebellion against his father king Charles VII. supplied him with money for his subsistence, attended him to Rheims to be inaugurated, and to Paris to his coronation; wherefore the count de Charolois took it very ill that he should offer to redeem the said towns, without his knowledge or consent, after so many engagements and obligations; however, the negotiation went on so prosperously, that the king came one morning by water right over against our camp, having drawn up a good body of horse upon the bank of the river, but in the boat with him, there were not above five or six besides

the boatmen. Among those who attended his majesty in the boat there were the lord du Lau, the lord de Montauban, at that time admiral of France, the lord de Nantoüillet, and others. The count de Charolois, and the count de St. Paul were at the same time upon the bank of the river on our side, attending his majesty. The king saluted him in these words—"Brother, (for his first wife was the king's sister) shall I be safe if I come to you, and will you assure me?" the count replied, as safe as a brother ought to be; then the king came on shore, and the lords with him: the count de Charolois, and the count de St. Paul received him with great honour (as reason good they should) and he being not sparing, after the compliments were passed, began in this manner—"brother, I find now you are a gentleman, and of the family of France"—"Why so?" replied the count de Charolois—"because," said the king, "when I sent my ambassadors lately to Lisle to wait on your father, and yourself, and that fool Morvilier talked so saucily to you, you sent me word by the archbishop of Narbonne, who is a gentleman, and indeed he has shewn himself so, for every one is pleased with him, that before the year was at an end, I should repent of what Morvilier had said to you. You have been as good as your word, and much before your time was expired." The king spoke these words smilingly, and after a very pleasant manner, as knowing the humour of the person to whom he spoke to be such, that he would be delighted with an expression of that nature; and indeed he was wonderfully pleased with it. Then the king proceeded—"It is with such persons that I would deal, who are punctual to their promise;" and afterwards his majesty disavowed whatever Morvilier had said to him, and denied that he had ever given him any such commission. In short, the king walked a long time between the two counts, the count de Charolois' guards standing by, in great numbers in their arms, and observing their motions. At this interview the count de Charolois demanded the duchy of Normandy, the towns situated upon the Somme, and several other particulars. Some proposals were made likewise for the good of the commonwealth; but those were least insisted upon, for the common was now turned into the private wealth: the king would not consent to part with Normandy upon any terms; but as for the towns upon the Somme, his majesty was willing to gratify the count de Charolois with them, and for his sake, to make the count de St. Paul constable of France: after which they took their leave of each other very kindly; the king went into his boat, and in that to Paris, and the counts returned to Conflans.

After this manner the time was spent, one day in peace and another in war; but though the negotiation between the commissioners at the Grange-aux-Merciers was broken off, and absolutely discontinued, yet the private transaction between the king and the count de Charolois went on still, and several persons passed daily between them notwithstanding the war; among the rest there was one William Bische, and another called Guillot Diusie, both of them servants to the count de Charolois, and both persons who had been obliged formerly to the king; for duke Philip having banished them upon some occasion, at the request of the count de Charolois, the king had entertained them. But these messages and correspondences were not pleasing to every body; the princes began to be jealous, and forsake one another; and had it not been for an accident which happened a few days after, in probability the camp had broke up, and we had marched shamefully home. I myself saw three several councils held in one chamber; and I saw one day, that the count de Charolois was highly displeased with it, for it was done twice in his presence, which he looked upon as great insolence, and a thing not fit to be done, to consult of any thing when he was by in the chamber, and not communicate it to him: he complained of it to the lord de Contay, who being a person of great wisdom and experience, as I said before, advised him to wink at it for the present, for if he should shew his disgust, they would make their peace better than he: and as he was the strongest, so he persuaded him to be the wisest, to be very cautious of provoking them to separate and break the confederacy, to keep them together with all possible industry, and smother his resentment whatever he thought. However he told him, that indeed it raised the wonder of several people, and some even about himself, that such inconsiderable persons as those two before mentioned, should be employed in managing so important an affair; remonstrating, that it could not but be very dangerous in respect of the bounty and liberality of the king. It is true, the lord de Contay had a pique against Bische, however he said no more than what others had said before him; and I am of opinion, it was not his passion so much, as the necessity of the matter, that made him speak as he did; however, the count de Charolois was well pleased with his counsel, and applied himself to treat and be more merry with the princes than formerly, to converse more freely both with them and their creatures, and not without cause; for in my judgment there was a necessity for it in respect of the great danger lest they should have forsaken him, and the whole confederacy have been dissolved.

In matters of this moment, a wise man is of great importance, but he must be believed, and then he is not to be purchased at too dear a rate. But I could never meet with any prince that would distinguish the difference between men till his necessity instructed him; and if he did, it was to no purpose, for they generally distribute their authority to such as are most complacent, and suitable to their years, or complying with their humours; and sometimes they are managed and led by the nose, by such as are only subservient to their pleasures. However, those princes who have any understanding, do quickly recollect themselves when they are in distress, and find their mistake, and so I observed our king did, the count de Charolois at that time, Edward IV. king of England, and several other princes; but these three especially I have seen in such exigence, that they have been glad of those very persons which before they had despised. As for the count de Charolois, when he was duke of Burgundy, and fortune had exalted him to a greater height of glory and honour than ever any of his family had arrived at, and made him so great, that he thought no prince in Christendom equal to him, God was pleased to put a stop to his glory, and to infatuate him so, that despising all counsel but his own, he lost his own life, sacrificed the lives of many thousands of his subjects most unfortunately to his boundless ambition, and brought his family to desolation, as is now visible to all the world.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Roan's being delivered into the hands of the duke of Bourbon, to be kept for the duke of Berry, and of the conclusion of the treaty of Conflans.

HAVING in the preceding chapter enlarged a little upon the dangers which occur in treaties, and the necessity that princes should prudently, and with circumspection, make choice of such persons as are fit to be employed in the negotiation of so important an affair; especially if they have the worst of the game. I shall now give an account of what it was that induced me to insist upon them so long: whilst these treaties were managed by way of meetings and conferences, and liberty allowed to converse freely one with another: instead of carrying on the general peace, it was proposed privately by some persons, that the duchy of Normandy should be put into the hands of the king's only brother, the duke

of Berry, out of which he should take an equivalent for his patrimony, and deliver up Berry to the king; and so cunningly was this bargain transacted, that the widow of the late grand seneschal of Normandy, with some of her relations and servants which were about her, received John duke of Bourbon into the castle of Roan, from whence he entered into the town, and the town quickly consented to the change, being desirous to have a prince who might keep his residence in that province, and most of the towns and places in Normandy followed the example; for the Normans have always thought, and do still think it reasonable, that so great a duchy as theirs is, should have a duke constantly resident among them; and to speak truth, it is very considerable in respect of the vast sums of money which are raised in it, for I myself have known it pay nine hundred and fifty thousand franks in one year, and some say more.

As soon as the town had revolted, all the inhabitants swore to the duke of Bourbon, to be true and faithful to the duke of Berry; except the bailiff, who had served the king as his valet de chambre when he was in Flanders, and had been in great favour with him, and one Monsieur William Piquart, afterwards general of Normandy; besides those two there was nobody scrupled it, but he that is at present grand seneschal of the said province, who returned to the king, contrary to the persuasion of his mother, though she, as is said before, had the greatest hand in the revolt.

The king no sooner heard the news of it, but finding it was not in his power to remedy what was already done, he resolved to conclude a peace, and immediately signified to the count de Charolois, who was then with his army, that he desired to have a conference with him, and appointed an hour when he would meet him in the fields near his camp, which was then about Conflans. Exactly at the appointed time the king marched out of Paris with about a hundred horse, most of them his Scotch guards, and very few besides: the count de Charolois, attended but by a very few, went to the place without further ceremony; yet so many followed after him, that by degrees their number was much superior to the king's; but the count caused them to keep off at a distance, while the king and he walked alone together a pretty while. The king told him the peace was concluded, and gave him an account of what had happened at Roan, of which the count was utterly ignorant till then, adding, that by his good will, he would never have given his brother so large a proportion; but since the Normans of themselves had made that change, he was contented, and would sign the treaty in the same form as had been insisted upon

several days before. The count de Charolois was extremely pleased to hear it, for his army was in great want of provisions, but more of money; and had not this unexpected accident happened, all the princes would have been forced to break up, and march away with dishonour. However, either that day, or not many days after, the count de Charolois was reinforced by a supply sent by his father Philip duke of Burgundy, consisting of six score men at arms, fifteen hundred archers, and six score thousand crowns upon ten sumpter horses, under the command of the lord de Saveuses; besides a great number of bows and arrows, which recruited the Burgundian army pretty well, they being jealous before, lest without that, the other princes would have clapped up a peace, and deserted them.

This discourse of peace was so pleasing both to the king and the count de Charolois, that (as I have heard him say since) as they were talking friendly together how the remaining difficulties might be adjusted, not regarding their way, they walked on to Paris; and so far they proceeded, that they were entered into a great bulwark of earth and wood, which the king had caused to be made at a good distance from the town, at the further end of a trench, whose other end led into the city. The count was attended but by five or six persons, who were all of them extremely surprised when they found where they were; however, the count put the best face on it that he could. But it is probable that at that time neither of those two princes had any design in it; for neither the one nor the other received any prejudice. When the news of the count's being got into one of the enemy's works was brought to the army, there was a great murmur in the camp, and immediately the count de St. Paul, the marshal of Burgundy, the lords de Contay and Haultbourdin, and several other of the chief officers met together about it, and unanimously agreed that both the count de Charolois and those that were with him had been guilty of a great piece of indiscretion, especially after the misfortune which had happened to his grandfather at Montereau-fault-Yonne in the presence of Charles VII. Hereupon they commanded the soldiers that were strolling up and down in the fields to repair to their arms; and the marshal of Burgundy, whose sirname was Neufchatel, spoke to this effect—"If this mad hair-brained young prince has cast away himself, let us not ruin the family, his father's interest, nor our own; my opinion therefore is, that every man should retire to his quarters, and be ready, without concerning ourselves for any thing that shall happen;

for, keeping together, we are able to make our retreat to the frontiers of Hainault, Picardy, or Burgundy, as we please."

After he had given his opinion in this manner, he and the count de St. Paul mounted on horseback and rode out of the camp to see if they could descry any body coming from Paris. After they had expected some time, they perceived a body of forty or fifty horse marching towards them, which was the count de Charolois and a convoy that the king had sent to guard him to his camp. When the count saw them coming towards him, he dismissed his convoy, and addressed himself to the marshal, of whom he was most afraid; for being a true old soldier, and firm to his interest, he took the liberty sometimes of reprimanding him severely and to tell him—"Whilst your father lives I am but borrowed, and none of your servant." The first thing the count said to him, was—"I pray be not angry, I am sensible of my folly, but I perceived it not till I was too near the bulwark to get off." The marshal replied, that it was done in his absence. The count bowed his head, and gave him no answer, but returned presently to the camp, where he was joyfully received by the whole army, and every one highly extolled the king's honour and generosity; but for all that, the count would never afterwards trust himself in his power.

The treaty of peace, called the treaty of Conflans, between king Lewis XI. on the one part, and Charles count de Charolois on the other. Paris, October 5, 1465.

Lewis, by the grace of God king of France, &c.

WE being desirous, of our own certain knowledge and good will, to reconcile to us our dearly beloved cousin and brother Charles count de Charolois, having regard to the great and good services, aids, and succours, he can, and is willing to give unto us and our crown; so that our kingdom may be guarded, and preserved on all sides from its antient enemies, and our other adversaries, peace, union, and tranquillity cultivated between us, our said brother and cousin, and other lords of our blood; all hostilities cease, and justice preserved and administered in our said kingdom. And also in consideration, and for a recompense of the great services and expenses our uncle the duke of Burgundy has been at, and performed for us, in the lifetime of our late most dear lord and father, whom God pardon, to whom, and into whose country, we had withdrawn ourselves in order to avoid the

dangers that were likely to threaten our person; and as well for the support of our own state, and that of our most dear and well-beloved queen, as also upon the account of several notable embassies to our said lord and father, to the pope, and to other potentates, in reference to our coming to the crown; as well as other great charges and expenses our said uncle, and our said brother and cousin, have been at to accompany us to our coronation at Rheims, and at our public entry to Paris, with a great number of armed men, for fear we might meet with any opposition in our kingdom; for all which charges, disbursements, and expenses, we have often agreed and promised to satisfy our said uncle, and our said cousin and brother: besides a pension of thirty thousand francs, which we had given and granted by way of recompense to our said brother and cousin, the payment of which, some time before our divisions, had been interrupted and stopped; we have, by the advice and deliberation of our brother the duke of Normandy, and of our well-beloved cousins the dukes of Bretagne, Calabria, Bourbon, and Nemours; the counts of Maine, Perche, Eu, and Armagnac; of the members of our privy council, and of our parliament, and other great men of our kingdom, given and transferred, and we do by these presents give and transfer to our said cousin the count de Charolois, in consideration, and for a recompense, as aforesaid; as also upon the account that our said brother and cousin has frankly and freely, so far as in him lay, been very instrumental with our said brother and other lords of our blood, to the appeasing of the said troubles, and the good of peace; to himself, his heirs, whether male or female, descending from him in a direct line, and the heirs of his said heirs also descending from them in a direct line, for ever, the cities, towns, territories, fortresses, and signiories, appertaining to us, at and upon the Somme, both on the one side and the other, viz. Amiens, St. Quintin, Corbin, Abbeville, together with all the county of Ponthieu, on both sides the said river, Dourlens, St. Riquier, Crevecæur, Arleux, Monstrevil, le Crotoy, Mortagne, with all their appurtenances and dependences, and whatever else may belong to us upon the account of our said crown from the said river Somme, inclusively on the side of Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, which our said uncle of Burgundy had and possessed lately by virtue of the treaty of Arras, and before the repurchase we had made of them; comprehending also, in reference to the towns situate upon the said river, the bailiwicks and shrievalties of the said cities, in the same manner as our said uncle held and possessed them, to be enjoyed by our said brother and cousin, and

his said heirs, and the heirs of his heirs, male or female, with all their profits and revenues, as well the domain, as the aids destined for war, and also the taillages, and all other profits whatsoever, as our said uncle enjoyed them, without any exception whatsoever, save the fealty, homage, and sovereignty; which transfer we have made, and do make, at the repurchase of two hundred thousand crowns of gold, current money: neither can we nor our successors buy the same again of our said brother and cousin, during his life; but only we and our successors may do it of the heirs of our said brother and cousin, descending from him in a direct line, and the heirs of the said heirs, descending also from them in a direct line, who shall be possessed of these territories, upon securing and paying to them once the said sum of two hundred thousand crowns, current money; for the securing of which repurchase, our said brother and cousin shall grant unto us his letters patent in due form. And our will and meaning is, that our said brother and cousin, and his heirs descending from him, that shall be possessed of those territories, may have such power, and at their pleasure constitute and appoint all such officers, as shall be necessary to be constituted and appointed, in reference to the demand of the said cities, towns, fortresses, lands, and signiories, and that the other officers which shall be necessary on account of royal privileges, aids, and taxes, be made by our successors' appointment, at the nomination of our said brother and cousin, and his heirs, to impose and levy those aids and taxes, as it was in the time that our said uncle the duke of Burgundy held and possessed them: moreover, as by the treaty of Arras, it was agreed among other things, that the county of Bologne should be, and continue in the possession of our uncle the duke of Burgundy, and the heirs male of his body, and that our late lord and father was obliged to make reparation to those who pretended a right to it: we from the above causes and considerations, and without derogating from the treaty of Arras, have agreed and declared, and we do agree and declare to our said brother and cousin, that he and his male or female children begot by him in wedlock, during their lives only, do and may hold and possess the said county of Bologne in the same manner and form, as our said brother and cousin by the treaty of Arras might hold and possess, and make benefit thereof, as their inheritance; and we hold ourselves obliged to make compensation to those who pretend a right in the said county, and to let our said brother and cousin and his children enjoy it: and we have also promised and agreed, and we do agree and promise to our said brother and cousin, that we will transfer and

make over, fully, frankly, and freely to him, and we do from henceforward transfer and make over, the castles, towns, chatellanies, and provostships of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, with all their appurtenances and appendages whatsoever, discharged of all mortgages and repurchases, with the same rights as they were transferred and made over to our said uncle his father, by the treaty of Arras, to hold and enjoy them in the same manner as is contained and declared in the said treaty; and we will cause and effectually procure, our most dear and well-beloved cousin the count of Nevers, to transfer and make over to our said cousin and brother the count de Charolois, all that right which he hath, or pretends to have, to those castles, towns, provostships, and chatellanies, and he shall surrender all that he possesses therein, and give possession thereof to our said brother and cousin the count de Charolois, or those commissioned by him: and herewith we have made over and transferred to our said brother and cousin, for himself, his heirs, and successors, in inheritance for ever, the county of Guisnes, with all its appurtenances and dependances, to be enjoyed by our said brother and cousin, and his heirs and successors, with all rights, profits, and emoluments whatsoever, as well of the domain, as the aids, taxes, and incomes whatsoever, without retaining or reserving any thing for ourselves; except the fealty, homage, and sovereignty thereof; and we hold ourselves obliged to make compensation to the Sieur de Croy and others, in respect to any right they have or pretend to have in the said county, and to keep our said brother and cousin and his heirs, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said county, against the said de Croy and all others: all which things we have and do promise *bona fide*, in the word of a king, upon our oath, and upon the penalty of all the estates that are now or shall be possessed of, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, to hold, keep, maintain, and execute every particular, in the same manner and form aforegoing, inviolably, so as never to contravene the same, either by ourselves or any other; neither shall we suffer any other, directly or indirectly, to contravene the same, openly or covertly, and all without any fraud, deceit, or evil design, and for the accomplishment and execution of the things above mentioned, and every of them, we do and shall submit to the coercion and power of our holy father the pope: and we do, and will consent, for ourselves and successors, in all courts as well ecclesiastical as civil, to be constrained to observe all and every of the things above mentioned, by renouncing all rights, privileges, ordinances, royal edicts, exceptions, and all things whatsoever, whereby any thing, either

in part or in the whole, shall be done contrary to the premises, as fully as if all the said rights, ordinances, edicts, exceptions, and other renunciations, were expressly declared and specified by these presents. Besides which, we will, charge, and expressly command, our well-beloved and faithful chancellor, our counsellors in our council of state, treasurers, superintendants of our finances, bailiffs, seneschals, and other justiciaries and officers, or their lieutenants, and every of them, so far as it relates to them, that they strictly observe, and in every particular fulfil these presents, and the contents of them; and that they neither do, nor suffer any thing to be done to the contrary; and when any thing shall be done to the contrary hereof, they shall immediately make reparation, and without any delay restore matters to their former state and condition, and especially these presents shall be verified in parliament, the chambers of accounts and finances, who shall cause the same to be published and registered every where they ought to be; notwithstanding any edicts made against alienating and putting out of our power the demesnes of our said crown, and all the restrictions, promises, and oaths, which we or any of our said officers might have made in general or particular, under any form of words whatsoever, whereby they might or would prevent the effect, fulfilling and accomplishing all that is contained in these presents; which ordinances, restrictions, promises, obligations, and oaths, we will not for the sake of peace, as to the present case, have to be in derogation or prejudice of the transfers, and the other things above mentioned, and of the said promises, oaths, or other restrictions, which our officers are subjected to, in contradiction to these particulars; but we do by these presents, and in fulfilling the contents thereof, hold and esteem them acquitted and fully discharged of them.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the peace that was concluded between the king, and the count de Charolois and his allies.

AT length all things were accommodated, and the next day the count de Charolois made a general muster of his whole army, to see what men he had left, and what he had lost: on a sudden without any warning the king came thither, attended only with thirty or forty horse, and went from regiment to regiment to take

a view of them all, except the marshal of Burgundy's squadron, who was no friend of the king's, because having given him the government of Espinal in Lorrain, he took it from him afterwards, and gave it to John duke of Calabria, to the great disgust and mortification of the said marshal. The king at last grew sensible of his error, and acknowledged he had been overseen in discarding, upon his first accession to the crown, those worthy and eminent persons, that had faithfully served his father, and that resenting the injury, had joined with the princes against him. The king used his utmost endeavours to retrieve the false step he had made, and by little and little reconciled himself to them. It was resolved that the next day all the lords should repair to Bois-de-Vincennes to do homage to the king, and for their security the castle of Vincennes should be put into the hands of the count de Charolois.

The next day according to agreement, the king came thither, and not one of the princes failed to attend him: the porch and gate were possessed, and strongly guarded by a good number of the duke of Burgundy's soldiers in their arms: as soon as the treaty of peace was read, the lord Charles of France did homage to the king for the dutchy of Normandy; the count de Charolois for the towns he held in Picardy; others for what they held in other places: and the count de St. Paul took his oath as constable of France. But there never was so plentiful an entertainment, but some body rose hungry: some had their utmost ambition gratified, and others got nothing at all: some honest, but inferior persons the king took to himself, but the greatest part remained with the duke of Bretagne, and the new duke of Normandy, who took their leave, and went to Roan to take possession of that town. At their departure from Bois-de-Vincennes, they all took leave of one another, every man retired to his lodgings, and the letters and pardons, and whatever else was agreed upon by the peace, was signed, and dispatched. All the princes departed upon the same day, the duke of Normandy, and Bretagne went first to Roan; and the duke of Bretagne afterwards into his own country: the count de Charolois retired towards Flanders, and as he was upon his way the king made him a visit, and conducted him to Villiers-le-Belle (a village some four leagues from Paris) expressing a great desire to maintain a friendship with him, and that night they lay together in the village. The king had but a very small party with him, but he had commmanded two hundred men at arms to attend him back again, which being told to the count de Charolois as he was going to bed, he immediately entertained a jealousy and suspicion, and ordered all his guards that were with him to

arm. From whence one may observe, that it is almost impossible for two great princes to agree long, by reason of the reports and suspicions which hourly arise: and indeed two great princes who are desirous to preserve a friendship more than ordinary, ought never to see one another, but rather employ such honest and wise men between them, as may cultivate their amity, and palliate their faults.

The next morning the two princes took their leave one of another, and with very kind and obliging language they parted. The king returned to Paris under the guard of the two hundred men at arms, that he had ordered thither for that purpose, which removed the suspicion the count had conceived of his majesty and them too: the count retired towards Compeigne and Noyon, and as he went, all the towns were opened to him, by the king's particular command: from thence he marched to Amiens, and received homage from that, and all the towns upon the Somme, and what formerly belonged to him in Picardy, was restored to him by virtue of the peace: for which places the king, as I said before, had payed four hundred thousand crowns of gold, not full nine months before. Having dispatched there, he marched towards the country of Liege, for that state had made war for five or six months upon his father, during his absence, in the counties of Namur, and Brabant, and done some mischief in those parts, but being in winter, he could not make any considerable progress; yet he burnt several towns, and made some small incursions into the territories of the Ligeois: but a peace was concluded between them, and the Ligeois were obliged, upon the penalty of a great sum of money, to observe it; after which the count de Charolois returned into Flanders.

A treaty of peace concluded at St. Maur-des-Fossez, between the dukes of Normandy, Bretagne, Calabria, and Lorain, Charles of Burgundy, the count de Charolois, the dukes of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, duke of Nemours, counts d'Armagnac, St. Paul, Albret and Dunois, and Lewis XI. of France. Oct. 29, 1465.

ALL hostilities are to cease entirely between the parties, their subjects and vassals, and a firm peace and tranquillity restored.

2. No reparation shall be required upon the account of these divisions from the said lords, their subjects, vassals, and adherents, or prosecutions made by law against them, but they shall live peaceably both within and without the kingdom, without molestation from the king or the said lords.

3. The said lords shall not, upon the account of what is passed, renew the war, either by themselves or others, but continue faithful to the king.

4. The king, on his part, shall be under the same obligations.

5. The subjects, vassals, and adherents, of both parties, shall return to the peaceable possession of their houses and inheritances, whether within or without the kingdom, and so remain without any cessions or donations to the contrary.

6. All moveable goods shall be restored to those they belonged to before the said troubles; as also all such as have been taken away during the truce.

7. The cities and communities which took part with either side shall no ways be molested and damaged in their privileges, or otherwise, on that account.

8. The places taken during the troubles on either side shall be restored.

9. The king shall not oblige the said lords to come to him in person, but yet so as that they are not exempted from the services they owe him, when there is occasion for the defence and manifest good of the kingdom.

10. And when the king shall please to go to the houses and habitations of the said lords, where they shall be in person, he is to give them three days notice; neither shall the said lords wait on the king, before they first send to know his pleasure.

11. If any crime shall be laid to the charge of the said lords or their adherents, the king shall not proceed against them, or detain their persons without the utmost deliberation, and very sufficient cause shewn; neither shall the said lords proceed against the king's servants or adherents for any crime alledged, without the maturest deliberation.

12. In order to redress all grievances and disorders on the part of the said lords and divers of the king's subjects of all conditions, in reference to church and state, and for the public good, the king shall give a commission to thirty-six eminent men of his kingdom to meet at a place appointed, to inquire into all such grievances and disorders, to hear and determine all remonstrances, and apply suitable remedies for the preservation of justice, the rights and franchises both of the church, and all the people.

13. And whatever edicts, ordinances, declarations, and the like, shall be made by the thirty-six persons or the major part of them, they shall within fifteen days after they are brought before the king, be verified in form in the courts of parliament, and chambers of accounts; and all the officers sworn to observe them, and no

instruments of the king from the chancery, or elsewhere, shall disannul or make them void.

14. The commission of the said thirty-six persons shall last two months, and they shall have power to adjourn once for forty-two days, and if any of their number shall be sick or incapacitated any way to act, the rest shall substitute others in their room.

15. The king and the said lords shall entirely maintain all the pacts and agreements made between them, as well in relation to the appennage of the duke of Normandy, as other things granted to the said lords and their adherents, as fully as if expressly set down in this treaty.

16. And seeing the king, during the said troubles, seized into his hands the lands and lordships of Parthenay, Vouvent, Mairevent, Secondigny, Coudray, Salvart, and Chasteillallou, and conferred the same upon his uncle the Count du Maine, in prejudice to, and to the dispossessing of the count de Dunois of the said territories; it is agreed for the public tranquillity, towards which the count de Dunois does much contribute, that the count du Maine shall surrender up all those lands to the king in due form, who shall effectually re-convey them to the count de Dunois, who shall enjoy them peaceably, and without any molestation whatsoever.

17. And the king shall, by way of compensation to the count du Maine, confer upon him the land and signiory of Taillebourg.

18. The king restores Anthony de Chabanes, count de Dammartin, to all his honours, castles, territories, &c. as he and his wife Margaret de Nanteuil enjoyed them in the time of the late king. All his personal estate shall also be restored, notwithstanding any decree of parliament to the contrary.

19. Both parties shall mutually swear to the exact observation of all these articles, and enjoin them to be observed by all their officers, parliaments, prelates, &c. and if the king would contravene any of them, they shall no manner of way assist him therein.

20. Both parties shall swear and promise they will not seek for a dispensation of their said oaths and promises on any occasion whatsoever.

Lastly, If any of the said lords shall attempt any thing against the king, in prejudice of the said treaty, the others shall be obliged to assist the king against them.

CHAP. XV.

Of the king's recovering into his hands whatever had been given to his brother, by the division between the dukes of Berry and Bretagne.

BUT to return to the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, who joined their armies together, and marched to take possession of the dutchy of Normandy: it was not long after they had made their public entry into Rouen, before they began to fall out and differ about the division of the spoil; for the persons of quality, and officers above-mentioned were still with them, and having been used to great authority and preferments in the reign of Charles VII. perceiving the war was at an end, and the king was not to be depended upon, they thought it hard not to be advanced to some considerable post, and every man expected the best place for himself.

The duke of Bretagne pretended to a share of them, and thought it very reasonable that part of them should be wholly at his disposal, since he had brought the greatest number of troops into the field, and had been at the greatest expense in the war; which the duke of Normandy refusing, the dispute grew so high, that, for the safety of his person, the duke of Bretagne was forced to retire to Mount St. Catharine, a little fort not far from the town; and the debate continued so strong, that the duke of Normandy, by the assistance of the citizens of the town, had resolved to have besieged him, had he not marched away directly for Bretagne. As soon as the king had received the news of this division, he drew down with his forces towards that country, and one may easily imagine he knew what he had to do, for he was perfect master in that science, and knew how to improve every thing to his own advantage. Those who had the command of the principal towns, began to deliver them up, and make their peace with him, in hopes of being restored to his favour again. I speak not of these affairs upon my own knowledge, for I was not there present, but as the king has since been pleased to inform me. He treated privately with the duke of Bretagne, who was in possession of some towns in the Lower Normandy, in hopes to persuade him to abandon his brother's interest; they had several conferences together at Caen, where they came to an accommodation, by which the said town of Caen, and several others were to remain in the hands of the lord de Lescut, with a certain number of the

standing forces; but this treaty was so intricate and perplexed, I believe neither of them understood it very well. Immediately after this, the duke of Bretagne returned into his own country, and the king towards his brother.

The duke of Normandy finding himself unable to hold out against the king, who had strengthened himself very much by the taking of Pont de l'Arche, and other places about him, resolved to fly, and take sanctuary in Flanders. The count de Charolois was still at St. Tron, a small town in the diocess of Liege, but much troubled and disturbed, his army having been defeated and broken, and part of it employed, though in the winter time, in the county of Liege, which vexed him at the heart, for the only thing which he most ambitiously desired, was to see a duke of Normandy; because by that means, the king would be much weakened, and be deprived of almost the third part of his kingdom. He ordered some forces immediately to be raised in Picardy, to reinforce the garrison of Dieppe, but before they could be assembled, the governor had made his peace, and the king became master of all the dutchy of Normandy, except such places as were in the custody of the lord de Lescut, upon the treaty at Caen.

CHAP. XVI.

The new duke of Normandy retires into Bretagne very poor and disconsolate, on account of his having failed in his design.

THE duke of Normandy, as I said before, had once a design to have retired into Flanders, but on a sudden a reconciliation was made between the duke of Bretagne and him, when it was too late; for both of them found their errors, and soon grew sensible that there was nothing in this world so firm and stable, but what division is able to destroy at last. And indeed it is next kin to an impossiblility, that many great lords of equal quality and power should continue long in a confederacy, unless one of them be invested with a supreme command and authority over the rest; and it is absolutely necessary, that that person should be a man of great wisdom, temper, and penetration, and highly beloved, to keep them all in obedience. With my own eyes I have seen many examples of this nature, and therefore I speak not by report: besides, the best of us all is but too much inclined to take exception to his own prejudice, without any regard to the consequences

which may follow; and in my opinion, one wise general with the command of ten thousand men, and money to pay them, is more to be feared and esteemed than ten, who every one of them has six thousand, and all of them allied and confederate together; and the reason is, because they have always so many ceremonies and punctilios of honour to be adjusted and accommodated between them, that half their opportunity is lost before they can agree among themselves.

In this manner the duke of Normandy retired into Bretagne, poor and disconsolate, being forsaken by all those officers that had served his father Charles VII. who had made their peace with the king, and were advanced to places of higher trust and honour than they ever enjoyed under his father. These two dukes were wise, as the proverb says, when it was too late, and kept themselves close in Bretagne with the lord de Lescut their chief minister of state; during which time, several ambassadors were still going and coming, sometimes from them to the king, sometimes from the king to them; now from them to the count de Charolois, then from the count to them; sometimes from the king to the duke of Burgundy, and then again from the duke of Burgundy to him; some for intelligence, and some to debauch and corrupt the principles of their respective subjects, and make what pernicious bargains they could, and all under the specious pretence of amity and friendship.

However, some were honest, and went with a true zeal to accommodate matters between them; but they were not a little conceited to presume so far upon their own wisdom, as to think that their presence could prevail any thing upon such powerful princes as they, who were cunning and penetrating, and understood their own interest too well. I saw the proposals myself, and truly, in my judgment, neither the one nor the other were reasonable. But there are a sort of people so vain and self conceited, as to believe they can perform things which they do not understand; for very often their masters are reserved, and will not open to them the secrets of their heart: people of such a kidney are sent only in formality, and to fill up a table, and many times to their own cost, for always they have some hanger-on or other, who have some secret designs, as I have observed at all times, and in all places wherever I have been concerned; so that, as I said before, great princes ought to be very careful into whose hands they commit the management of their affairs; and it also concerns those who are employed in negotiations abroad, to be very cautious how they undertake them; and he that can excuse

himself, and get off, unless he knows himself capable of performing it, and finds his master to be well affected to the business, is, in my judgment, the wisest man, for I have known many an honest man much puzzled and troubled in managing such an affair. I have known princes of quite contrary, or at least very different dispositions; some are of so subtle and jealous a temper, no man knew how to live with them, and they thought every body betrayed them: others are as confident on the other side, and commit too much to their ministers; but then they are so dull and so unskilful in state affairs, they cannot distinguish when a man does well or ill; and these princes are very wavering and inconstant, and their love changes suddenly into hatred, and their hatred into love; and though neither with the one nor the other, are there many good ministers to be found, and where they are, they do not continue long in favour, and are never safe; yet I had rather live with a wise than with a weak prince, for there a man may have an opportunity of excusing himself, and recovering his favour; but with the other there is no reconciliation, for he does nothing of himself, but refers all to his ministers, who have the sole administration of affairs, and then he changes his mind upon every trifling occasion. However, their subjects are obliged to obey them in the countries where they reign. But the result of all this is, that we place our confidence only in God, for in him, and in nothing else, all our virtue, goodness, and safety, consist. It is our misery that few people understand it till it is too late, and they have been taught by their misfortunes; yet it is better to be wise at last, than still to go on in a course of folly.

END OF BOOK I.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Wars between the duke of Burgundy and the Liegeois, and the taking, plundering, and razing the town of Dinant.

SOON after the pacification of the troubles of France, the duke of Burgundy began a war against the Liegeois, which lasted for several years, and whenever the king of France had a mind to interrupt him, he entered upon some new action against the Bretons; and in the mean time supported the Liegeois under-hand, which gave him a considerable diversion; upon which the duke of Burgundy always made his applications to his allies for succours, or else they came to some terms or cessation among themselves. In the year 1466 Dinant was taken by the duke of Burgundy, which is a town situated in the territory of Liege, strong for its bigness, and very rich by reason of the work which they make in copper, commonly called Dinantrie, and are pots, skillets, frying-pans, and such like ware. The duke of Burgundy, who died in June 1467, had so great an animosity to them, that he was carried to that siege in a litter. The reasons of his displeasure were, for the great cruelty which they had exercised upon his subjects in the county of Namur, and especially at a little town called Bouvines, about a quarter of a league from Dinant, there being only the river of Maes that parts them. Not long before that, the inhabitants of Dinant had besieged the town of Bouvines on the other side of the river, before which they had lain for the space of eight months, committed several acts of hostilities, and bombarded it continually with two brass, and other great pieces of cannon, battering the houses about their ears, and forcing the inhabitants to shelter themselves in their cellars and caves, where they continued during the whole siege. It is impossible to imagine the deadly hatred that these two towns had conceived one

against the other; yet their children frequently married together, there being no other towns of any consideration in that neighbourhood.

The year before the destruction of Dinant, which was the summer in which the count de Charolois arrived before Paris, and joined with the French lords which were in confederacy with him, the town made an agreement and peace with the count, by which they were obliged to pay him a certain sum of money, for a liberty of separating from the city of Liege, and managing their affairs apart. When people whose interest binds them together in an alliance divide and forsake one another, it is a certain sign of destruction, not only for towns and little states, but for princes and great potentates. But, because I suppose every body may have read or observed examples enough of this nature, I forbear to say any more than this, that king Lewis our master understood breaking and dividing of leagues, better than any prince that ever I knew, for he spared neither money nor pains, and that as well with the ministers as the masters.

But to return; by degrees the Dinanters began to repent heartily of the above-mentioned treaty, caused four of their chief citizens who had been instrumental in concluding the peace, to be most barbarously executed, and began the war afresh in the county of Namur. For these reasons, and upon the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants of Bouvines, this siege was undertaken by duke Philip; but the command of the army was given to his son, to which the count de St. Paul, constable of France, repaired; but coming from his house in a private capacity, and acting without any authority from the king, he could not bring any of the standing forces of the kingdom that were under his command to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, but was forced to content himself with what forces he could assemble on the frontiers of Picardy. The Dinanters made a bold sally one day, but it proved much to their disadvantage; for they were beaten so cruelly, that the eighth day after, their friends having no time to consider of their relief, the town was taken and set on fire, and the prisoners, about eight hundred, drowned before Bouvines. Whether God permitted it as a judgment upon them for their malice, I cannot determine, but certainly it was a dreadful revenge.

The next day after the taking of the town, the Liegeois, contrary to their agreement, arrived in great numbers to have relieved it, for by that treaty they had also obliged themselves not to meddle with the affairs of the Dinanters, as the Dinanters had separated from them.

Duke Philip, on account of his great age and infirmities, which would not suffer him to bear the fatigues of a camp any longer, returned home, but left his son with the whole army to prosecute the war and advance against Liegeois, whom we met with sooner than we expected; for by accident, and the fault of our guides, our vanguard lost their way, and our main body, in which most of the chief commanders were, fell as it were into their mouths. It was already late when we met, and yet we prepared to engage them, when immediately certain deputies arrived from them with a message to the count de Charolois, beseeching him, that in honour to the blessed virgin Mary (whose eve that was) he would commiserate their condition, and who also made the best excuse they could for breaking the treaty that was lately concluded between them. However, the Liegeois did not seem so submissive as the deputies represented them to be, but set a good face on the matter, and made a shew as if they intended to venture a battle. However, after the deputies had gone and returned three or four times, the peace made the year before was confirmed, and a certain sum of money was to be paid; and that the peace might be better observed than it was before, they promised to deliver three hundred hostages, which were to be named, and set down in a roll by the bishop of Liege and some of his officers that were then in the army, and to send them to the count de Charolois by eight o'clock the next morning. During the whole night the Burgundian army was in a great dread, for they were neither regularly encamped, nor enclosed with their waggons, but scattered up and down in separate bodies, and in a place very advantageous for the enemy, who were all foot, and much better acquainted with the country than we. Some of them had a desire to have attacked us, and if they had, in my opinion we must have been defeated; but those who transacted the peace opposed and hindered that enterprise.

As soon as it was break of day, our army drew together in one body immediately, our battalions appeared as they were drawn up in very good order, and our number was great, consisting of three thousand men at arms, good and bad, and twelve or fourteen thousand archers; besides a good body of foot out of the neighbouring country. We marched directly towards them, to receive our hostages, or fight them if they failed. We found them separated, and marching off in small bodies, and in disorder, as people wholly ignorant of order and martial conduct. It was by this time almost twelve o'clock, and no hostages delivered; the count de Charolois asked advice of the marshal of Burgundy whe-

ther he should fall upon them or not? the marshal replied, yes, they might do it without any danger, and they could not complain, for they themselves were in the fault. Then he asked the lord de Contay, who has been often named, and he was entirely of the same opinion, affirming that we should never have such another opportunity, shewing us how they were divided, and in disorder, and pressed hard for attacking them. The next person he asked was the count de St. Paul, constable of France, who was absolutely against it, alledging that it would be inconsistent both with his honour and engagement to fall upon them, and that it was impossible for so many people to come to a final resolution and be agreed so soon, especially in a business of that nature as chusing of hostages, and advised the count de Charolois rather to send to them, and see what they intended. The argument between these three great officers before the count de Charolois, took up a considerable time, and he was much divided how to determine the matter. On the one hand he saw his great and inveterate enemies defeated, and in his power, and that without any dangerous resistance; on the other he found his honour was at stake, and it would interfere with his promise. At last he concluded to send a trumpeter towards them, who met them bringing the hostages, upon which all were hush, and every man returned to his post. But the soldiers were mightily displeased with the constable's advice; they saw good plunder before their eyes, and they would fain have been at it. An embassy was sent immediately to Liege to ratify and confirm the treaty of peace; but the people, being inconstant, gave out that the count was afraid to engage them, fired their guns upon him, and committed many insolencies. The count after this returned into Flanders, and his father dying that summer, he celebrated his obsequies with great pomp and solemnity, and by an ambassador notified his death to the king.

CHAP. II.

The Liegeois break the peace with the duke of Burgundy, before called count de Charolois, upon which he engages and defeats them in a set battle.

DURING these wars, and ever since, secret and fresh intrigues were carried on by the princes. The king was so exceedingly exasperated against the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, that

they could not correspond, or hear from one another without great difficulty; sometimes their couriers were stopped, and in time of war they were forced to send their letters by sea, or at least the duke of Bretagne was obliged to send his messengers into England, who going by land to Dover, embarked there for Calais; for when they went the direct way by land, they were often in very great danger.

During all these years of dissention, and in others which succeeded for at least twenty years, or more, some in wars, and others in truces and circumventions, every one of the princes comprehending his allies, it pleased God to favour the realm of France so far, that the wars in England were not ended, though they had begun fifteen years before, and had been continued with many memorable and bloody battles, in which several brave men had been slain. In those wars both sides were accounted traitors, by reason that there were two families which pretended to the crown, one was the house of Lancaster, the other the house of York: and it is not to be doubted but that if England had been in the same condition it had been in formerly, the kingdom of France would have been in great danger of being invaded by a powerful army on that side. The king of France's aim in the mean time was chiefly to carry his design against the province of Bretagne, and he looked upon it as a more feasible attempt, and likelier to give him less resistance than any enterprise he could undertake against the house of Burgundy: besides, the Bretons were the people who protected and entertained all his malecontents, as his brother, and others whose interest and intelligence was great in his kingdom; for this cause he endeavoured very earnestly with the duke of Burgundy, by several advantageous offers and proposals to prevail with him to desert them, promising that upon those terms he also would abandon the Liegeois, and give no further protection to his malecontents. The duke of Burgundy would by no means consent to it, but made preparation for war against the Liegeois, who had broken the peace, and possessed themselves of a town called Ligny, driven out his garrison, and afterwards plundered it, notwithstanding the hostages which they had given the year before, were to be put to death, and a great sum of money to be paid besides, in case the treaty was violated on their part. He assembled his army about Louvain, a town in Brabant, and in the marches of Liege. The constable of France, who was now wholly devoted to the French interest, and had his residence in that kingdom, came to the duke with the cardinal Balüe and others, to let him know that the

Liegeois being in an alliance with the king of France, and comprehended in his truce, he should be obliged to relieve them in case the duke of Burgundy thought fit to invade them. However, they offered, that in case the duke would consent that their master might make war upon the Bretons, he would connive at his designs against the Liegeois. Their audience was short, and in public, and they continued there but one day: the duke, to justify his proceedings against the Liegeois, replied, that they had invaded him; that it was they themselves, and not he, who had broken the truce, and therefore having so much justice on his side, he was resolved to be revenged of his enemies without being obliged to abandon his confederates after a base and dishonourable manner. The next day, as the duke took horse, he gave them their dispatch, and told them aloud, that he desired his majesty not to attempt any thing against the Bretons. The constable pressed him very hard, and told him—"Sir, you do not choose, but take all; you will make war at your pleasure upon our allies, and oblige us to sit still, and not meddle with your's: it is not to be expected, and the king will never suffer it." The duke took his leave of them, and replied—"The Liegeois are now in arms, and within three days I believe we shall have a battle; if I lose it, I do not doubt but you will do as you think fit; but if I conquer, you will have a care of invading the Bretons:" and having said so, he mounted on horseback, and the ambassadors prepared to be gone; the duke marched in his armour from Louvain to besiege St. Tron with a very great army, for all the forces which could be got together in Burgundy had joined him: and to speak the truth, his army was far more numerous than any I had ever yet seen in my life.

Before his departure from Louvain, it was debated in council what was to be done with the hostages, and whether or not they should be put to death. Some were of opinion that they should all of them die, and particularly the lord de Contay was of that judgment; and indeed I never heard him speak so ill, and so unmercifully as at that time; for which reason it is necessary that princes should have several privy counsellors; since the wisest men are sometimes, nay too often partial, and prejudiced either out of love, hatred, contradiction, or indisposition of their bodies, for the counsel that is given after dinner is not always the best. But some may object, that persons guilty of any of those faults are not fit to be admitted into council at all. To which I answer, that we are all of us but men, and he who would find out such as should never fail to speak wisely, nor shew more passion at

one time than another, must seek them in heaven; for upon earth we cannot find them: but in recompense for this, sometimes he who has never been used to do so before, will speak wisely in councils, which makes amends for the other.

But to return to the debate: two or three, in deference to the authority and judgment of the lord de Contay, were also of his opinion; for in such councils there are many present, who not well understanding the affair that is in debate, give their sentiments, as they hear others before them, being extremely desirous to please, and ingratiate themselves with some person or other of great power and authority. After him, the question was put to the lord d'Himbercourt, who was born at Amiens, and was one of the wisest and gravest gentlemen I ever had the honour of being acquainted with. His opinion was, by all means to keep God on their side, and to let the world see that he was neither cruel nor revengeful, he thought it the most prudent way to release the three hundred hostages, because they delivered themselves up with a good intention, and in confidence that the peace would have been inviolably kept. However, he judged it proper that at their dismission they should be put in mind of the duke's mercy towards them, and exhorted to employ their utmost endeavour to persuade their brethren to consent to the conditions of an honourable peace, and that if they should not be able to prevail, that at least in acknowledgment of the duke's generosity they should engage never to bear arms against him, nor their bishop, who was then with him. This opinion was followed, and when the hostages were dismissed, they consented to what had been proposed to them, and they were told, that if they engaged, any of them, actually in the war, and were taken prisoners, they must expect to suffer death, and so they departed.

It will not be altogether impertinent to add, that after the lord de Contay had given his judgment in so cruel a manner against the poor hostages, part of which came in with the rest innocently, and without any compulsion, a gentleman who was then in the council whispered me in the ear, and said—"Do you observe that man, though he be antient, he is in good health and well; yet I dare lay a wager he dies within the year; for God will certainly punish him for the inhumanity of his advice:" and so it fell out, for he lived not long after; however, he did his master good service in one battle before his death, of which I shall speak hereafter.

But to return to my history. You have heard how the duke of Burgundy, upon his departure from Louvain, laid siege to St

Tron, and erected his batteries: in the town there was a garrison of three thousand Liegeois, commanded by a very good officer, who was the same person that had managed the treaty of peace, when we met them drawn up in order of battle the year before. The third day after our investing the town, the Liegeois, to the number of about thirty thousand or upwards, one with another, but all foot except five hundred, and a large train of artillery, came to raise the siege about ten o'clock in the morning: our first discovery of them was in a strong village called Bruestein, about half a league from our camp, encompassed partly with a great morass; and in their army was Francis Royet, bailiff of Lyons, and ambassador from the king to the Liegeois at that time. The alarm was brought immediately to our army; yet I must needs say our discipline was not exact, for we had no scouts abroad to bring us any intelligence of their approach, and the first news we had of them was from our forragers, who fled from them. I was never in any place with the duke of Burgundy, where I observed him to give good orders of himself, but only then. Immediately he drew all his battalions out into the field, except some few regiments which were left to block up the garrison; and among the rest he left five hundred English. Upon both sides of the village he placed twelve hundred men at arms, and posted himself with eight hundred more just before the town, but at a little farther distance. With the archers there were several persons of note and distinction on foot, besides a great many of the men at arms. The lord de Ravestein commanded the duke's van, consisting only of foot, part men at arms, and part archers, which marched up with some pieces of cannon to the very trenches, which were broad and deep, and full of water; yet with our arrows and our artillery together, we forced their intrenchments, and turned their cannon upon them. However, when our arrows failed us, the Liegeois took heart, and with their long pikes charging briskly upon our archers, and those who commanded them, they killed four or five hundred of us immediately; so that all our troops on that side began to give ground as if the battle had been lost. Upon this, the duke commanded the archers of his main battle to march under the command of Philip de Crevecœur, lord of Cordes, a wise man, and several other good officers, who falling upon the Liegeois with great courage and intrepidity, they were immediately broken. Neither the horse, which, as I said before, were drawn up on both sides of the village, nor the duke himself where he was posted could come at the Liegeois, to attack them, by reason of the morass, only

they were posted there to charge them in case our vanguard should have been repulsed, and the enemy thereby encouraged to march out into the plain. But the Liegeois, as soon as ever they were broken, fled along by the morass, and were not pursued by any but the foot; some horse the duke sent to follow the chase, but they were forced to go two leagues about to a pass; and the night drawing on, several of the Liegeois made their escape, which otherwise would have been slain: other troops he dispatched towards the town, where he heard a great noise, and suspected a sally; and indeed he was in the right, for they made three vigorous sallies, but were always repulsed by the English, whom the duke had posted in a certain place ready to charge them, though they behaved themselves very bravely. The Liegeois, who were broken, rallied a little about their waggons, and stood their ground for some time, but were at last entirely defeated. There were slain in this battle about nine thousand men, which to people that are tender of a lie, may seem very much: but in my time I have been in several actions, where for one man that was really slain, they have reported a hundred, thinking by such an account to sooth and please the vanity of their masters, though sometimes they abuse them. Yet if night had not come on, the Liegeois would certainly have lost near fifteen thousand. The battle being over, the duke of Burgundy with his whole army marched back to his camp, only a thousand or twelve hundred of his horse were sent two leagues about to a pass to pursue the enemy, there being no other way of coming at them, by reason of a little river which was between them and us. But the night hindered them from doing any great execution; yet some they killed, and others they took prisoners, though the greatest part of them saved themselves in the town. The lord de Contay did great service that day in ordering the battle, but a few days after he died in the town of Huy, and made a very good end. He was a person of great courage and wisdom, but he lived not many days after the cruel sentence which he had given against the hostages, as you heard before. As soon as the duke of Burgundy had pulled off his armour, he called for his secretary, and wrote a letter to the constable, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been at Louvain under that character but four days before, to give them an account of the victory, and to desire that nothing might be attempted against the Bretons.

Two days after this defeat, though their loss was not very great, the pride and insolence of this silly people were strangely abated: however, indeed, be it as it will, it is an act of impru-

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dence and rashness for any prince or general to expose their fortunes to the hazard of a battle if they can posssibly avoid it, for the loss of a small number of men, oftentimes occasions an incredible change and alteration in the courage of the army that has been defeated: not only in possessing their minds with a dread of the enemy, but, by infusing a disrespect and contempt of their commanders and privy-counsellors, it also makes them inclinable to mutiny and rebellion, and emboldens them to demand with more confidence than they were wont, and to resent with more insolence when they are denied, and three crowns will not satisfy them then so well, as one would have done before. Wherefore that general who has lost one battle, if he be wise, ought to be cautious how he engages suddenly again with those men who have been lately beaten, but should rather act defensively, or at least to enter upon some trifling action, in which there is a probability of succeeding, in order to regain their courage, by dispelling their fears. In all cases, the loss of a battle, is always attended with several ill consequences, and especially to him that is beaten: however, those who are fortunate, and desirous to put an end to the wars, also those whose infantry is better than their neighbours, as the English, and Swiss, may fight as they please without any fear of losing their honour. I name not those nations with any design to reflect upon the rest, but only because they have gained extraordinary victories, and are not to be kept long in the field without action, as the French, and the Italians, who are either more grave and sober, or more easily commanded. On the other hand, that prince who is so fortunate as to gain the victory, acquires greater esteem and reputation in his army than he had before, and the obedience of his subjects increasing in proportion to the idea they have conceived of his valour and conduct, in the height of their veneration they give him whatever he desires, and his soldiers become more daring and courageous: sometimes also princes are so immoderately vain-glorious, and puffed up with their victories, that they turn afterwards to their prejudice; but moderation, and a just use of success is a blessing which proceeds only from God, and is bestowed only where he pleases.

The garrison of St. Tron, being informed that the army which was sent to their relief was routed, and seeing themselves hemmed in on all sides, supposing the defeat much greater than it really was; surrendered the town, went away without their arms, and left ten men, such as the duke of Burgundy should choose, to be disposed of at his pleasure, which ten were beheaded, and six of

them were of the hostages who had been released not many days before, upon the conditions above-mentioned. Having taken the town, he decamped, and marched towards Tongres, which was apprehensive of a siege: but being unable to defend itself, without putting the duke to the trouble of erecting batteries against it, it surrendered upon the same terms, and left ten men likewise to his mercy, five of which were hostages, but all ten were put to death as the others were at St. Tron.

CHAP. III.

The Liegeois quarrel among themselves about surrendering their town, some agreeing, others refusing to do it, while, in the mean time, the lord d'Himbercourt found a way to enter and take possession of it for the duke of Burgundy.

FROM Tongres the duke of Burgundy marched directly against the city of Liege, which at that time was in great confusion and strangely divided: some were for standing a siege, positively affirming that the garrison was strong enough to hold out, and make a brave defence, and of this opinion was a certain knight called the lord Rasse de Lintre: others, on the contrary, who saw and considered the inevitable ruin and desolation of the whole country, if they persisted in that resolution, would needs have peace upon any terms; whereupon, as soon as the duke approached the city, some few overtures of peace were made by certain mean and inconsiderable persons: but it was promoted much more by some of the hostages who acted not as those I mentioned before, but acknowledged the favour they had received, and brought along with them three hundred of the chief citizens in their shirts, bare foot, and bare legged, and without hats, or any thing else upon their heads, who presented the duke with the keys of the city, and delivered themselves without any capitulation; only they begged the town might be neither plundered nor burnt. At the same time the duke of Burgundy was attended by the lord de Moüy, and one Monsieur John Prevost, one of the king's secretaries, who were the king's ambassadors to the duke, and came upon the same affair, and with the same request as the constable had done not many days before. The same day that things were in this manner accommodated, supposing all things concluded, and that there was nothing remaining but to enter the

city; he sent the lord d'Himbercourt before him, as a person who had great acquaintance and interest in that city, as having had a share in the administration of their affairs for several years together, whilst they continued in peace. But the citizens denied him entrance at first, and he was forced to take up his quarters in an abbey not far from the gates, with about fifty men at arms, of which number I myself was one, and two hundred other soldiers that were detached from the grand army. The duke of Burgundy sent him word to continue in that post if he thought himself secure; but if not, that he should retire to him, for the difficulty of the way would not permit him to send a reinforcement easily, in case of necessity, because all that side of the country was full of rocks, and very troublesome for troops to march in. The lord d'Himbercourt resolved not to abandon the abbey where he was posted, as being sufficiently strong, but detained five or six of the citizens who came to present the duke with the keys, to assist him as you shall understand. When the clock struck nine at night, we heard a bell ring, at which the people assembled in the town, and the lord d'Himbercourt was afraid it might be a signal to fall upon us, for he had certain intelligence that the lord Rasse de Lintre, and several others had openly declared against the peace; and his apprehensions was just and true, for they met for that purpose, and were ready to attack us: the lord d'Himbercourt told those who were with him—"If we can but amuse the enemy till midnight, we are safe enough, for they will be weary, and impatient to sleep, and then those who are our adversaries will leave the town, since they have miscarried in their design." In order to effect that, he dispatched two of the citizens, whom, as I said, he had retained, with certain articles very friendly and amicable, that he had caused to be drawn up for no other purpose, but only to give them an occasion of assembling the people, and gaining of time; for they always had a custom, and they retain it to this very day, upon any news of importance, to flock together to the bishop's palace upon the sounding of a bell that is within it.

When these two citizens came to the gate, which was not above two bow shots from our post, they found the people in great bodies, and in arms: some were for assaulting them, but others prevented it. Whereupon they called out aloud to the mayor of the city, and told him they had brought certain fair and honourable proposals in writing from the lord d'Himbercourt, the duke of Burgundy's lieutenant in those parts, and that he would do well to repair to the palace and peruse them. The mayor did accord-

ingly; and immediately we heard the palace bell ring again, by which we understood what they were about: our two citizens returned not, according to our expectations, for about an hour after we heard a greater noise at the gate than before, more of the people running down thither, crying out, and railing at us over the walls with most villanous invectives. By this manner of proceeding the lord d'Himbercourt knew the danger was worse than ever, and therefore he dispatched the other four citizens which were with him, with a letter to them in writing, importing, that he being appointed governor of that city by the duke of Burgundy, had treated them civilly, and would never consent to their destruction, for it was not long since he was made free of one of their companies, which was the goldsmiths, and had worn their livery, for which reason they might repose the more confidence in what he said. In short, he told them, that if they would enjoy the benefit of peace, and preserve their country from ruin, they must admit the duke into the town according to their promise, and submit to such terms as were contained in a certain schedule, which he also sent them. When he had thoroughly instructed his four citizens, they passed on directly to the gate as the others had done, but they found it wide open: some of the people threatened, and gave them very bad language; others were willing to hear what they had to say, and returned to the palace; and the bell ringing again, we were extremely pleased, and the noise at the gate began to decrease. In short, they were then a long time in the palace, and their conference lasted till two in the morning, in which assembly it was agreed that their promise should be kept, and that in the morning one of the gates should be delivered up to the lord d'Himbercourt; upon which resolution, the lord Rasse de Lintre and his party abandoned the town.

I should not have dwelt so long upon so inconsiderable a matter, had it not been to shew that sometimes by such artifices and expedients as these, which proceed from great judgment and penetration in state affairs, great dangers and inconveniences are prevented. The next morning by break of day, several of the hostages came to wait on the lord d'Himbercourt, and entreated him to go along with them to the palace, and swear to the two articles against firing and plundering the city, of which the people could not be otherwise secure, telling him that after that, they would give him possession of one of the gates: he sent an account of all that had happened to the duke of Burgundy, went himself into the city, and having taken the oath, he returned to the gate, caused those who were there upon the guard to come

down, and having put in a dozen of his own men at arms, and some archers in their places, he set up the duke of Burgundy's standard upon the gate: from thence he went to another gate, which was walled up, and put it into the hands of the bastard of Burgundy, whose quarters were close by: the third he delivered to the marshal of Burgundy, and the fourth to some gentlemen volunteers that accompanied him. Thus were the four gates of the city possessed by the duke of Burgundy's forces, and his banners erected upon them.

To give you a better insight into these affairs, it is necessary to acquaint you, that at that time Leige, except only five or six, was one of the strongest and most populous cities in those parts; besides which, great numbers of people being retired thither out of the adjacent country, the loss they had sustained in the late battle was not at all to be perceived, and they were in no want or necessity of any thing; it was in the depth of winter, and prodigious rains had fallen, which had strangely increased the natural softness and miriness of the country. On our side we were in great want both of provisions and money, and our army ready to break up; for which reason the duke of Burgundy had no inclination to have besieged it, and if he had been willing to have undertaken the siege, he was not in a capacity of doing it; so that if they had delayed the time but two days longer, he must have marched away as he came, without attempting any thing. All these things being considered, it must be owned that the lord d'Himbercourt gained immortal honour and reputation by the nice management of this important affair, which proceeded wholly from the grace of God towards him, for in human probability such wonderful success was not to be expected, nor could he ever have presumed to have wished for such a surprising turn of affairs as happened; and all the honours that were conferred on him, and the unparalleled success he met with in this expedition, the generality of the world looked upon as a just reward for his tenderness and compassion towards the poor hostages, whom we have mentioned before; and this I write the more willingly, because princes and others do many times complain and repine at such mercy and indulgence as they have granted to other people, esteeming themselves unfortunate, and imputing all their following disasters to that tenderness of soul, and resolving for the future never to be guilty of any such act of piety or generosity, which are two virtues that ought to be inseparable from their offices. In my judgment this is a wrong way of arguing, and proceeds from a base and degenerate mind wherever it is found: for a

prince, or any man else, who has never been deceived, is no better than a beast, nor knows any just difference between good and evil. Besides, men are not all of the same mould, and for the wickedness and ingratitude of one or two, we ought not to forbear doing good to many, when time and opportunity present themselves: however, at the same time, I would have all mankind so wise as to distinguish between persons, for all people are not equally meritorious; and indeed it is surprising to me how a wise man can be ungrateful to any one that has done any thing extraordinary to serve him; yet in this princes too often err, for he that advances a fool, never advantages himself long, and I think one of the greatest indications of wisdom that a prince can shew, is to converse with, and have about him, virtuous and wise men, for he shall always be esteemed of the same humour and inclination as they are, with whom he most intimately converses. So that to conclude this chapter, methinks the ingratitude of one person ought not to deter us from doing good to the rest, for perhaps the meanest of those whom you have once obliged, may some time or another render you such service, and return you such thanks, as may recompense the ingratitude and unthankfulness of the rest, as may be observed in these hostages, of which the greatest part were base and ungrateful, and very few of them had a just sense of the favour they had received; for of the whole number there were not above five or six, and yet those five or six managed the business so dexterously, that all was concluded to the duke of Burgundy's satisfaction.

CHAP. IV.

Of the duke of Burgundy's triumphal entry into the city of Liege, and the submission of the Gantois, who not long before had treated him disrespectfully.

THE next day after the delivering up of the gates to the Lord d'Himbercourt, the duke of Burgundy made his triumphal entry into Liege, the citizens having broken down the wall for twenty fathoms together, and filled up the ditch the length of the great breach. The duke himself made his entry on horse-back in the midst of his own guards, and chief officers of the army, dressed in a splendid and sumptuous habit, and riding on in great pomp and solemnity to the great church, where he alighted; with him there also entered on foot about two thousand men at arms in

complete armour, and two thousand archers, the rest of his forces remained in the camp without the town. To be short, he staid there some few days, during which time, he caused five or six of those who had been his hostages, to be put to death, and among the rest, the messenger of the town, for whom he had a more than ordinary hatred. He prescribed new laws, and exacted great sums upon them, which he pretended were due to him upon the breach of the peace and agreement with him some years before. He carried away with him all their arms and artillery, and caused all the walls and fortifications belonging to the town to be demolished.

When he had seen all these orders performed, he returned into his own country, where he was received with great honour and obedience, and particularly by the citizens of Ghent, who, before his expedition against the Liegeois, were in a kind of rebellion against him, with some other towns; but now they entertained him as a conqueror, the chief citizens marching on foot as far as Brussels to meet him, and carrying all the town banners along with them, which they did upon the account that, immediately upon the death of his father, he chose to make his entry into Ghent before any town besides, out of an opinion of his being better beloved there than in any other town in his whole dominions, and that, according to their example, all the rest would behave themselves towards him; and in that point he was right. The next day after his entry the citizens put themselves in arms, and drew up in the market-place, whither they brought the image of one of their saints called Saint-Lievin, and knocking the image against a small house, called la Maison de la Cueillete, where they collected certain gabels upon corn, raised for the payment of certain debts which the city had contracted when they paid the sum of money which was required by duke Philip of Burgundy upon their peace, after a two-years war with them, they pretended the saint had a mind to pass through that house erect, and without any distortion, upon which in a moment it was pulled down. The duke having notice of this tumult, repaired immediately to the market-place, and got up into an house to speak to them the better; several persons of quality that were then attending on him in arms, offered to go along with him, but he ordered them to stay before the town-house, and wait till he returned. However, the mob forced them by degrees into the market-place. The duke being got thither, commanded the image to be taken away, and carried back again into the church; some in obedience endeavoured to take it up, but others threw it down again where it was.

Their next insolence was to demand justice against certain persons in the city, who had embezzled part of the public stock; to which the duke answered, that he would take care and see them satisfied as to that particular: but finding they would not disperse, he returned to his palace, and they continued in the market-place for eight days together. The next morning they brought him certain articles, by which they demanded restitution of whatever duke Philip had taken from them in the late war, and among the rest this was one—That every company might have its banner according to the former custom, which are in all seventy-two. To avoid the danger he was in, he granted their demands, gave them whatever privileges they asked, and the word was no sooner spoken, but the banners were set up and displayed in the market place, being there before, and ready for that purpose: from whence one may probably conjecture, they would have done the same thing if the duke had denied their requests. His opinion was right, that if he made his first entry into Ghent, all the rest of the towns would follow its example, for several of them mutinied as they had done, killed their officers, and committed many other exorbitances. If he had believed his father's character of that people, which was, that the inhabitants of Ghent loved the son of their prince very well, but for their prince himself they never had any kindness, he had not been so much mistaken; for to speak impartially, next to the city of Liege, Ghent is the most fickle and inconstant town in the whole world. But among so many bad qualities, they have one good, and that is, that they never offer violence to the person of their prince: and indeed the chief citizens and better sort of the town are generally honest men, and much dissatisfied with the giddiness and inconstancy of the common people.

The duke was forced to wink at these insolences, lest he should have been engaged in a war with his own subjects and the Liegeois at the same time; but he resolved, if he succeeded in the enterprise he had undertaken, to call them afterwards to a severe account: and so it happened, for, as is said before, having only foot, they brought all their banners as far as Brussels to meet him, and all their privileges and charters which they had forced him to sign at their departure from Ghent. When in a grand assembly at the town-house at Brussels, and in the presence of several ambassadors, they presented him with the said banners and privileges, to dispose of as he pleased, he commanded his heralds to strip the banners from the staves to which they were fastened, and to send them to Boulogne, a town about ten leagues from

Calais, upon the sea, where the rest were then kept, which duke Philip had taken from them in his wars, in which he had vanquished and subdued them. The duke's chancellor also took their charter and all their privileges, and cancelled one of them (relating to the magistracy of that city) before their faces; for in all the other towns of Flanders the duke renews the magistrates every year, and receives their accounts: but by virtue of this privilege he could elect but four, though the whole number was six-and-twenty, the two-and-twenty remaining being left to the nomination of the city. When these magistrates are well-affected to the earls of Flanders, that year they are at peace, and they grant him whatever he desires; but when, on the contrary, they are disaffected, seditions arise, and all goes to wreck. Besides this, they were fined, and paid thirty thousand florins to the duke, and six thousand to his courtiers, and some of their townsmen were banished, and then all the rest of their privileges were restored. The rest of the towns, following their example, bought off their crimes, and made their peace with their money; but they had attempted nothing so heinous as the insolence which the people of Ghent had committed against his person: by all which it evidently appears what advantages follow the conqueror, and what losses, the conquered: for which reason we ought to be very cautious of coming to a battle before there be a necessity for it; and if any such necessity happen, all things are to be seriously weighed and considered before we engage, and commonly those who are wary, and go to it with fear, are most circumspect, and by consequence more frequently successful than those who are arrogant and presumptuous: but when God interposes, man's wisdom signifies nothing.

The Liegeios, of whom we were speaking, were excommunicated five years together for some difference between them and their bishop, but they despised his excommunication, and continued in their obstinacy, without any other reason besides their riches and pride. And to this purpose king Lewis had an aphorism, and in my judgment a wise one—That when pride went before, shame and destruction would follow; but he had not the least tincture of that in him.

CHAP. V.

Of the king of France's making war in Bretagne, upon the duke of Burgundy's allies, upon intelligence of what had happened to the Liegeois, and the interview and conference of these two princes at Peronne.

THESE commotions being over, the duke of Burgundy retired to Ghent, where he was most honourably and magnificently received; he entered the city in arms, and the citizens made a postern into the fields, that he might bring in or keep out what company he pleased: several ambassadors were sent to him from the king, and others sent from the duke to him; the duke of Burgundy also sent several embassies to the duke of Bretagne, and in this manner all that winter was spent. The king was very solicitous and pressing with the duke of Burgundy to abandon the duke of Bretagne's interest, and made him several advantageous proposals to that purpose; but the duke would not consent, which was much to his majesty's dissatisfaction, especially when he considered what had happened to the Liegeois who were his allies. As soon as summer was come, the king could contain no longer, but himself, or his forces entered Bretagne, and made themselves masters of two small castles, one of them called Chantocè, and the other Ancenis. The duke of Burgundy had notice immediately of the taking these places; and at the earnest solicitation and importunity of the dukes of Normandy and Bretagne, he raised an army with all expedition, and wrote to the king, entreating him to desist from that enterprise; for they were his allies, and comprehended in his truce; but not being pleased with the king's answer, the duke took the field, and rendezvoused at Peronne, with a considerable force. The king himself was at Compiegne, but his army was in Bretagne: the duke staid at Peronne but three or four days, during which time, the cardinal Balüe, who made but a short stay, arrived there as ambassador from the king. He made some overtures to the duke, and told him, that the Bretons could make their peace without his interposition; but the king's design was to separate them and break the confederacy. The cardinal was received very honourably, and dispatched with this answer, that the duke had not taken the field to invade his majesty, nor to make war upon him, but

only to relieve his allies, and so they parted with fair words on both sides.

No sooner was the cardinal departed, but an herald arrived from the dukes of Normandy and Bretagne, with letters, importing that they had made their peace with the king, and renounced all their alliances, and particularly his; and that in satisfaction of all his demands, the duke of Normandy was to receive a pension of sixty thousand livres *per annum*, for which he was to relinquish the interest which was lately conferred upon him in Normandy: Charles of France duke of Normandy was not at all pleased with his terms, but there was a necessity of his complying with it, and he was forced to dissemble his resentment: the duke of Burgundy was extremely surprised at the news, for he had raised this army on purpose to relieve them; the herald was in no little danger, for having passed through the king's quarters, the duke had a suspicion the king had forged the letters; but it was not long before they were confirmed from several places.—The king thought he had now done his business, and that it would be no hard matter to persuade the duke to abandon them: several messengers passed privately between them, and at length the king paid the duke of Burgundy six score thousand crowns of gold in consideration of the expense which he had been at, in raising his army; a part of which sum was paid down, before he broke up from his camp. The duke sent to the king one John Vobrisset, a gentleman of his bed chamber, a person with whom he was more than ordinarily intimate, which the king taking very kindly, he took the confidence to propose an interview, hoping he might gain him entirely over to his party, considering how the two above-mentioned dukes had served him, and what a sum of money he had paid him himself; of which he gave him some hint and intimation by the said Vobrisset, with whom he dispatched the cardinal Balüe a second time, and the lord Tanneguy du Chastel governor of Rousillon, who represented to the duke the great desire his majesty had to give him a meeting. They found the duke at Peronne, but he had no fancy to the interview, for the Liegeois seemed inclinable to rebel again, at the instigation of two ambassadors which the king had sent to them to that purpose, before the truce which was made for certain days between the king, the duke of Burgundy, and their allies: the cardinal and his friends replied—That the Liegeois durst not attempt any such thing, since he had not only dismantled their fortifications the year before, but also demolished their walls, and if they had

any such design in view, the news of this accommodation would be sufficient to prevent it. In this manner it was concluded, that the king should repair to Peronne (which was the place he had recommended, and the duke having written to him with his own hand, and delivered a passport, for his better security, to the ambassadors, they took their leave, and departed towards the king, who was at that time at Noyon: but to make all sure at Liege, the duke sent the bishop thither, upon whose score those tumults had happened, and with him the lord d'Himbercourt his lieutenant in that country, with a considerable body of forces.

You have heard how it was agreed the king should come to Peronne: thither he came without any guard more than the passport, and parole of the duke of Burgundy, only he desired that the duke's archers under the command of the lord des Cordes, who was then in the duke's service, might meet and conduct him; and so it was done, very few of his own train coming along with him: however, his majesty was attended by several persons of great quality and distinction, and among the rest the duke of Bourbon, the cardinal his brother, and the count de St. Paul constable of France, who had no hand in this interview, but was highly displeased with it, for he was now grown haughty, and disdained to pay that respect to the duke which he had formerly done; for which cause there was no true friendship between them: besides these, there came the cardinal Balüe, the governor of Rousillon, and several others. When the king came near, the duke went out, very well attended, to meet him, conducted him into the town, and lodged him at the Receiver's, who had a fine house not far from the castle, for the lodgings in the castle were but small, and no way convenient.

[1468.] War between two great princes is easily begun, but very hard to be composed, by reason of the accidents and consequences which often follow; for many secret practices are used, and orders given out on both sides to make the greatest efforts possible against the enemy, which cannot presently be countermanded, as evidently appear by these two princes, whose interview was so suddenly determined, that neither having time to notify it to their ministers in remote parts, they had already performed the commands which their respective masters had given them before. The duke of Burgundy had sent for his army out of Burgundy, where at that time there was abundance of the nobility which came along with the army, and among the rest, the count de Bresse, the Bishop of Geneva, and the count de Romont, all three brothers of the house of Savoy, for between the Savoyards and Burgun-

dians, there was always a firm amity, and some Germans who were borderers upon both their territories; you must know that the king had formerly imprisoned the count de Bresse upon the account of two gentlemen which he had put to death in Savoy, so that there was no right understanding between him and the king.

In this army there were likewise one Monsieur du Lau, who had been a favourite of the king's, but upon some disgust kept afterwards a prisoner by him a long time, till at length he made his escape, and fled into Burgundy; the lord d'Urfè since Master of the horse to the king of France; and the lord Poncet de Riviere, all which company arrived before Peronne as the king came into the town. Bresse and the three last, supposing they should have been time enough to have paid their respects to the duke of Burgundy, and have attended him when he went out to receive the king, entered the town with St. Andrew's cross upon their clothes, but they came a little too late; however, they went directly to the duke's chamber, to pay their duty, and in the name of the rest, the count de Bresse humbly besought his highness that himself and his three companions might have his protection, notwithstanding the king was in the town, according to the promise he was pleased to make them in Burgundy, and at the same time, assuring him they were at his service, when, and against whomsoever, he would command them; the duke returned them thanks, and promised them protection. The rest of this army under the command of the marshal of Burgundy encamped by the duke's orders in the fields. The marshal had no more affection for the king, than the above-mentioned gentlemen had, for the king had given him the government of Espinal in Lorrain, and taken it from him afterwards to give it to John duke of Calabria, as has often been mentioned before; the king had notice presently of all these persons being in town, and of the habits in which they arrived, which put him into a great consternation, so that he sent to the duke of Burgundy to desire he might be lodged in the castle, for he knew those gentlemen were his mortal enemies; the duke was extremely glad to hear it, appointed him his own lodgings, and sent to him to bid him fear nothing.

CHAP. VI.

Digression concerning the advantage which the knowledge of letters, and more especially history, is to princes and great lords.

IT is the highest act of imprudence for any prince to put himself into the power of another, especially if they be at war; and it is no less advantageous to them to be well acquainted in their youth with the passages and surprising accidents of former times, for history shews them at large the success of such assemblies, the frauds, artifices, and perjuries wherewith they have inveigled, imprisoned, and killed such, as, relying upon the honour of their enemies, have put themselves into their hands. I do not say that every body has met with such treacherous dealing, but one example is sufficient to make many people more wise, and teach them to be careful of themselves. It appears to me upon the experience of eighteen years business, in which I have not only been conversant with great princes, but privy to all the greatest affairs which have been transacted in France, or the neighbouring provinces, that one of the greatest means to make a man wise is to have studied the histories of ancient times, and to have learned to frame and proportion our councils and undertakings according to the model and example of our ancestors; for our life is but of a short duration, and not sufficient to give us experience of so many things; besides our age is impaired, and the life of man not so long, nor his body so strong and robust as formerly; and as our bodies are degenerated and grown weaker, so is our faith and fidelity one towards another, especially among princes, who are altogether wedded to their own humours, without regard to any reason that can be offered; and, which is still worse, they are commonly surrounded by persons whose only aim is to please their masters, and applaud whatever they do or say, whether it be good or bad; and if any wise man interposes, and endeavours to set things in a better light, the whole court is presently in an uproar.

Again, I cannot forbear blaming and discommending illiterate princes, who generally are led by the nose by certain lawyers and priests, which they keep commonly about them, and indeed not without reason, for as they are very serviceable to a prince, and an ornament to his court, when they are persons of honour and probity, so they are as dangerous if they prove otherwise, who have always some law or president in their mouths, which they wrest and pervert as they please; but a wise prince, and one that

has read history, will never be deluded; nor will any courtier be so audacious as to tell a lie in his presence. Believe me, God never designed the office of a king to be executed by beasts, or such as glory and pride themselves in such answers as these—"I am no scholar, I refer business wholly to my council, and commit all things to their management"—and then devote themselves entirely to their pleasures, without further reason or expostulation: had they been better educated in their youth, they would have been wiser, and have earnestly desired that their person and their virtues might have been valued and esteemed by all good men. I do not say all princes employ such kind of people, but most of them whom I had ever the honour to converse with, had always abundance of them. I have known indeed, upon an exigence of affairs, some wise princes that understood how to cull and select their ministers, and employ them frankly and without complaint; but of this sort I knew none comparable to the king my master, than whom no prince better understood the merit of brave and learned persons, nor more readily advanced such to the highest posts of honour and advantage. He was not unlearned himself, he delighted much in asking questions, and would know a little of every thing; his judgment and natural parts were excellent, which is better and more preferable than all that we can learn in this world; for all the books that ever were written, are only so many helps and assistances to our memory by the recapitulation of passages of old: for this reason a man has a greater insight into affairs by reading one single book, in three months time, than can be observed or understood by the age or experience of twenty men living successively one after another: so that, to finish this digression, I am of opinion that God cannot send a greater curse or affliction upon any nation than an unlearned and inconsiderate prince, for from hence all other misfortunes and miseries arise, and in the first place wars and division; by his committing to other persons his own peculiar authority, of which he ought to be more tender than of any thing besides, and from this division famine and mortality arise, and all the dreadful consequences attending upon war: by which one may perceive how much all good subjects have reason to lament when they see the education of their young princes so miserably neglected, having no wisdom nor understanding of their own affairs, and left wholly in the power and management of persons of no qualifications nor desert.

CHAP. VII.

The occasion of the king's being seized and secured in the castle of Peronne by the duke of Burgundy.

WE have already given an account of the arrival of this Burgundian army at Peronne, almost at the same instant with the king; for being on their march before this interview was determined upon, the duke of Burgundy had no time to countermand the orders he had given them, and their coming was a great check and impediment to the mirth that was intended, by reason of certain jealousies and suspicions which were entertained on both sides. However, these two princes deputed some of their ministers of state to meet and negotiate their affairs in the most mild and amicable way that could be thought of: but whilst the treaty was in a fair way of accommodation, and three or four days had been already spent in bringing it to a conclusion, news arrived of a strange turn of affairs at Liege, of which I shall give the following relation. The king at his coming to Peronne had quite forgot his sending of two ambassadors to Liege to stir them up to a rebellion against the duke, and they had managed the affair with such diligence, that they had got together such a considerable number, that the Liegeois went privately to Tongres, where the bishop of Liege and the lord d'Himbercourt were quartered with more than two thousand men, with a design to surprise them: the bishop, the lord d'Himbercourt, and some of the bishop's servants were taken, but the rest fled, and left whatever they had behind them, as despairing to defend themselves. After which action the Liegeois marching back again to Liege, which is not far from Tongres, the lord d'Himbercourt made an agreement for his ransom with one monsieur William de Ville, called by the French, le Sauvage, a knight, who, suspecting the Liegeois would kill him in their fury, suffered the lord d'Himbercourt to escape, but was slain himself not long after; the people were exceedingly overjoyed at the taking of their bishop: there were also taken with him that day, several canons of the church whom the people equally hated, and killed five or six of them for their first repast; among the rest there was one monsieur Robert, an intimate friend of the bishop's, and a person I have often seen attending him armed at all points, for in Germany it is the custom of the prelates; they slew this Robert in the bishop's presence, cut him into small pieces, and in sport threw them at one another's heads: before they

had marched seven or eight leagues, which was their full journey, they killed about sixteen canons and other persons, the greatest part of which were the bishop's servants; but they released some of the Burgundians, for they had been privately informed, that some overtures of peace had already been made, and they were forced to pretend that what they had done was only against their bishop, whom they brought prisoner along with them into their city. Those who fled, as I said before, gave the alarm to the whole country, and it was not long before the duke had the news of it: some said all of them were put to the sword; others affirmed the contrary, for in things of that nature, one messenger seldom comes alone, but there were some who had seen the habits of the canons who were slain, and supposing the bishop and the lord d'Himbercourt had been of the number, they positively averred that all that had not escaped were killed, and that they saw the king's ambassadors among the Liegeois, and they mentioned their very names. All this being related to the duke, he gave credit to it immediately; and falling into a violent passion against the king, he charged him with a design of deluding him by his coming thither; ordered the gates both of the town and castle to be shut up, and gave out by way of pretence, that it was done for the discovery of a certain cabinet which was lost, and in which there was money and jewels to a very considerable value. When the king saw himself shut up in the castle, and guards posted at the gates, and especially when he found himself lodged near a certain tower in which the count de Vermandois had caused his predecessor, one of the kings of France, to be put to death; he was in great apprehension: I was at that time waiting upon the duke of Burgundy in the quality of chamberlain, and, when I pleased, I lay in his chamber, as was the custom of that family. When he saw the gates were shut, he ordered the room to be cleared, and told us who remained, that the king was come hither to circumvent him; that he himself had never approved of the interview, but had complied purely to gratify the king; then he gave us a relation of the passages at Liege, how the king had behaved himself by his ambassadors, and that all his forces were killed. He was much incensed, and threatened his majesty exceedingly; and I am of opinion, that if he had had then such persons about him as would have fomented his passion, and encouraged him to any violence upon the king's person, he would certainly have done it, or at least committed him to the tower. None were present at the speaking of these words but myself, and two grooms of his chamber, one of whom was called Charles de Visin, born at Dijon, a man of hon-

our, and highly esteemed by his master. We did not exasperate, but sweetened his temper as much as possibly we could. Some time after he used the same expressions to other people; and the news being carried about the town, it came at last to the king's ear, who was in a great surprise and consternation, and indeed so was every body else, foreseeing a great deal of mischief, and reflecting on the variety of things which were to be managed for the reconciling of a difference begun between two such puissant princes, and the errors of which both of them were guilty, in not giving timely notice to their ministers employed in their remote affairs, which must of necessity produce some extraordinary and surprising event.

CHAP. VIII.

A digression, demonstrating that when two great princes meet, in order to adjust their differences, such interviews are generally more prejudicial than profitable.

IT is the highest act of imprudence for two great princes, provided there is any equality in their power, to admit of an interview, unless it be in their youth, when their minds are wholly engaged and taken up with entertainments of mirth and pleasure; but when they are come to years of emulation, and their jealousies of each other apt to increase upon every slight occasion, though their persons should be in no danger, which is almost impossible, yet their heart-burnings and animosities will certainly augment. It were better, therefore, that they accommodated their differences by the mediation of wise and faithful ministers, as I have sufficiently instanced already in these my memoirs: however, I will give some examples of the like nature, in my own time, part of which I have seen myself, and the rest I have been informed of by very good hands.

Not many years after the coronation of our king, and just before the confederacy called the Public Good, there was an interview between the kings of France and Castile, princes of the nearest alliance in Christendom, for the kings are akin, their kingdoms almost contiguous, and their subjects bound by oaths and execrations to preserve it inviolable. To this interview Henry king of Castile came to Fontarabia very splendidly attended, and the king of France came to St. John de Luz, about four leagues distance,

and each of them were upon the very borders of their kingdoms; I was not present myself, but I had my relation from the king, and from Monsieur du Lau, and it was confirmed to me afterwards by several persons in Castile, who were then present with their king, and particularly by the grand master of St. James, and the archbishop of Toledo, the two greatest persons in that kingdom at that time. There was present also the count de Lodesme, that king's favourite, in great splendour, with his guards consisting of three hundred horse, all Moors of Grenada or Negroes. It is true indeed, that king Henry was a person of no great sense, for he had either given away all his patrimony, or suffered it to be taken or embezzled by any person that had a mind to it. Our king was also well attended according to his custom, and his guards made a glorious appearance. The queen of Arragon was present at that treaty upon occasion of a difference between her and the king of Castile about Estella, and some other places in Navarre, of which difference the king of France was made umpire. To continue our proposition, that the interview of great princes is not necessary, but rather dangerous, you must know, these two kings had never had any quarrels, neither was there the least difference between them; they saw one another not above once or twice upon the bank of a river, which parts the two kingdoms, near a little castle called Heurtebise, where the king of Castile passed over to the other side, but they staid no longer together, than the great master of St. James and the archbishop of Toledo thought good, which being observed by the king of France, he desired their acquaintance, and they went to wait on him at St. John de Luz. His majesty received them very honourably, and a mighty friendship and intelligence was settled between them and the king of France, who immediately began to dislike the king of Castile, and had but little value and esteem for him. The greatest part of their attendants were quartered at Bayonne, between whom several quarrels immediately arose, notwithstanding the alliance; their languages also were different. The count de Lodesme passed the river in a boat whose sail was of cloth of gold; he was himself in a pair of Buskins set thick with precious stones, in which he went to wait on the king; though he was not really a count, yet he was very rich, and I saw him afterwards made duke of Albourg, and invested with great possessions in Castile. Several jests and scoffs happened between these two nations, notwithstanding their alliance. The king of Castile's person was homely, and his dress did not please the French, who laughed at and derided both. Our king wore a

short coat, as ill made as was possible; sometimes he wore very coarse cloth, and particularly then; his hat was old, and differing from every bodies else, by an image of lead which he carried upon it. The Castilians laughed as heartily at his dress, supposing it his covetousness. In short, the convention broke up, and they parted, but with such scorn and contempt on both sides, that the two kings never loved one another heartily afterwards; and such quarrels and animosities arose in the court of Castile among the courtiers, as continued to the king's death, and a long time after. I saw the king afterwards forsaken by all his servants, and the poorest and most despicable prince in the world. The queen of Arragon was also much dissatisfied with the sentence which the king of France had given in favour of the king of Castile, and both she and the king of Arragon hated him for it ever after; it is true they made use of him against the town of Barcelona afterwards in their extremity; but that friendship lasted not long, for a war broke out between our king and the king of Arragon, which lasted sixteen years, and remains yet undetermined: but to give other examples.

Since that time Charles duke of Burgundy with great labour and solicitation obtained an interview with the emperor Frederick, who is still living, and spent vast sums of money to shew his grandeur and magnificence: the place of meeting was at Treves, where several things were discoursed of, and among the rest a marriage between their children, which was afterwards accomplished. After they had been several days together, on a sudden the emperor departed without so much as taking his leave, which the duke of Burgundy looked upon as so great an affront, and was so generally resented, that there was never afterwards any true love between either themselves or their subjects; the duke's pompous and lofty manner of speaking, which they imputed to his pride, offended the Germans; and the emperor's meanness, both in his train and dress, appeared as contemptible to the Burgundians; and so far was this accident extended, that from it alone the wars of Nuz had their origin.

I was also present at an interview, at the town of St. Paul in Artois, between the duke of Burgundy and Edward IV. king of England, whose sister he had married; and besides, they were brethren of the same order. They were but two days together, and yet in that small time there was great difference between the king's servants, and both parties recommending their quarrel to the duke, and he deciding it for the one, their hatred increased. However, he assisted the king in the recovery of his kingdom,

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with men, money, and ships, for he had been driven out by the earl of Warwick. Yet notwithstanding that good office, they never loved nor spoke well of one another after this interview.

I was present likewise when the count Palatine of the Rhine made a visit to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, where he staid several days. He was honourably received, nobly entertained, and lodged in an apartment richly furnished. The duke's servants upbraided the Germans for their nastiness and incivility, in laying their dirty clothes and their boots upon those rich beds, and accusing them of want of neatness and consideration, and they never liked them afterwards so well as they had done before. The Germans being as much dissatisfied on the other side, reproached them for their pomp and extravagance; so that in effect they never loved nor did any good office for one another afterwards.

I saw also the meeting between the duke of Burgundy and Sigismond duke of Austria, when the latter sold to the duke of Burgundy the county of Ferrette, which lies not far from the county of Burgundy, for a hundred thousand florins of gold, being unable himself to defend it against the Swiss. These princes also were not well pleased with one another. Afterwards Sigismond made peace with the Swiss, possessed himself again of the county, but never returned his money, from whence great mischiefs resulted to the duke of Burgundy. At the same time also the earl of Warwick came to visit the duke of Burgundy, and ever afterwards a mortal hatred continued between them.

I was by also at the interview at Picquiny, not far from Amiens, between our king and Edward IV. king of England, and shall give a larger account of it in another place, but must observe by the bye, that scarce any thing was performed that was promised there, but all their whole business was hypocrisy and dissimulation. It is true, they had no wars, because the sea divided them, but there never was any real friendship or good correspondence between them afterwards. To conclude, if great princes have a desire to continue friends, in my judgment they ought never to meet; and my reasons are these, courtiers cannot forbear reflecting upon past actions, and one or other will be sure to take exception; neither is it possible to hinder the train and equipage of the one from being finer and more magnificent than the other, which produces mockery; and nothing touches any person more sensibly than to be laughed at. The princes being of different nations, their language and habits are commonly different, and that which pleases one, will not please the other; besides, among

the princes themselves it often happens, that the presence of the one is more obliging and acceptable, which gains him honour and reputation, and every body extols him, which cannot be done without reflecting on the other; for some few days after they are parted, all their fine stories and observations are whispered and told privately up and down, but afterwards having told them often, they become less cautious, and by degrees their tales grow to be table talk, and are at length carried to both parties; for few things, especially of that nature, can be concealed in this world. And these are part of the reasons which I have known and observed in this case.

CHAP. IX.

Of the king's renouncing his League with the Liegeois, to be released out of the castle of Peronne.

HAVING thus fairly represented to all princes what my judgment is of such interviews, I shall now return from my long digression to speak of the king, who thought himself, as I said before, a prisoner in the castle of Peronne, as he had good reason to do; for all the gates were shut and guarded by such as were deputed to that office, and continued so for two or three days; during which time the duke of Burgundy saw not the king, neither would he suffer but very few of his majesty's servants to be admitted into the castle, and those only by the wicket, yet none of them were forbidden; but of the duke's none were permitted to speak with the king, or come into his chamber, at least such as had any authority with their master. The first day there was great murmuring and consternation all over the town. The second, the duke's passion began to cool a little, and a council was called, which sat the greatest part of that day, and night too; the king made private applications to all such as he thought qualified to relieve him, making them large promises, and ordering fifteen thousand crowns to be distributed among them; but the agent who was employed in this affair acquitted himself very ill, and kept a good part of the money for his own use, as the king was informed afterwards. The king was very fearful of those who had been formerly in his service, who, as I said before, were in the Burgundian army, and had openly declared themselves for his brother, the duke of Normandy. The duke of Burgundy's council were strangely divided in their opinions; the greatest part proposed that the pass-

port which the duke had given to the king might be kept, provided his majesty consented to sign the peace as it was drawn up in writing and engrossed. Some would have him prisoner as he was, without further ceremony. Others were for sending him with all speed to the duke of Normandy, and forcing him to make such a peace as should be for the advantage of all the princes of France. Those who proposed this, advised that the king should be restrained, and a strong guard set upon him, because a great prince is never, or with great caution, to be set at liberty after so notorious an affront. This opinion was so near prevailing, that I saw a person booted and ready to depart, having already several packets directed to the duke of Normandy, and waited only for the duke's letters; and yet this advice was not followed. At last the king caused overtures to be made, and offered the duke of Bourbon, the cardinal his brother, the constable of France, and several others, as hostages, upon condition that, after the peace was concluded, he might return to Compiegne, and that then he would either cause the Liegeois to make sufficient reparation for the injury they had done, or declare war against them. Those whom the king had proposed for his hostages, proffered themselves very earnestly, at least in public, I know not whether they said as much in private, I doubt they did not: and if I may speak my thoughts, I believe that if the king had left them there, they would never have returned.

The third night after this had happened, the duke of Burgundy did not pull off his clothes, but only threw himself twice or thrice upon the bed, and then got up again, and walked about, as his custom was when any thing vexed him; I lay that night in his chamber, and walked several turns with him. The next morning he was in a greater passion than ever, stormed exceedingly, and was ready to put some great thing in execution; but at last he recollected himself, and it came to this result: that if the king would swear to the peace, and accompany him to Liege, and assist him to revenge the injuries which they had done him, and the bishop of Liege his kinsman, he would be contented. Having resolved on this, he went immediately to the king's chamber, to acquaint him with his resolutions himself. The king had some friend or other who had given him notice of it before, and assured him that his person would be in no manner of danger, provided he would consent to those points; but that if he refused, he would run himself into so great danger, that nothing in the world could be greater.

When the duke came into his presence, his voice trembled, by

the violence of his passion, so inclinable was he to be angry again: however, he made a low reverence with his body, but his gesture and words were sharp, demanding of the king if he would sign the peace as it was agreed and ingrossed, and swear to it when he had done: the king replied, he would; and indeed there was nothing added to what had been granted in the treaty at Paris, which was to the advantage of the dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, but very much to his own; for it was agreed that the lord Charles of France should renounce the dutchy of Normandy, and have Champagne, and Brie, and some other places adjacent, as an equivalent. Then the duke asked him, if he would go along with him to Liege, to revenge the treachery they had practised by his instigation, and by means of that interview: then he put him in mind of the nearness of blood between the king and the bishop of Liege, who was of the house of Bourbon. The king answered, that when the peace was sworn, which he desired exceedingly, he would go with him to Liege, and carry with him as many, or as few forces as he pleased: the duke was extremely pleased at his answer, and immediately the articles being produced and read, and the true cross which Charlemagne was wont to use, called the cross of victory, taken out of the king's cabinet, the peace was sworn, to the great joy and satisfaction of all people, and all the bells in the town were too little to express it. The duke of Burgundy immediately dispatched a courier with the news of this conclusion of peace, into Bretagne, and with it he sent a duplicate of the articles, that they might see he had not deserted them, nor disengaged himself from their alliance; and indeed duke Charles, the king's brother, had a good bargain, in respect of what he had made for himself in the late treaty in Bretagne, by which there was nothing left him but a bare pension, as you have heard before. Afterwards the king did me the honour to tell me that I had done him some service in that pacification.

A treaty of peace between Lewis XI. on the one part, and Charles the last duke of Burgundy on the other; concluded at Peronne, October 14, 1468.

THE duke of Burgundy having complained of infractions made in the treaty of Conflans between us and him; and also in the treaty of peace made at Arras, between our late lord and father and the late Philip duke of Burgundy: in so much, that we were ready to have recourse to arms on both sides, and that the subjects of nei-

ther party durst converse with those of the other; to prevent, therefore, an open rupture, we thought fit to send our ambassadors first to them in Vermandois; and afterwards the treaty being transferred to Peronne, here to prevent all the mischiefs and inconveniencies that might ensue, we do in the most solemn manner make, conclude and promise, a firm solemn peace, friendship and amity, and we will always observe the treaty of Arras with the contents thereof, as also the said treaty, and all that is contained therein, in reference to our cousin and brother the duke of Burgundy, and all the donations and transfers we have then and since made to him: and we also promise and swear to observe all the provisions and answers made to his grievances, complaints and requests hereafter specified: and notwithstanding this present treaty of peace and the things contained in those of Arras and Conflans, we do freely consent that our said brother and cousin shall observe all the alliances, and also the treaty of truce and intercourse of trade between Edward our enemy, and the kingdom of England; but yet so as that our said brother shall give no assistance to the English in invading our kingdom and dominions: and by this peace we do declare that no satisfaction shall be demanded and insisted for any damages, hostilities, &c. on either side, but that whatever places, lordships, heritages and possessions have been seized and occupied, shall be fully restored, and the owners may re-enter without any form or process of law. More particularly, we do at the request of our said brother and cousin consent that the places, castles, towns and territories taken by us in the counties of Beaugie, the country of Bresso, and other lands and seigniories appertaining to him and his subjects shall be surrendered to him; and his subjects that are captive shall be freely set at liberty; and the said duke of Savoy, our dear sister the dutchess of Savoy, the bishop of Geneva, the said Philip of Savoy, the lord of Romont, and other allies of the duke of Burgundy, their subjects and adherents, shall be comprehended in this treaty if they are minded, within a year's notification; and if they are not, the present treaty shall be valid, which with those of Arras and Conflans, so far as this last concerns us and our said brother of Burgundy, shall neither be directly nor indirectly contravened by us; but we shall put our said brother into the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the things declared and contained in the said treaty, and execute on our part instruments of the gifts and transfers specified therein, according to the form and tenour of these presents: and we do consent and agree to acquit the subjects and vassals of their homage and services to us; by reason of the dutchy

counties, countries, lands and seigniories, which the said duke his heirs, &c. held or shall hereafter hold of us, by reason of our crown and kingdom; and we shall not only faithfully and religiously observe and maintain the peace, and fulfil it in every particular, but we do consent that the princes of our blood shall promise and swear to preserve it; and that each and every of them shall assist our said brother against us, if we infringe the same, &c.

Here follow the grievances, remonstrances, and requests of the duke of Burgundy, with the concessions and answers of the king to them.

AS to the fiefs and homages of the county of Ponthien, and others on both sides of the Somme, and of the three provostships of Vimea, Beauvisis, and Toulloy, transferred to the king: these fiefs and homages have been made appear to belong to the duke for several reasons; and therefore it is desired the king would leave him in the peaceable enjoyment of the said rights, and that he may have power to force those to it, who are refractory.

It is answered on the king's part, that he declares the said fiefs and homages to appertain to the duke, in the same manner as the other things contained in the said transfer; and that the vassals who have not yet taken the oath of allegiance and done homage, shall do it in the usual manner, pursuant to the nature of the fief, still reserving the king's rights, who shall grant his letters patent to discharge the vassals of their oaths and homages, upon the account of the said lands; and all his officers shall be commanded to do nothing that may hinder the same.

As to the taxes and aids of the said provostships, wherein some of the king's officers have caused some interruptions; and that withal William Samoareux has been made assessor general of these provostships by the king, and thereby disappointed the assessor of Amiens, contrary to the form of these transactions; it is remonstrated to the king, that he would be pleased to remove those lets and hinderances occasioned by the lancers, Gens d'Arms and free archers in the same provostships, and that the said assessor be restored to his office.

The duke shall enjoy the said provostships and all the profits of them, and also the royal rights, in the same manner and form as he ought to enjoy the royal provostships upon the said river on the side of Amiens: those taxes also for lancers, free archers, and

other soldiers shall cease, and none demanded on the king's part; and the assessor general of Amiens shall be nominated by the duke, and approved of by the king; and hereafter the king shall grant his letters patent in due form that the said aids be given without delay or difficulty.

As to the business of the granary of Grand-Villiers depending on the said transfers: it is remonstrated, that all violences, impediments, and troubles, done and given in respect to them, by the king's officers, as well upon the solicitation of the people of Beauvois or otherwise, may be removed and cease for the future.

Agreed to on the king's part.

As to the lands and seigniories of Mortagne transferred to the duke; his ambassadors remonstrate against the troubles and vexations given the duke's officers by the bailiff of Tournay, of the Tournesis, and others, and desire they may be commanded to deport themselves peaceably, according to the treaty of Arras, and the king's letters patent granted in that behalf.

The duke shall enjoy those lands and nominate his officers, which shall be approved of by the king; and the bailiff of Tournay, &c. shall behave himself according to the treaty of Arras, and the letters patent.

The king and the duke of Burgundy being at Villiers-le-Bell, it was desired that the salt of Salins should be vended in Masconnois, to which the king consented, upon condition the damage did not exceed four thousand franks: it was remonstrated upon this, that in pursuance of the said gift, and with regard to ancient usage, the salt of Salins had been always vended in Masconnois, and that there the gabel of salt ought to belong to the duke by the treaty of Arras, &c. therefore, it was desired that the king would allow of the vending of the said salt in Masconnois, and to prevent that of the salt of Pequeis, for which toll shall be received at Pont St. Esprit, or elsewhere, to the king's use; and that reparation might be made to the duke for the damage he had sustained since the treaty of Arras, in the not receiving the said toll, amounting to above a hundred thousand franks.

The king allows the duke salt granaries in the county of Mascon and the country of Masconnois, and in the places and royal towns included therein, for him, his heirs, &c.

As for the foreign imposition which ought to be raised on the frontiers of the king, and by the treaty of Arras, should appertain to the duke in his own territories: first, the duke is disturbed in receiving the said duty; secondly, they would have him levy it in unusual places, and the merchants are obliged to give secu-

rities in an unusual form; and even the king's officers, which is very strange, take upon them to receive the said impositions from the goods and merchandises, which are carried into the country of Burgundy, Bar-sur-Seine, Auxerrois, Artois, and those territories transferred to the duke, as if they were the territories of the empire; or where the tolls were not levied, especially in Auxerrois, upon goods belonging to those of the said county, and brought thither from the neighbouring countries: wherefore the said innovation is desired to be laid aside, and that the duke may enjoy his right pursuant to the said treaty, and that merchants be not obliged to give security any otherwise than according to ancient usage.

The king is content that merchants give security, as to foreign duty, according to ancient usage; that is, to vend their goods in any part of the kingdom, where the aids have their course on the king's part: suppose then that the duke, by the king's grant, takes those aids to his own use, without giving security that the said goods shall be sold and vended in the provinces of the kingdom, where the said aids have their course, as in the country of Artois, as also others belonging and made over by the treaty of Arras, or otherwise, to the said duke, without any fraud; yet, if hereafter it should appear that that was not the ancient way of giving security, the whole will be reduced to the manner and form prescribed by the ancient royal ordinances, or other usages: in like manner as to the dutchy of Burgundy, wherein the duke pretends the like innovations have been practised; the king and duke shall depute each a commissioner to inquire into the state of those ordinances, and the truth of the fact, and shall regulate the differences as seem most consonant to reason, and that within a year; upon which all troubles and innovations shall cease, and the duke enjoy his rights as to the said foreign imposition in those parts of the kingdom transferred to him by the treaty of Arras: and all demands from the subjects of the said duke in his towns of Arras, St. Omer, Hesdin, Terrouen, Auxerre, and others, in reference to their giving the said security, shall cease, and be no manner of charge to them. Moreover, all law proceedings shall cease, upon the said account above-mentioned, till the commissioners have decided the said differences, and wholly without prejudice to the king and the duke's rights: and as to the right of highways, which is of another nature, the commissioners hereafter named shall have power to order things in favour of the duke, pursuant to the treaty of Arras, in and through-

out all the royal territories, as also the lands on both sides the Somme transferred to the duke by the king.

As to the limits of the dutchy of Burgundy, and also the other towns and villages of the counties of Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine, which the duke does not entirely enjoy, nor in the manner he ought, according to the form of the said treaty; the said ambassadors insist he may be put into the peaceable possession of the said towns, villages, and other rights conveyed to him by the said treaty, that he may enjoy the profits of them, and that satisfaction be made to him in reference to the profits received by the king's officers, since the time they were transferred, and stoppage had been made of them; and to this end the said ambassadors require, that four commissioners be appointed, viz. Two on either side, who shall be empowered to go to such places on the duke's account, in order to inform themselves fully concerning his pretensions, if information has not already been given, and thereupon make a declaration of the rights of the said duke, that he may really, and out of hand, enjoy the same, according to the form of the said treaty of Arras, without any further process or lawsuit, on remitting the same to the cognizance of the king, or any of his officers.

The king is content on his part to appoint four commissioners to decide the matters in dispute, with as many nominated by the duke; and if these eight cannot do it, it shall be left to three on each side, and if these cannot effect the matter, each party shall appoint two, who shall determine the differences, according to the form prescribed in the said article.

As to the troubles and molestations given about the granaries belonging to the duke by the said treaty of Arras, and the restraint put upon several of his subjects in the country of Burgundy, Masconnois, Charolois, Bar-sur-Seine, and Auxerrois, to take salt elsewhere than from the said granaries, contrary to the form of the said treaty of Arras, to his great detriment; the ambassadors desire these grievances may likewise be effectually redressed.

The king fully agrees to this, and commissioners may be appointed to inquire into the defaults, and redress them, as in the preceding article.

The ambassadors further remonstrate about some lands, places, and villages, situate in the bailiwicks and jurisdictions of Masconnois and St. Gengon, and some others in the county Auxerrois, and others of Bar-sur-Seine, belonging to the said duke by the treaty of Arras, the enjoyment of which has been denied him.

The king from henceforward declares, that the duke shall enjoy the villages and jurisdictions in the bailiwicks of Mascon and St. Gengon, as also the jurisdictions and villages of Auxerre and Bar-sur-Seine, according to the contents of the treaty of Arras, notwithstanding any obstructions to the contrary; and to this end the said eight commissioners, the six, or the four, in the manner above declared, shall be empowered by the king and duke, to hear, examine, and determine things equitably, according to the treaty of Arras, and in the same manner and form as is set down in the 8th article aforegoing, and the answer made thereunto.

Item—The said duke of Burgundy is also opposed and molested in the enjoyment of several fiefs and homages belonging to him by virtue of the said treaty, in the said counties and bailiwicks of Mascon, St. Gengon, and Auxerre and their jurisdictions; especially of the counties of Beauillois, which ought to belong to the bailiwick of Mascon; of all which the said ambassadors demand redress.

The king is willing to it, and it is left to commissioners to determine it, pursuant to the eighth article and the answer to it.

And as to other points or articles contained and declared in the said treaty of Arras, the ambassadors demand in the duke's name, that those which shall be found unaccomplished or impeded, and such as the duke has had no cognizance of; that they shall be decided by the said commissioners, as aforesaid, without any further contradictions or appeals.

It is answered, that to put an end, as soon as possible, to all differences concerning the said treaty of Arras, and its dependencies, the eight, six, or four commissioners, as aforesaid, shall have full power to examine strictly into the same, and by viewing the places, and without any process or form of law, to decide, determine, and execute what they think most just, by putting the said duke into the possession of whatever they find to belong to him, by virtue of the said treaty; notwithstanding any contradictions or appeals whatsoever; and shall promise from thenceforward to acquiesce with the same.

The third chief point concerns things appertaining to the said duke, upon the account of his lordships, both within and without the kingdom.

And in the first place, as to the limits of the kingdom, the county of Burgundy, and the territories under the jurisdiction of St. Laurence, the said ambassadors remonstrate for a determination of the same; and that such an equal number of commissioners be appointed on both sides to judge and determine the said

differences, without any further review of the same; and notwithstanding any contradiction or appeal whatsoever.

The king agrees, that eight commissioners be appointed, viz. four on each side, finally to adjudge and determine the said differences.

As for the limits of the countries and territories appertaining to the duke, which adjoin to the counties of Flanders and Artois, and other territories of the kingdom, concerning any lawsuit that has been commenced by any private persons in the court of parliament; the said ambassadors move, that the king would please to suspend the same for the space of twelve years, that so a way may be found for deciding it without the form of a process, and with the least expense.

The king is content to suspend such proceedings for eight years; but yet without prejudicing or derogating from the right of jurisdiction, which may or ought to belong to him; or that the said suspension should give any possession or other advantage, contrary to the rights of the king or the said duke; and the matter shall be left to the decision of commissioners.

The said ambassadors complain of the grievances occasioned by appeals lodged against the determinations and judgments of the four principal laws of Flanders, against the laws and privileges of the said country, and thereby manifestly disturbing the said duke in his rights. Redress is also required in matters of traffic, upon which the country of Flanders principally depends.

The first part of this article the king fully agrees to—Nothing is said of the last clause.

It is remonstrated, that pursuant to the rights of the country of Flanders, the court of parliament ought to receive no appeals from other laws and judges of Flanders, *omisso medio*, for the resort ought first to belong to the duke, and he ought not to be obliged to have recourse for a review to the said court, as they do for other countries of the kingdom; for relief ought not to be given the subjects of Flanders in case of an appeal, if the appeal does not immediately precede the sentence of the count, or his council in Flanders; and to this end the king is desired to grant him his letters patent in due form.

The contents of this article he agrees to, pursuant to the custom of the country.

They further remonstrate against the troubles and impediments met with in appeals made in causes within the jurisdiction, lands and chastellanies of Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, in the council chamber of Flanders, against all reason, and of which the duke

has been in peaceable possession for a long time, except that short space wherein any contradiction has been made; and that the said impediments may cease, seeing the said chastellanies continually belonged to the county of Flanders, and since the king held them upon the contract of the marriage of the great duke Philip, great grandfather of the present duke, they were re-united to the county of Flanders; so that the duke may hold them alone in fief with the said county.

Agreed to by the king.

Seeing that neither the king nor his court of parliament have any right, but the duke and his grand council, to take cognizance of the causes of his subjects within the kingdom in the empire; and that on the contrary, considering that appeals are not thereby hindered, the ambassadors desire there may be no trouble given therein, either by the king or his officers; and that the jurisdiction, sovereignty, and other rights, both of the king and duke, may be preserved.

The king is content, that the duke or his great council take cognizance of the causes of his countries and subjects within the kingdom, in the empire; saving the exception of the parties, and of those of the empire or kingdom, and the whole done without prejudice to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the king, in relation to the kingdom, and the right and sovereignties belonging to the duke in reference to the empire: and this agreement shall last as long as the king and duke live.

As to the four thousand livres yearly rent, belonging to the duke upon the account of his predecessors the earls of Hainault and Ostervant, upon the revenue of Vermandois, appertaining to the king, and of which there are great arrears: the ambassadors demand both the rent and the arrears.

The said commissioners shall settle that matter, and do the duke justice.

The ambassadors also complain of the restraint put upon the duke's subjects and servants; some of them being natives of his county of Burgundy, in his territories without the kingdom; others of the dutchy of Burgundy, and other territories of the duke's, by obliging them to take new and unusual oaths to serve the king against all persons whatsoever, and especially against the said duke, without any regard had to their being his vassals; and upon their delaying to do it, though they were ready to take the oath of allegiance in the usual form, and to serve according to the nature and quality of their fiefs, yet Monsieur de Châstillon, and others of the king's officers, have proceeded against

them very irregularly and unjustly, as well by seizing their lands and lordships, and receiving the profits thereof, and committing outrages in some of the said lands, as in an enemy's country; as by confiscation of body and goods, and the said profits they have applied to their own use: nay, which is still more, the said Chastillon has proceeded against the duke himself, upon account of the seigniory of Fouvants, which belongs to him.

The contents of this and the following 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th articles, the king is willing to redress fully for the future; that restitution shall be made of the profits aforesaid, and the king will appoint a commissioner to see reparation duly made. All prisoners shall be freely released, and free egress and regress given to the duke's subjects. The king also consents that the vassals and subjects of the said duke, living and residing in his dominions, as also his domestic servants, who have lands, fiefs, and lordships in his kingdom, upon the account of which they are bound to certain military services when the king issues out his general mandate, for the defence of his person, shall not be obliged to serve in person, but find others, more or less in number, as the tenure requires, in their stead.

Again, M. de Chastillon and others have driven some ecclesiastics out of Langres, that have livings there, by reason of their being natives of the duke's dominions, and publicly enjoined them, and other natives, not to reside on those benefices, nor elsewhere in the kingdom.

The king agrees fully to redress this grievance.

The said M. de Chastillon, and others of the king's officers, have seized the goods of the inhabitants of Valenciennes at the fairs of Rheims, and of other considerable merchants, subjects and servants of the said duke, namely M. de Ternant, William de Villiers, M. John Jaqueling, the receiver of Auxois, John Gormont, and others, who have had no reparation made them for their losses. In like manner with them, the king's officers without any cause, have seized M. John de Janly, the duke's envoy to the duke of Calabria, and the king of Arragon.

The same answer given to this as to the 20th article aforegoing.

The ambassadors demand, that such novel and unreasonable constraints may no more be practised; that the seizing of the lands of the duke's subjects may be entirely discontinued, so as that they may peaceably enjoy the same as formerly, and have restitution made them for the profits; and also, that the ecclesiastics of Langres may be satisfied.

Agreed to as the last.

In like manner an entire restitution is required of the goods taken from the duke's subjects in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders, of which the said subjects have lately made grievous complaints for redress, and the liberty of those who are imprisoned; and withal, that letters patent might be granted, that such disorders and hostilities may not be practised for the future; those subjects of the said duke having been interrupted in their herring fishery, as well those of Holland, Zealand, and Brabant, as those of Flanders and Boulogne, to their great damage; and therefore they desire the king's passes to secure them for the future, upon producing of which they may proceed unmolested.

Answered as the last article.

The ambassadors set forth, that the gifts made the duke by the king of the revenue of Chastel-Chinon for six years, and which he did not enjoy above a year or two, may be restored to him for that term.

This the king fully agrees to.

The king, for very good causes and considerations, is desired to recal those causes that are depending in his court of parliament between John Boutilhac, and M. Christian and John de Digonne, both brothers, which were commenced in the time of the troubles, and by the duke's order, M. James de la Galee, Messieurs de Lalaign, and de Montigny, Gerard le Febvre, and the people of Bruges, and the king's proctor join in the said causes to bring them before him; and afterwards, pursuant to the abolition made at Conflans, and the contents of the letters patent formerly granted by the king thereupon, to maintain the said letters of abolition.

The king is willing to recal the causes above said before himself in council, or the commissioners appointed for the universal reformation of justice through the kingdom, of whom the chancellor of France is one: and as to the affair of Boutilhac, and the king's proctor against the Digonnes, Boutilhac and the proctor shall be silenced; then for Lalaing, seeing the said causes have a relation to the business of the limits above mentioned, in respect to which a stop had been made to the redelivery of their goods seized and detained upon that occasion, these goods which are in the hands of commissioners or others deputed by them, they shall peaceably enjoy, till the dispute about the limits shall be decided by the said commissioners in the form aforesaid, provided that they and all their goods shall be liable to the making good, on their part, the sentence given by the said commissioners in that behalf: and as for the interposition of appeals by Gerard, Febvre,

and others, from the judgments and sentences of the said court of Bruges, they shall be of no effect.

The king is desired to inhibit de Thorcy, his heirs, &c. for ever to prosecute a certain decree obtained by him against the late M. de Saveuse, contrary to the tenor of the treaty of Arras; which decree, after it was made, had a stop put to it till the death of the late king, and by the king now being, for fifteen years, commencing from that of sixty.

The said suspension of fifteen years the king is willing shall be observed, and that after the expiration of the said term, the execution of the said decree shall be suspended for twenty years longer, still with a salvo to the king and the duke's rights from thenceforward, and for the twenty years past.

The ambassadors cannot also but remonstrate the denial of mandates in case of appeal and other points of justice to the duke's officers and subjects, and even when his officers have appealed and demanded security for the preservation of his right and seigniory.

The king will command speedy and strict justice to be done, and all mandates in cases of appeal or otherwise shall be granted without hesitation; so that it may be evident to all men that he is desirous to do right to the duke's subjects.

The ambassadors desire the king would let the duke enjoy the lands, seigniories and rights made over to him, and to let him have instruments of ratification, by which all impediments to the contrary shall be declared null and of no effect.

This the king assents to in the full extent of it.

The ambassadors demand reparation of damages for himself and subjects during the troubles, which by a modest computation, amount to above two hundred thousand crowns in gold.

The king is willing to make reparation, but expects the same on the part of the duke.

The king is desired to prohibit the bailiff of Gens for the future to receive appeals, and to grant relief in cases of appeals, to the subjects of the dutchy of Burgundy; for as much as that dutchy is the first peerage of France, and therefore the duke and his subjects ought to appeal no where but to the parliament, if they think fit.

The king agrees to this article.

The bailiff, judges, and officers of the said duke in that dutchy, ought not for the future to be hindred to take cognisance of the subjects of the said dutchy, under pretence that they are burghers

of Ville-neuve-le-Roy; and the bailiff of Gens and all others should be forbid to grant protections to the subjects of the said duke in his dutchy, under pretence of that burghership.

The king agrees also to this.

The king is desired to grant his letters patent, and in them to declare that all executions made, by virtue of the seal of the said dutchy, shall take place according and pursuant to the privileges of the said seal, and notwithstanding any appeals, and without prejudicing the same.

The king agrees to this article.

All complaints made in respect to innovations, which shall be exhibited by the said duke in his said dutchy and his other territories, or by the judges of those countries, who may and are wont to offer those complaints, ought really to be redressed, notwithstanding any appeals, &c.

This the king allows of.

Though the villages of Disgrandes, Mallay St. Guillain, Ducray, and other adjacent ones, are directly in the dutchy of Burgundy, appertaining to the said duke, and belonging to the bailiwick of Destun; yet the king's officers have attempted to make them to belong to Lyons, as well in point of jurisdiction, as in the matter of taxes, to the prejudice of the said duke, and also contrary to the treaty of Arras, by which all the profits and royal rights in the bailiwicks of Mascon and St. Gengon ought to belong to the said duke; for if the king had any right to the said villages, it must be upon the account of the said bailiwicks of Mascon and St. Gengon only: and for the late duke he complained of it to the late king Charles, and since to the present king; and was informed, that M. Guichard Bastier, chief judge of Lyons, should inquire into the matter of fact and there determine it: nevertheless the said ambassadors require, that the said information may be reviewed and examined by the said commissioners, which shall be appointed to transact the other matters above mentioned; and so as to reinstate the said duke in the possession of the said villages, whereof he has been deprived wrongfully and without any just cause; in case that information be sufficient to do it; or otherwise the commissioners shall decide it in the manner aforesaid.

The king agrees to this article in all the parts of it.

And in case there are any articles that cannot presently be executed; but that it shall be necessary that they should be examined and determined by commissioners, whom the king and duke shall appoint, and that in order to this a convenient time be also assigned; and that it may so happen, that though the said commis-

sioners have full power from the king and duke, to determine the things left to their cognisance: insomuch that the said matters may be delayed, through the difficulties which may occur, as well in respect to the knowing, as making a declaration of the rights of the parties: let the king and the duke if they are so pleased, expedite their powers, by which both sides shall agree, that in case the said commissioners cannot accord, they may choose an umpire, an able man, who cannot be suspected of partiality, to whom they shall declare and impart their difficulties and differences; and when he shall be fully instructed in the whole affair, he shall declare his opinion, according to his conscience, and without any favour or affection: and so the matter shall be adjudged and determined according to the advice of those of the said commissioners, who shall be of the umpire's opinion, notwithstanding the opposition of the rest, with a salvo always to the greatest and soundest part in number of persons and opinions of the said commissioners, by whose advice the matter shall be determined, as effectually as if all the commissioners had agreed to it; and in case the said commissioners shall not be able to agree among themselves about the choice of an umpire, those on the king's side shall be obliged to name two worthy persons, and the duke's commissioners as many, neither of which shall be natives or the subjects of either of them, nor suspected of partiality; out of which four, one shall be chosen by lot, who shall be the umpire, to decide the matter as aforesaid; and if the commissioners who shall be appointed by the king, do not agree in the choice of an umpire as aforesaid, in that case the duke's commissioners may do it without them; and on the contrary, if the said commissioners of the duke do not agree to it, those of the king's may in like manner do it without them: and that choice, together with the king's, which by virtue thereof shall be made, shall be as valid, as if done by the commissioners on both sides, by common consent; and the said commissioners on one side may proceed in the said affair, for default and upon the refusal of the commissioners on the other side, and act with the said umpire in the same manner as if all the commissioners were together; and all that shall be determined, done, and executed, in the things aforesaid, shall remain firm and valid for ever; and that the said commissioners, and every of them, shall swear solemnly, that they will take care of, attend and manage the said affairs as aforesaid, and have a very strict regard to the right of each part, and to proceed therein without interruption or delay, and without alledging any excuse, unless in case of death or sickness: and in case of an excuse as aforesaid, the commis-

sioner, whose business it is, shall appoint one to act in his stead, who shall proceed with the rest in the same form and manner as above directed.

The king agrees to the contents of this article.

The conclusion and ratification of this treaty, being matters of form, we omit them.

CHAP. X.

The king accompanies the duke of Burgundy, in his expedition against the Liegeois, who were formerly his allies.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace, the king and the duke of Burgundy, set out the next morning for Cambray, and from thence towards the country of Liege: it was the beginning of winter, and the weather very bad. The king had with him only his Scotch guards, and a small body of his standing forces, but he ordered three hundred of his men at arms to join him. The duke's army marched in two columns, one was commanded by the marshal of Burgundy, of whom I have spoken before, and with him were all the Burgundians, the above-mentioned nobility of Savoy, and a great number of forces out of Hainault, Luxemburg, Namur, and Limburg. The other body was led by the duke himself. When they came near the city of Liege, a council of war was held in the duke's presence, in which it was the opinion of some of the officers, that part of the army should march back, since the gates and walls of that city were demolished the year before, and no hopes were left them of being relieved, for the king was with us in person, and had made some overtures for them, which was almost as much as was demanded of them; but the duke was not at all pleased with this proposition, and it was well he was not, for never prince was nearer his ruin, and it was his suspicion of the king which was the occasion of his rejecting it; certainly they who proposed it out of an opinion of their too great strength, and that half of the army was sufficient for that undertaking, were very ill advised; it was a great instance of their folly or pride, and I have often heard of such counsel that has been given, but it was always by such officers as were either ignorant of what was fit to be done, or such as had a mind to be esteemed for their courage; but our king understood an affair of this nature excellently well. He was slow and timorous in undertaking any action of import-

tance, but when once he had attempted it, he provided so well, that it was hardly possible for his designs to miscarry.

The marshal of Burgundy was ordered with the brigade under his command, to advance before, and possess himself of the city; if he was refused entrance, he was ordered to force it if he could, for there was already several deputies from the city coming and going about an accommodation. The marshal advanced as far as Namur, and the king and duke arriving the next day, he removed and marched on. As soon as he approached the city, the poor inconsiderate citizens made a sally, but were easily defeated, at least a good part of them, and the rest retired. During this confusion in the town, the bishop made his escape, and came to our army. There was at that time a legate sent from the pope to pacify their disputes, and to inquire into the difference between the bishop and the people, for they remained still under excommunication for the above-mentioned reasons and offences. This legate exceeding his commission, and hoping to make himself bishop of that city, favoured the people, advised them to take arms, and to stand upon their defence, and other rebellious counsels he gave them besides: but finding what danger the town was in, he endeavoured to make his escape, and got away with his whole train, consisting of five-and-twenty persons very well mounted; but they were all taken. The duke having notice of it, sent word to those who had taken him, that they should carry him somewhere out of the way, without acquainting him with it, and make him pay as great a ransom for his liberty as they could get, because if it came publicly to his knowledge, the honour he was obliged to pay to the apostolic chair, would not suffer him to detain him a prisoner. They could not take his advice, but fell out among themselves, and some who pretended to a share, coming to the duke with their complaints, as he was sitting publicly at dinner, he sent to have the legate delivered into his hands, took him from them, shewed him abundance of respect, treated him very honourably, and ordered every thing that had been taken from him and his retinue, to be restored. The great body of forces which were in the vanguard under the command of the marshal of Burgundy, and the lord d'Himbercourt, presuming they should carry their point, marched directly to the city, and, moved by their avarice, they thought it better to plunder it, than to accept of a treaty which was offered, supposing there was no necessity of staying for the king, who was seven or eight leagues behind, they advanced till just about night they arrived at the suburbs, into which they entered in a part that led directly to one of the gates which had

been lately repaired by the citizens; some treaty there passed between them, but nothing was concluded on. Night came upon them, and it grew very dark, before they had taken up their quarters, so that not knowing where to dispose themselves, they were in great disorder, some walked up and down, others called out for their masters, their comrades, and their captains. Monsieur John de Vilde and other officers in the town perceiving their confusion, took courage, and, the inconvenience of having had their walls thrown down being now of great advantage to them, they sallied through their ruins and out at the breaches in the walls as they pleased upon those who were in the front, but they attacked the pages and servants, who were left with the horses at the farther end of the suburbs, where they entered, by the way of the vineyards and little hills, and slew many of them, but a greater number fled, for the night knows no shame; in short they attacked us so vigorously, that in this action they slew above eight hundred men, of which one hundred were men at arms.—But the wiser and more courageous of that vanguard kept themselves together in a body, the greatest part of them being men at arms, and persons of distinction, and marched up with their colours directly to the gate, imagining, if there was a sally, it would be that way. A continued rain had made the ways prodigiously miry, and the men at arms being dismounted, stood up to their ancles in mud and dirt. All the inhabitants that remained in the town resolved to make a general sally at once, and with great shouts, and a vast number of torches, they were marching through the gate, when our men, who were not far off, and had four good pieces of cannon with them, fired up the street among them two or three times, and made such a slaughter, that they retired out of the suburbs, and shut up their gates. Whilst this dispute lasted in the suburbs, those who had sallied by the walls being near the town, had got together some few carts and waggons, with which they fortified themselves, and reposed, though but indifferently, for they continued out of the town from two o'clock in the morning till six: but as soon as the day began to break, and we were able to discover where they lay, we immediately repulsed them. In this action Monsieur John de Vilde was wounded, and died in the town two days after, and two or three officers of note besides.

CHAP. XI.

Of the king's arrival in person with the duke of Burgundy in the city of Leige.

THOUGH sallies out of a town are sometimes necessary, and cannot well be avoided, yet, though they are performed with good success, they are very dangerous, and of ill consequence to the besieged; since ten men to them is a greater loss, than a hundred to the besiegers, because their number is less, and they cannot be recruited as they please: besides, they may happen to lose their governor, or some other considerable officer, for want of whose conduct, not being able to make any longer defence, they may be forced to surrender the town immediately. The news of this action was presently brought to the duke, who was in his quarters about four or five leagues from the city. At first the whole body was reported to be cut off; however, the duke mounted, and ordered all the forces that were with him to march immediately, commanding that the news of this action should be kept secret from the king. In our approach to another part of the town, we had intelligence that all was well, that there were not so many slain as was at first supposed, and that among them there was not any person of note but one Monsieur de Sergine, a Flemish knight. At the same time we were informed, that the gentlemen and officers that were left of the vanguard were in great distress and want of provisions, having been upon very hard duty all night long, and upon their feet in the dirt and mire at the very gates of the town, that some of the infantry who had fled, and were returned, were so dispirited and out of heart, that no great exploit could be expected from them, and therefore they earnestly desired the duke to march up with all diligence to their intended post, which would oblige the enemy to divide their forces, and not lie with their whole garrison upon them. They pressed in like manner for supplies of provisions, for they had not one morsel left to subsist on. The duke immediately sent them what provisions could be got, under a convoy of three hundred horse, and it was time, for none of them, except a few that had brought some wine with them, had either eaten or drank any thing for two or three days and a night; and, to mend the matter, they had the hardest weather in the world. On their side it was impossible to enter, unless the duke gave the garrison a diversion. The

had abundance of the citizens wounded, and among the rest, the prince of Orange, whom I had forgot to name, who gave signal proofs of his courage and conduct, and would not stir from his post during the whole time. The lords du Lau and d'Urse behaved themselves very gallantly also, though above two thousand men deserted and ran away from them in the night.

It was almost night when the duke received this last intelligence, and having dispatched the above-mentioned supplies, he returned to his standard to give a full relation to the king, who seemed to be extremely pleased, for the contrary would have proved much to his prejudice. It was not long before we arrived at the suburbs, and then a strong party of volunteers, men at arms and archers, were detached to possess the suburbs, which was easily done, and the bastard of Burgundy, who had a great command under the duke at that time, the lord de Ravestein, the count de Roucy, the constable's son, and several other persons of quality took up their quarters in it, and some of them just by the gate which the townsmen had repaired, as they had done the other. The duke had his quarters in the middle of the suburbs, but for that night the king made shift with a good large and well-furnished farm about a quarter of a league from the town, with a strong party both of our and his own men for his guard.

The city of Liege is seated in a very fruitful country full of little mountains and vallies, with the river Maese running through the middle of it, and is much about the same bigness of Roanne, and was at that time very populous. It was no great distance from that gate where we had our quarters to the other, where our vanguard were posted, provided we could have gone strait through the town; but being obliged to go round on the outside of it, it was full three leagues about by reason of the holes and little sloughs which, it being mid-winter, and very foul, the weather had filled up. The walls likewise were all demolished, and they might attack our men in what quarter they pleased: besides, the foundation being stony and a hard rock, they could never make a ditch, and at that time had nothing but a small trench, which they had thrown up not long before to defend them. Our vanguard were extremely over-joyed and animated at our approach the first night of our coming, for then the force of the garrison was divided into two parts. About midnight we had a terrible alarm, and the duke of Burgundy was immediately in the street; not long after the king and constable came to him, and had made great haste to get thither so soon. The darkness and horror of the night contributed much to the terror of our soldiers, some of

them caying out—"They sally out of this gate, and some of them out of the other;" the duke of Burgundy never wanted courage, but his conduct often failed him; and to speak impartially, he did not behave himself at this very time so prudently as he ought to have done, considering the king was there present. In this confusion the king took upon him to command, and said to the constable—"March you with your brigade to such a place, for if the enemy falls upon us any where, it must necessarily be there."—He who had seen his countenance, and heard him speak, would have acknowledged him to be a prince of great courage and prudence; but this was not the first action in which he had given demonstration of it: however, this was only a false alarm, and the king and the duke returned both to their quarters.

The next morning the king removed into the suburbs, and took up his quarters in a little house next door to the duke's, his guards consisting of a hundred Scots, and his household troops were posted near him. The duke of Burgundy was extremely jealous, lest either the king should find means to get into the city, or return home before he could take it; or else, being so near, make some attempt upon his person. To prevent the worst, he made a draught out of his guards, of three hundred of the stoutest men at arms that he could depend on, and posted them in a great barn that lay between their two quarters. The walls of the barn were broken down, to render their sallies the more easy, if there should be occasion, and these troops were placed there to watch and observe the king's motions, who was quartered just by them. In this manner we spent eight days: during the last day, in which the town was taken, neither the duke nor any body else pulled off their armour. The night before the surrender, at a council of war, it was concluded to storm the town the next morning, which was Sunday the 30th of October 1468, and accordingly orders were given out, that at such a signal, which was the firing of one great gun alone, then of two presently after, and then discontinuing, without further orders they should begin the assault on one side, as the duke designed to attack them on the other, by eight in the morning. That night, as was concluded, the duke disarmed himself, and ordered all his army to do the same, and to refresh themselves, especially those in the barn. At that instant, as if they had been informed of our design, the Liegeois resolved to make a sally upon our quarters, as they had done before upon the other.

CHAP. XII.

The Liegeois make a desperate sally upon the duke of Burgundy's quarters, where he and the king were in great danger.

IN this chapter I shall shew you an example, by which you may observe, that the greatest prince or potentate, may suddenly fall into dangerous inconveniences, occasioned by a small number of their enemies, and from whence it may reasonably be inferred that all enterprises ought to be well weighed and considered before they are put in execution. This city had not one soldier in their garrison, but of their own territories, nor one man of quality, or good officer among them; for those few which they had, were all killed or wounded two or three days before: they had neither gate, nor wall, nor fortification, and but one piece of cannon, which was good for nothing. Their garrison consisted only of their own townsmen, and seven or eight hundred foot from a small mountain on the back of the town, called the country of Franche-Mont, but they always had the reputation of being valiant and stout soldiers: they were now arrived to the height of desperation, and having no hopes of relief, since the king, from whom alone they could expect it, had renounced his alliance, and was come in person against them, they resolved to make a general sally, and put all to a venture, for they looked upon themselves as lost. It was concluded, that by the ruins of the walls which were behind the duke of Burgundy's quarters, all their choicest troops should sally, which were six hundred of those from the country of Franche-Mont, led and conducted by the masters of the two houses where the king and the duke of Burgundy were quartered; to which place, by the crack in a great rock, they might march securely before they were perceived, unless they discovered themselves by any noise. Though there were several scouts by the way, they were not discouraged, imagining they should either kill them, or be at the king's or duke's quarters as soon as they should give the alarm. Besides, they presumed their two guides would conduct them directly to their own houses, where, as is said before, the king and the duke were quartered; and not halting any where by the way, they hoped they might be able to surprise them, and either kill or take them before their guards could come to their assistance. Having not far to march, they supposed they should be able to make their retreat; or, if the worst came to the worst, they could but die, and they were contented to lose their lives in

so just and honourable an undertaking, for without it, as is said before, they found themselves utterly ruined. It was also ordered that all the people of the city should sally out of the gate which opened into the great street of our suburbs, with great shouts and cries, hoping by that means to defeat that body of forces that were posted in the suburbs, and to obtain a complete victory, or a glorious death. Had they had a thousand men at arms, all regular forces, their attempt would have been great, and I question not but they would have succeeded in it, since, with those few which they had, they were very near effecting their designs. According to the resolution that had been taken about ten at night, the six hundred men from Franche-Mont sallied forth by the breaches of the walls, seized upon most of our out-guards and put them to the sword, among which there were three gentlemen of the house of Burgundy; and certainly, if they had marched on directly, and made no noise till they had arrived at the place where they designed, they had slain both those princes in their beds without any great opposition. Behind the duke of Burgundy's quarters there was a tent in which the present duke of Alençon lay, and with him the lord de Craon; they stopped there for some time, thrust their pikes through the tent, and killed some of the servants. This giving an alarm to the whole army, some few ran to their arms, several got up, and leaving their tents, ran immediately to the two houses, where the king and the duke were quartered. The barn I mentioned before, where the duke had posted three hundred men at arms, being close to both houses, they gave them some thrusts with their pikes out of the holes which had been made for the convenience of their sallies. Not full two hours before this attack, these gentlemen had pulled off their arms to refresh and prepare themselves for the assault the next day, so that most of them were naked, though some few had clapped on their arms upon the uproar at the duke of Alençon's tent, and these were they who stopped their progress by charging them through the doors and the holes which they had made, and were the only body of troops that preserved those two great princes; for by this delay, several others had time enough to arm, and make head against them. I and two gentlemen more of his bed chamber, lay that night in the duke of Burgundy's chamber, which was very small; and above us there were twelve archers upon the guard, all of them in their clothes, and playing at dice. His main guard was at a good distance, and towards the gate of the town; in short, the master of the house where the duke was quartered having drawn out a good party of the Liegeois, came so suddenly upon

the duke, we had scarce time to put on his back and breastplates and clap a steel cap upon his head: as soon as we had done it, we ran down the stairs into the street, but we found our archers engaged with the enemy, and much ado they had to defend the doors and the windows against them. In the street there was a terrible noise and uproar, some crying out—God bless the king, others—God bless the duke of Burgundy, and others—God bless the king, and kill, kill. It was some time before our archers and we could beat the enemy from the doors, and get out of the house: we knew not in what condition the king was, nor whether he was for or against us, which put us into a great consternation: as soon as we were got into the street, by the help of two or three torches we discovered some few of our men, and could perceive people fighting round about us, but the action there lasted not long, for the soldiers from all parts came in thronging to the duke's quarters: the duke's landlord was the first man of the enemy's side that was killed, who died not instantly, for I heard him speak; and with him his whole party, at least the greatest part of them, were cut in pieces.

The king was also assaulted after the same manner by his landlord, who entred his house, but was slain by the Scotch guards. These Scotch troops behaved themselves valiantly, maintained their ground, would not stir one step from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said, they wounded and killed more of the Burgundians, than of the enemy. Those who were appointed made their sally at the gate, but they found a strong guard to oppose them, which presently gave them a warm reception and quickly repulsed them, they not being so good soldiers as the others. As soon as these people were repulsed, the king and duke met, and had a conference together; seeing several lie dead about them, they were afraid their loss had been greater than really it proved to be, for, upon examination, they found they had not lost many men, though several were wounded; and without dispute, if they had not stopped at those two places, and especially at the barn, where they met with some small opposition, but had followed there guides, they had killed both the king and the duke of Burgundy, and in all pobability would have defeated the rest of the army. Each of these princes retired to his quarters greatly astonished at the boldness of the attempt; and immediately a council of war was called to consult what measures were to be taken the next morning in relation to the assault, which had been resolved upon before. The king was in great perplexity, as fearing that if the duke took not the town by storm, the inconve-

nience would fall upon him, and he should either be kept still in restraint, or made an absolute prisoner; for the duke could not think himself secure against a war with France, if he should suffer him to depart. By this mutual distrust of each other, one may clearly observe the miserable condition of these two princes, who could not by any Means confide in one another, though they had made a firm peace not a fortnight before, and had sworn solemnly to preserve it.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the storming, taking, and plundering the city of Liege; together with the ruin and destruction of the very churches.

THE king, to free himself from these doubts, about an hour after his return from the sally I mentioned before to his quarters, sent for some of the duke's officers that had assisted at the council of war, to know the result of it; they told him it was resolved that the town should be stormed next morning in the manner that was concerted before. The king made several grave and judicious objections, and such as the duke's officers approved of very well, for they were all apprehensive of the assault, in respect of the great numbers of people in the town, and the signal proofs they had given of their courage not two hours before; so that the officers seemed inclinable rather to defer it for some days longer, and endeavoured to have taken it by composition. They came immediately to the duke's quarters, and made a report of all the king had said to them, and it was my fortune to be present. They represented all the king's fears, and their own too, but supposing the duke would not take it so well from them, they fathered it all upon his majesty. The duke took it extremely ill, and replied, that the king raised those difficulties only to preserve the town: besides, he told them, that it was impossible his design should miscarry, because they had no artillery within, nor walls without to defend them, that their fortifications and their gates were demolished, and therefore he was resolved to delay no longer, but to storm the town, as had been concluded before. However, if the king pleased, he might retire to Namur, and stay there till the town was taken, but for his own part he would not stir till he saw what would be the event of this enterprise. The whole army dreaded this assault, and therefore none of the officers were pleased with this resolution, which was communicated to the king, not

bluntly, but in the mildest terms imaginable. The king knew what the duke would be at, but dissembled it, and declared he would not go to Namur, but take his fortune the next morning with the rest. My opinion is, that if he had been willing to make his escape, he might have done it that night, for he had with him a hundred archers of his guard, several gentlemen of his retinue, and not much less than three hundred men at arms; but when his honour lay at stake, he scorned to do it, lest the world should have upbraided him with want of courage.

In expectation of day, the whole army reposed themselves in their armour for some time, and several went to their devotions, for it was looked upon as a very dangerous enterprise. As soon as it was broad day, and the hour come for the assault, which as I said before was eight in the morning, the duke ordered the signal to be given, and the great guns to be fired successively as was agreed on, to give them notice who were in our vanguard on the other side of the town, at a great distance to go about, but through the town it was but a little way; the vanguard took the signal, and immediately prepared to storm the town; the duke's trumpets began to sound, the colours advanced to the walls, and the soldiers marched after in very good order. The king was at that time in the middle of the street well attended with his three hundred men at arms, his guards, and some lords and officers of his household. When he came so near that we expected to be immediately at push of pike, we found no resistance at all, and no above two or three men upon the guard; for supposing, because it was Sunday, that we would not have attacked them, they were all gone to dinner, and we found the cloth laid in every house that we entered. A multitude is seldom formidable, unless commanded by some officer for whom they have a reverence and fear: yet there are certain hours and seasons in which their fury is terrible.

Before this assault the Liegeois were much fatigued and dispirited, as well for the loss they had sustained in their two sallies, in which all their chief officers were slain, as for the great pains and hard service which they had endured for eight days successively; for nobody was exempted from being upon the guard. They being blocked up on both sides, as I hinted before, I do suppose they thought that Sunday might have been a day of rest to them, but they were mightily mistaken, for they did not make the least defence either on our side, or on the other, where the Burgundians and our vanguard made their attack, and entered before us; they killed but few, for the people fled over the Maese into the forest of Ardennes, and from thence into such places of re-

fuge as they thought most proper to secure themselves in. On that side of the town where I was, I saw but three men and one woman dead; and I believe there were not above two hundred killed in the whole, the rest being all fled, or got into the houses or churches for sanctuary. The king marched at his own leisure, for he saw there was no opposition, and the army, consisting by my computation of about forty thousand men, entered at both ends of the town. The duke having advanced a good way into the city, turned back to meet the king, conducted him as far as the palace, and then returned to the great church of St. Lambert, into which his soldiers were forcing their way for the sake both of the prisoners and the plunder; for though he had posted a battalion of his guards there to secure the church, yet the soldiers could not be restrained, but fell upon them, and attempted to break open the doors. I saw the duke of Burdundy kill one man himself at his arrival, upon which the soldiers retreated, and the church was preserved for that time; but at length all the men which had fled thither for sanctuary were made prisoners, and all the furniture taken away. The rest of the churches which were very numerous, for I have heard the lord d'Himbercourt, who knew the town very well, say, that there were as many masses said in it every day as in Rome, were most of them plundered under pretence of searching for prisoners. I myself was in none but the great church, but I was told so, and saw the marks of it, for which a long time after the pope excommunicated all such as had any goods belonging to the churches in that city, unless they restored them; and the duke appointed certain officers to go up and down his country to see the pope's sentence put in execution. After the taking and plundering the city, about noon the duke returned to the palace; the king had dined before he came, but expressed much joy at his good fortune, and highly applauded his magnanimity and conduct, for he knew well enough it would be carried to the duke; and he had a longing desire to be at home in his own kingdom. After dinner the king and the duke were very merry together, and if the king had been lavish in his commendations behind his back, he extolled his actions much more to his face, and the duke was not a little pleased to hear it.

But I am obliged to make a small digression, and give an account of the calamities of those miserable people who fled out of the town, that I may confirm what I said in the beginning of these memoirs, when I spoke of the misfortunes and dreadful consequences which I have observed to follow those who are defeated in battle, whether king or prince, or any other potentate whatever.

These miserable creatures fled through the country of Ardennes with their wives and children. A gentleman in those parts, who till that time had been of their side, fell upon, and cut off a great party of them; and, to ingratiate himself with the conqueror, he gave him an account of what he had done and represented the number both of the prisoners and slain to be much greater than in reality it was, though indeed it was too great; but, however, he made his own peace with the duke by that action. Others fled to Mezieres, which is a French town upon the Maese. Two or three of their ringleaders were taken and presented to the duke, one of which was named Madoulet, whom he ordered immediately to be put to death, and several of the rest died with hunger, or cold, or watching.

CHAP. XIV.

Of king Lewis's return into France by the consent of the duke of Burgundy, and the manner in which the duke treated the Liegeois, and the people of Franche-Mont afterwards.

ABOUT four or five days after the taking of the town, the king began to employ his friends about the duke, to propose his return into France, and he himself broke the matter to him very discreetly, telling him, that if he had still any occasion for his assistance, he should freely let him know it, and he would willingly stay longer; but that if his presence could be of no further importance, he desired to be dismissed, that he might return to Paris, and see the peace published in the court of parliament: for in France it is a custom that all treaties of peace should be published in that court, or otherwise they are void, though indeed the king's power is very great. Besides, he desired of the duke that they might have another interview next summer in Burgundy, and enjoy the conversation of one another for a month together. At length the duke consented he should go, yet not without muttering something to himself now and then. The duke ordered the articles of peace to be read to the king, that if he repented of any thing, it might be altered: he offered it likewise to his choice, whether he would stand to it or not, and some little apology he made for his bringing him thither. He desired one thing more, which was, that the king would permit a new article to be added in favour of the lord du Lau, the lord d'Urse, and Poncet de Riviere, and that he would promise that the lands and preferments which they had enjoyed before the war, should

be restored to them again. This proposition did not please the king at all, for he thought it very unreasonable that those that were not of his party should be comprehended in the peace: besides, they were servants to the lord Charles the king's brother, and not to the king. However, the king replied that he would consent to it, upon condition that the duke would do the same for the count de Nevers and the lord de Croy; upon which answer the duke pressed it no further. This answer of the king's was looked upon to be a very wise one, for the duke hated those two gentlemen, so that he would never consent to their restauration. In all the rest the king told the duke he would alter nothing, but confirm whatever had been sworn at Peronne. In this manner his departure was agreed on, and the king took his leave of the duke, who conducted him about half a league; but at their last departure the king said to him—"If my brother who is in Bretagne should not be satisfied with the appennage which for your sake I have given him, what would you have me do?" The duke hastily replied, without considering what he said—"If he should not, it is your part to see him satisfied, but I shall leave that to yourselves." From which question and answer, important actions did afterwards proceed, as you shall hear in its proper place.

The king departed extremely well pleased, and was conducted by the lords des Cordes, and d'Aimeries, grand bailiff of Hainault, out of the duke of Burgundy's territories, who himself continued at Liege. That city indeed was barbarously treated, but they had used his subjects with the same cruelty ever since his grandfather's time, never keeping any promise, nor observing any peace that they made; and it was now the fifth year that the duke had been there in person, made peace with them every time, and the next year they would be sure to break it: besides, they had stood excommunicated a long time for their insolence to their bishop; yet they could never be restrained, nor brought to receive the pope's commands with either reverence or obedience. As soon as the king was gone, the duke resolved, with a small detachment of his forces, to march into the country of Franche-Mont, which is steep, hilly, full of woods, and lies a little beyond Liege, from whence the best soldiers which they had, came, and particularly those who made that desperate sally which I mentioned before. Before the duke left the city, a great number of those poor creatures who had hid themselves in the houses when the town was taken, and were afterwards made prisoners, were drowned. He also resolved to burn the city, though in former times it had been always very populous, and orders were given for firing it in three different places, and three or four thousand foot of the country of

Limburg, who were their neighbours, and used the same habit and language, were commanded to set it on fire, but to secure the churches. The first thing they did was so demolish a great bridge over the river Maese, then a strong body was appointed to protect such houses of the canons as were near the churches, that they might have lodging and convenience for the performing of divine service: other parties were likewise ordered for the preservation of the rest of the churches. All things being thus ordered, the duke began his march into the country of Franche-Mont, he was no sooner out of the town, but immediately we saw a great number of houses on fire beyond the river; the duke lay that night four leagues from the city, yet we could hear the noise and cries of the people as distinctly as if we had been upon the place, but whether it was the wind which lay that way, or our quartering upon the river that was the cause of it, I now not. The next day the duke marched on, and those who were left in the town continued the conflagration according to their orders; but all the churches, except some few, were preserved, and above three hundred houses belonging to the priests and officers of the churches, which was the reason it was so soon re-inhabited, for many flocked thither to live with the priests.

The cold and the frost were so violent, the greatest part of the duke's detachment was forced to march on foot into the country of Franche-Mont, which has no walled towns, but consists wholly in villages; the duke lay still five or six days in a little village called Pelennèe, which stands in a small valley, he divided his forces into two bodies for the speedier destruction of the country: his orders were to burn all the houses, break down all their iron mills, which were the greatest part of their livelihood, and search about among the woods for such of the poor people as had with their goods run thither to hide themselves, of which many were killed, several made prisoners, and the soldiers got good store of plunder. In this march I saw incredible effects of the severity of the weather, one gentleman lost the use of his foot, and never recovered it again. A page had two of his fingers drop off with extremity of cold. I saw a woman and her new-born child starved to death with it. For three days together the duke's attendants could get no wine, but what they cut out with a hatchet, for it was frozen in the vessels, and the ice being thick and entire, they were forced to cut it out in pieces, which they carried away in their hats or baskets as they thought fit. I could tell other strange stories of this nature, and tire the patience of my reader, but we in short were starved out of that country, and forced, after we had been there eight days, to march back with all expe-

dition to Namur, and from thence into Brabant, where the duke was received with the universal joy and acclamations of his subjects.

CHAP. XV.

Of the king of France's subtilty, by which he prevailed with his brother duke Charles, to accept of the dutchy of Guienne in lieu of Brie and Champagne, contrary to the duke of Burgundy's intention.

THE king having taken his leave of the duke of Burgundy, returned with great joy and satisfaction into his own kingdom, not in the least complaining of his usage either at Peronne, or Liege, bearing all things patiently, at least in appearance; yet for all that, great wars arose afterwards between them, but not presently, nor was that the cause which I mentioned before, though it might contribute much, for the conditions of peace were much the same as if the king had freely signed it at Paris: but by the counsel of his officers, the duke was encouraged to extend the bounds of his dominions, and great artifice was used to have it done secretly, of which I shall speak in due time.

[1469]. Charles of France the king's only brother, and lately duke of Normandy, being informed of the treaty of Peronne, and of the proportion which he was to have thereby, sent presently to the king to desire his majesty would accomplish the treaty, and grant him the investiture of those countries he had promised to give him. The king sent to him again, and several messages passed between them. The duke of Burgundy sent also an ambassador to the lord Charles, to desire him not to accept of any other appennage but Champagne and Brie, since they were granted upon his interposition: he remonstrated also the friendship which he had always shewn him, and that even then when he deserted the duke of Burgundy; the duke could not be tempted to retaliate as he had observed others had done, but had also comprehended the duke of Bretagne in the treaty of peace as his ally; besides, he ordered his agent to acquaint him, that the situation of Champagne and Brie lay very commodious for them both, and if the king should ever attempt to resume it, in a day's time he might have succours out of Burgundy, for those countries were contiguous, which would be of great advantage to him; besides, all the taxes, subsidies, and revenues would accrue wholly to him, and nothing to the king, but the bare homage and sovereignty.

This Charles of France was a person who did little or nothing

of himself, but in all things was governed and managed by other people, though he was then above twenty years of age: in this manner that winter passed, being half spent before the king left us. Messengers were passing continually about this appennage: the king resolved upon no terms to suffer his brother to enjoy what he had promised, for he did not like the duke of Burgundy and he should be such near neighbours: whereupon the king proposed to the lord Charles to accept of Guienne and Rochelle, which is almost all Aquitaine, rather than Brie and Champagne. Charles was afraid of disobliging the duke of Burgundy; he feared also that if he should comply, and the king afterwards not stand to his word, he should lose friend and fortune both, and leave himself nothing to depend on. The king, who in such affairs was the wisest prince of that age, perceiving that all his endeavours to accomplish his design were in vain, unless he could make an interest in some of those who were in credit with his brother, addressed himself to Odet de Rye lord of Lescut, and since count de Comminges, who was born and married in the country of Guienne, desiring him that he would be pleased to use his interest with his master to persuade him to accept of that for his appennage, it being much larger and of a greater revenue than what he demanded, which would be the only means to make them live in perfect peace and harmony together like good friends and brothers, and for which all his servants would reap no inconsiderable advantage, but more particularly himself; and as to the investiture, he was ready to grant it him presently. The lord Charles being wheedled and cajoled at this rate, was easily persuaded to accept of Guienne, to the great dissatisfaction of the duke of Burgundy, and his ambassadors in France. The cardinal Balüe, the bishop of Angers, and the bishop of Verdun, were arrested and imprisoned, because the cardinal had written to the duke de Guienne not to accept of any other share than what was assigned to him by the treaty at Peronne, to which the king had promised and sworn. Besides, he added several other arguments to induce him to it, which was directly contrary to the king's designs: but the lord Charles of France was at last created duke of Guienne in the year 1469, and put into peaceable possession of that country, and the government of Rochelle; after which the king and he had a meeting, and conversed together a long time.

END OF BOOK II.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The king takes an occasion of making a new war upon the duke of Burgundy, and of his sending as far as Ghent to summon him to appear, by a sergeant of the parliament.

IN the year 1470, the king having a fair opportunity, as he thought, was resolved to be revenged of the duke of Burgundy, and secretly endeavours to persuade the towns upon the river Somme, as Amiens, St. Quintin, and Abbeville, to forsake the duke, and admit some of his troops into their garrisons; for it is the custom of great princes, especially if they be wise, to find out some fair pretence or other to cover their designs. In order to your better understanding the intrigues and artifices of the French court in those kind of transactions, I will give a relation of the whole management of this clandestine affair, for the king and duke too were both of them deceived, and a very bloody and cruel war commenced upon it, which lasted thirteen or fourteen years. The king indeed had a great desire to excite those towns to rebel, and it was upon pretence, that the duke of Burgundy had extended the bounds of his dominions farther than the treaty would bear. Upon this account several envoys and ambassadors were sent from one court to the other, backward and forward, who passed and re-passed through these towns, and proposed and drove on their several bargains very securely, there being no garrisons in these towns; for the whole kingdom of France, as well on that side towards the duke of Burgundy's dominions, as on the other, towards the duke of Bretagne's, was in perfect peace, and the duke de Guienne in all appearance in great friendship with the king. However, the king had no design to commence a war purely to re-possess himself of one or two of those towns, and no

more; but his intention was to raise an universal rebellion in the duke of Burgundy's dominions, hoping by that means to make himself master of all his country. Several persons, to ingratiate themselves with the king, undertook the management of these secret negotiations, and reported them much forwarder than he really found them; one promised him one town, and another, another town, and that they had bargained for them all; but had the king's designs reached no further than the events which succeeded, though indeed he had cause enough for his treatment at Peronne, he would not have violated the peace, nor involved himself in a new war, for he had published the peace at Paris three months after his return, and began this enterprise not without some fear and caution; but the violent desires he had to it at last prevailed over his timorousness, and he was spurred on to it by the secret advice of some of his courtiers. The count de St. Paul, a wise man, and constable of France, with several of the duke of Guienne's servants, and others, earnestly desired a war between those two great princes, rather than peace, and that for two reasons; the first was, that the count was afraid his great allowances and comings-in would be lessened and retrenched, if the peace should continue; for the constable had four hundred men at arms or lancers paid every muster, without any comptroller, and above thirty thousand franks a-year, besides the salary of his office, and the profits of several good places which he had in his possession. The other was, because they had observed and talked among themselves, that the nature of the king was such, that unless he was at war, with some foreign prince, he would certainly find some quarrel or other at home with his servants and officers, for his head must always be working. Prompted by these specious arguments, they endeavoured to persuade the king to commence the war, and the constable promised to take St. Quintin when he pleased, for his lands lay near it, and he boasted much of his great intelligence in Brabant and Flanders, and that he could induce several of those towns to revolt against the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Guienne being of the same opinion, all his principal officers offered their service, and promised him to bring along with them four or five hundred men at arms, which the duke kept constantly in pay; but their design was not as the king took it, but quite contrary, as you will see hereafter.

The king was always wont to proceed gravely and solemnly in all actions of importance, and therefore he called a parliament at Tours in the months of March and April 1470, a thing which he had never done before, nor ever did afterwards; but he summoned

only such persons as he thought would not oppose his designs. In this assembly he remonstrated several of the duke of Burgundy's practices against the crown; he ordered the count d'Eu to bring in a complaint against the duke for detaining from him St. Vallery and other towns belonging to the jurisdiction of Abbeville, and the county of Ponthieu, without giving the count d'Eu any reason or satisfaction; pretending only he did it by way of reprisals for a small merchant-man of Flanders which had been taken by a small man of war belonging to Eu, though the count d'Eu offered to make reparation. Besides, the duke of Burgundy would oblige the count d'Eu to do him homage, and swear fealty to him against all persons whatever, which he would never consent to, it being against the honour and authority of the king. In this convention there were present several lawyers, as well of the parliament as elsewhere; by all which it was concluded according to the intention of the king, that a day should be appointed, and the duke of Burgundy summoned to appear in person before the parliament at Paris. The king knew very well his answer would be insolent, or that he would do something or other against the authority of that court, which would give him a more plausible pretence of declaring war against him. The duke of Burgundy received his summons in Ghent from the hands of one of the officers of the parliament, as he was going to mass; he was much surprised, and highly offended at it, and ordered the officer to be taken into custody, where he remained several days, but at length he was dismissed.

You see the measures that were concerted for the invasion of the duke of Burgundy's territories, who having intelligence of it, immediately listed great numbers of men, but at half pay, as they called it, which were to be ready in arms at their houses upon the first summons: however, they were mustered constantly once a-month, and received their pay.

In this posture affairs continued for three or four months, but the duke growing weary of the expense, disbanded his soldiers, for the king having sent several embassies to him, he began to think the storm was blown over, and retired into Holland. He had now no soldiers in pay, ready to be employed upon any occasion, nor garrisons in his frontier towns, which was greatly to his disadvantage, by reason of the designs on foot for bringing over Amiens, Abbeville, and St. Quintin, to the king. While the duke of Burgundy was in Holland, John, late duke of Bourbon, gave him notice, that in a short time a war would break out against him, as well in Burgundy as Picardy, for the king had great in-

telligence both in those provinces and in his family. The duke of Burgundy being wholly unprovided of troops, having disbanded his army, as I said before, was much alarmed at this news; upon which he passed immediately into Artois by sea, and from thence to Hesdin. There he began to find the secret intrigues of some of his officers, and the transactions which were managed privately in the above-mentioned towns. At first he could not be persuaded of the truth of it, so that it was some time before he would be convinced of their treachery; but at length he sent for two of the principal citizens of Amiens, whom he suspected to have a hand in those secret negotiations; yet they excused themselves so handsomely, that he suffered them to depart without doing any thing to them. Not long after this, some of the duke's courtiers revolted from him, and went over to the king, as the bastard Baudoüin, and several others, which made him fearful lest more of them should follow their example. To prevent the worst, he issued out a proclamation, requiring all people to be immediately in arms; but few obeyed it, for winter was approaching, and the duke had not been many days arrived from Holland.

CHAP. II.

Of the delivering up the towns of St. Quintin and Amiens to the king, and upon what grounds the constable and others fomented the war between the king and the duke of Burgundy.

TWO days after the duke of Burgundy's courtiers had deserted him, which was in December 1470, the constable of France entered St. Quintin, and forced the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to the king. Then the duke began to discern the ill posture of his affairs; for he had sent all his officers to raise men in his own countries, and had not one friend left with him that he could depend on. However, with those few he could get together, and about four or five hundred horse, he marched to Dourlens, intending to secure Amiens, and keep it from revolting; but he had not been there many days before Amiens began to treat, for the king's army being not far off, invested the town, but was refused entrance for some time, because there was still a small party left in it for the duke, who had sent his quarter-master thither to take up his lodgings, and if he had had a sufficient number of troops with him to have entered in person, that town had scarce

ever been lost: but with the small brigade he had, he durst not venture himself in it, though he was much pressed by several of the townsmen. As soon as those of the king's party perceived he was afraid, and not strong enough to trust himself in the town, they put what they had meditated before in execution, and received a garrison of the king's troops. Those of Abbeville intended to have done the same, but the lord des Cordes got in for the duke, and prevented their design. From Amiens to Dourlens is but five little leagues, so that upon the news that Amiens had declared for the king, the duke of Burgundy was forced to retire with great precipitation to Arras, fearing lest several other places should do the like, seeing himself surrounded with the friends and relations of the constable. Besides, the revolt of the bastard Baudoüin made him entertain a jealousy of the grand bastard of Burgundy, his natural brother: however, by degrees the people came in to him; and the king now thought himself master of his designs, for he believed whatever the constable and the rest had told him of their intelligences all over the duke of Burgundy's dominions, and had it not been in hopes it would have proved true, that enterprise had never been undertaken.

But it is now high time for me to declare what it was that moved the constable, the duke of Guienne, and their principal ministers, notwithstanding the many good offices, the supplies, and honourable dealing which the duke of Guienne had received from the duke of Burgundy, and what advantage they proposed to themselves by fomenting the war between these two great princes, who were then in repose in their several provinces; I have said something of it before, and it was really to secure their pensions and employments, lest the king having no wars abroad should either take them away, or retrench them. But this was not the chief cause. The duke of Guienne and his party had passionately desired a match between him and the sole daughter and heiress of the duke of Burgundy, for the duke of Burgundy had no sons. The duke of Burgundy had been often solicited in this business, and always gave them hopes, but would never suffer it to be concluded, and indeed entertained propositions in other places. It is worth our observation to consider what artifices these persons used to arrive at their designs, and force the duke to give his daughter to the duke of Guienne. As soon as those two towns had revolted, and the duke of Burgundy was returned to Arras, where he was raising what force he could, the duke of Guienne sent one privately to him with only three lines under his own hand, folded as close as was possible, and made up in a piece

of soft wax, with these words,—"Endeavour what you can to reconcile yourself to your subjects, for other things take no care, for you will be sure to find friends enough."

The duke of Burgundy, who at first was extremely surprised at it, immediately dispatches a messenger to the constable to entreat him that he would not pursue his advantages, and do him so much mischief as he knew was in his power, since the war was begun without any proclamation. The constable was not a little pleased with this message, supposing he had the duke of Burgundy now at his beck, and could manage him as he pleased: he returned him this answer, that he was sensible his affairs were in very great danger, and that he knew but one remedy left, which was to marry his daughter to the duke of Guienne, for in so doing he would not only be suddenly supplied with men, but the duke of Guienne and several other great lords would declare for him, and he himself would deliver up St. Quintin, and become of their party; but without the consummation of that marriage, nothing was to be expected, for the king was very powerful, his affairs well managed, and great intelligence in the whole territory of Burgundy: he also made use of several other expressions to render the king's preparations more formidable, and to augment the duke's fears. I never knew any man come to a good end, that took pleasure in frightening his master, or keeping him in subjection, or indeed any other great prince whom he had occasion to treat with, as you shall see afterwards in the example of the constable; for though the king was his master at that time, yet his children, and the greatest part of his estate lay in the duke of Burgundy's dominions: however, it was always his method, by making them afraid of one another, to keep both of them in awe, which at last fell heavy upon himself. And as it is natural for all people to endeavour to free themselves from fear and subjection, so none does it with more eagerness and revenge than princes, of whom I never knew any that did not pursue them with a mortal and implacable hatred who attempted to use them so.

After the delivery of the constable's answer to the duke of Burgundy, he found nothing of friendship was to be expected from him, but that he was the contriver, and principal manager of the war; upon which he conceived a mortal hatred for him, which could never after be extinguished, especially when he reflected that his remonstrances of danger tended to no other end but to constrain him to the marriage of his daughter. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy had recollected himself in some measure, and assembled a considerable army. By the messages which were

sent first from the duke of Guienne, and afterwards from the constable, it may be presumed the whole business was premeditated; for not long after the duke of Bretagne wrote to him in the same, or a more terrible dialect, and suffered the lord de Lescut to put himself into the king's service, with a hundred of his British men at arms; so that it may be easily concluded, this war was undertaken to force the duke of Burgundy to that match. The king was abused when he was put upon it; and the story of their intelligence in the duke of Burgundy's country was utterly, or a great part of it, false. However, during this whole expedition, the king was served faithfully by the constable, who mortally hated the duke of Burgundy, because he knew that the duke had the same affection for him. The duke of Guienne also served the king very honestly in this war, with a considerable body of troops, and the duke of Burgundy's affairs were in a dangerous condition; yet, if in the beginning of this rupture the duke, as I said before, would have consented to the marriage with the duke of Guienne, all the above-mentioned great lords would have abandoned the king, and employed all their power and interest against him: but it is in vain for man to determine in those cases, for God almighty still executes as he pleases.

CHAP. III.

Of the duke of Burgundy's taking Piquigny, and the means he found out to make a truce with the king for a year, to the great dissatisfaction of the constable of France.

YOU have already been sufficiently informed of the motives of this war, and that the two princes were at first deluded, and invaded one another without understanding the true grounds of the quarrel, which is a convincing argument of the subtilty and contrivance of those that managed that affair, and confirms the old saying—"That one half of the world does not know what the other is doing." But all these passages which I have mentioned, happened in a very little space of time: for in less than a fortnight after the taking of Amiens, the duke of Burgundy took the field near Arras, for he retired no farther, and marched afterwards towards the Somme, directly to Piquigny. As he was upon his march, a messenger, no better than a footman, came to him from the duke of Bretagne, who told him from his master, that the

king had acquainted him with much of his affairs, and among the rest, that he had considerable parties in several of his great towns, naming Antwerp, Bruges, and Brussels: he gave him notice also, that the king designed to besiege him wherever he should find him, though it were in Ghent itself. I am of opinion that this message was intended only in favour of the duke of Guienne, and to further the match. But the duke of Burgundy was highly displeased at this information, and told the messenger immediately, that his master was mis-informed, and that it was only some ill courtiers about him, who had filled his imagination with those jealousies and apprehensions, only with a design to hinder him of the supplies which by his alliance he was obliged to send him; and that as to the town of Ghent, and the rest which he mentioned, he was mis-informed, for they were too big to be besieged: that he should undeceive his master, let him know how he found him attended, and that he was now marching to pass the river Somme, and was resolved to fight the king of France, if he endeavoured to interrupt the course of his arms: he desired him therefore that he would entreat the duke his master, from him, to declare himself immediately against the king, and that he would shew himself no otherwise to the duke of Burgundy than the duke of Burgundy had expressed himself towards him in the treaty at Peronne.

The duke of Burgundy arrived with his army near a town strongly seated upon the Somme, called Piquigny. His design was to lay a bridge thereabouts over the river, and pass it with his army; but there being by accident at that time four or five hundred archers, and some few of the nobility in the town, they resolved to march out, and dispute the passage with him. They sallied out upon a long causey to engage him, and advanced so far, that being repulsed, their distance from the town gave the duke's men an opportunity of pursuing them, and they did it so effectually, that they killed a great number of them, before they could recover their works, and possessed themselves of the suburbs at the end of the causey. The duke of Burgundy immediately ordered a battery to be erected, and planted four or five great guns on it, in order to batter the town, though the town was impregnable on that side, because of the river's running between them. However, the archers observing that their bridge was almost finished, and expecting to be besieged, as soon as the enemy had passed the river, abandoned the town, and marched away in great confusion; the castle held out three days after, but the garrison was forced at last to surrender and march away with-

out their arms. This little action revived the duke of Burgundy's courage, so that he encamped about Amiens, pitched his tents in two or three several places, giving out that he kept the field, to see if the king would venture a battle with him: at length he approached so near, that his artillery fired into, and over the town; and in that camp he continued for six weeks together: there were in the town fourteen hundred of the king's men at arms, and four thousand Frank-archers, and with them the constable, with all the great lords of France, as the grand master, the admiral, the seneschal, and a great number of persons of quality besides. In the mean time the king was at Beauvois, where he assembled a great army. The king was attended by his brother the duke of Guienne, duke Nicholas of Calabria eldest son to duke John of Calabria and Lorrain, sole heir of the house of Anjou, and the rest of the nobility of that kingdom assembled by virtue of the Arriere-ban. Who, as I have been since informed, had a great curiosity at that time to find out the intrigue and mystery of this expedition, for they saw his business was so far from being done, that he was deeper engaged than ever he was before. Those who were in Amiens had a design to sally out and attack the duke of Burgundy's army, if the king would have advanced and joined them with the forces which he had at Beauvois.

But the king having notice of their design, sent express orders to forbid it, for though in all probability this action was more likely to turn to his advantage than otherwise, yet it could not be attempted without manifest danger, especially to them in the town, for they were obliged to sally out at the gates; and there being but two, and one of them so near the duke of Burgundy's army, and their whole body consisting of infantry, if they should be repulsed, it would have been difficult for them to have made their retreat, and they would have been in great danger, not only in being cut in pieces themselves, but also of losing the town. In this posture of affairs the duke of Burgundy dispatches one of his pages, called Simon de Quingey, with a letter to the king, only of six lines, but under his own hand: the letter was very humble, complaining—That he had been deluded, and tempted to invade him upon other people's designs; and intimating, that if his majesty had been rightly informed, he was confident he never would have attempted it.

But the king's army in Burgundy had fought and defeated the whole force of that country, and though the number of the slain was not very considerable, yet the victory was great, several prisoners were taken, and abundance of towns besieged and carried

by storm. The news of this defeat extremely discouraged the duke of Burgundy, who immediately caused a report to be spread in his army that his forces had won the battle. The king was highly pleased at the receipt of the duke of Burgundy's letter, for the reasons above mentioned; and because his majesty did not love to have his enterprises tedious, he returned him an answer, and sent a commission to empower certain persons in Amiens to enter upon a treaty. At first a cessation was agreed on for some few days only; but at length, as I remember, they had one for a year, with which the constable seemed to be highly displeased; and without doubt, whatever some people may say or think to the contrary, the constable was the duke of Burgundy's mortal enemy. Several treaties and conferences they had, but never the least friendship proceeded from any of them, as the event demonstrated. Yet they continued sending one to the other, and endeavouring a reconciliation; the duke did it in hopes by his means to recover St. Quintin, for whenever the constable entertained the least suspicion of the king, he promised to restore it, and sometimes it proceeded so far, that by the consent of the constable, the duke of Burgundy's forces approached within two or three leagues of the town, in expectation to be received; but when they were to be admitted, the constable's heart still failed him, and he sent them back as they came, which shuffling dealing proved afterwards highly to his disadvantage: he had a strong opinion, that by the strength and situation of his towns, and the great number of his forces, which the king was to pay, he should be able to keep the king and the duke in the same jealousy and discord as they were in at that time; but his design was very dangerous, for they were both of them too powerful and too cunning to be imposed on at that rate.

Upon the breaking up of these armies, the king retired into Touraine, the duke of Guienne into his own country, and the duke of Burgundy into Flanders, and affairs continued in that posture for some time. The duke of Burgundy called a general assembly of the estates of his country, to whom he remonstrated the damage he had sustained by not having a good body of men at arms ready as the king had, assuring them that if he had had but five hundred men at arms ready to secure his frontiers, the king had never undertaken that war, and they had continued in peace.—He laid also before them the dangers to which they were still exposed, and pressed very hard that they would allow and pay him for eight hundred lancers. At last they consented to give him a subsidy of six score thousand crowns, besides all other duties and

profits that they yearly paid him; neither was Burgundy comprehended. But his subjects made great scruple, and for several reasons, to put themselves into such a state of subjection, as the kingdom of France was in, by reason of their guards. And to speak impartially, their unwillingness was not without cause, for when he had once got five or six hundred horse, he hankered after more, attempted more boldly upon his neighbours; the six score thousand crowns he multiplied to five hundred thousand, and increased his guards to such a number, that at last they became a great grievance to his subjects. My opinion is, that guards or standing forces which are always in pay, may be kept and employed very usefully under the administration of a prudent and judicious prince; but when it is otherwise, or he happens to die, and leaves his successors, children, the service in which their governor employs them is not always safe or advantageous for either prince or subject.

Notwithstanding these correspondences and truces, the hatred between the king and the duke of Burgundy rather increased than diminished. The duke of Guienne, upon his return into his own country, solicited the duke of Burgundy very hard to marry his daughter; which proposals the duke of Burgundy did willingly entertain, and indeed so he did too whoever was proposed, so that I am of opinion he had no mind to have a son-in-law, nor that his daughter should marry in his life time, but chose rather to keep her as a decoy to allure princes to his party, and inveigle them to his assistance; for he had so many, and so great enterprises in his head, as could not be compassed in one man's life. Besides, to speak the truth, they were but little better than impossible, for one half of Europe was not sufficient to content the insatiable desire of extending his dominions. He had courage enough to undertake the most difficult enterprises, his body was capable of as much pain and fatigue as was necessary; he was powerful in men and money; and if he was defective in any thing, it was in judgment, and the cunning management of his affairs; and if a prince be deficient in that point, let him be every way as complete, and as nicely qualified for heroic actions as he will, it signifies nothing; so that I look upon it as proceeding merely from the grace of God. In short, he that could have taken part of the king's qualities, and mingled them with a select quantity of the duke's, might have made a perfect prince: for certainly the king was much superior to him in profoundness of judgment, and niceness of management, and the end sufficiently demonstrated it to all the world.

CHAP. IV.

Of the civil wars between the princes in England during the difference between Lewis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy.

IN mentioning of the preceding passages, I had almost forgot to speak of Edward king of England, for king Edward IV. and the duke of Burgundy were contemporaries. I shall not here observe the method and order of writing, which is frequent among historians, nor name the years and moments of time when every action happened; neither shall I produce any examples out of history, of which you have a better knowledge than myself, and it would be altogether impertinent and superfluous. I shall only give you a plain account, and in general, of what I have seen, understood, and heard from persons of honour and integrity, of these three great princes above mentioned: in my judgment, those that lived in the age when these affairs were transacted, have no occasion of being informed of the exact hours when every thing was done.

I have formerly mentioned the reasons that prevailed with the duke of Burgundy to marry the sister of Edward king of England, and it was principally to strengthen his alliance against the king of France, otherwise he would never have done it, for the love he bore to the house of Lancaster, to which he was allied by his mother, who was Infanta of Portugal, but her mother was of the duke of Lancaster's daughter: wherefore his kindness for the house of Lancaster was as great as his hatred to that of York. At the time of this marriage, the house of Lancaster was quite depressed; and of the house of York there was no great talk: for Edward, who was both duke of York and king, enjoyed the peaceable possession of the kingdom. In the war between these two contending houses, there had been seven or eight memorable battles, and in which three score or four score persons of the blood-royal of that kingdom were cruelly slain, as is said before. Those that survived were fugitives, and lived in the duke of Burgundy's court, all of them young gentlemen, whose fathers had been slain in England, whom the duke of Burgundy had generously entertained before this marriage, as his relations of the house of Lancaster; some of them were reduced to such extremity of want and poverty before the duke of Burgundy received them, that no common beggar could have been in greater: I saw one of them, who was duke of Exeter, but he concealed his name, following the duke of Burgundy's train bare-foot and bare-legged, begging his bread from

door to door: this person was the next of the house of Lancaster; had married king Edward's sister, and being afterwards known, had a small pension allowed him for his subsistence. There were also some of the family of the Somersets, and several others, all of them slain since, in the wars. The fathers and relations of these persons had plundered and destroyed the greatest part of France, and possessed it for several years, and afterwards they turned their swords upon themselves, and killed one another; those who were remaining in England, and their children, have died as you see; and yet there are those who affirm—That God does not punish people as he did in the days of the children of Israel, but suffers the wickedness both of princes and people to remain unpunished. I do believe indeed he does not speak and converse with mankind as he did formerly, he has left them examples enough of his justice to instruct them: but you may see by the sequel of this discourse, and by reflecting on what you know besides, that of these evil princes, and others, who cruelly and tyrannically employ the power that is in their hands, none, or but few of them die a natural death, though perhaps it is neither in the same manner, nor at the same time that those who are injured, desire.

But to return to king Edward. The greatest pillar and support of the house of York, was the earl of Warwick; and the greatest patron of the house of Lancaster, was the duke of Somerset. This earl of Warwick, in respect of the eminent services he had done him, and the care he had taken of his education, might have been well called king Edward's father, and indeed he was a very great man; for besides his own patrimony, he was possessed of several lordships which were given him by the king, some of crown lands, and some that were confiscated: he was made governor of Calais, and had other great offices, so that I have heard he received annually in pensions, and these kind of profits, eighty thousand crowns, besides his inheritance. By accident the earl of Warwick was fallen out with his master the year before the duke of Burgundy's expedition against Amiens: the duke of Burgundy had indeed in some measure been the occasion of the breach between them, disliking the mighty sway and authority that the earl bore in England. Besides, there was no good understanding between them, for the earl of Warwick held constant and private correspondence with the king of France our master. In short, about this very time, or a little before, the earl of Warwick was grown so exorbitant in his power, that he imprisoned king Edward, put the queen's father, the lord Rivers, and two of his sons to death,

and the third was in great danger, though all of them were great favourites of the king. He also caused several knights, and other persons of quality to be put to death. For some time he used the king very honourably, put new servants about him, hoping that he would have forgotten the old, for he looked upon his master as a very weak prince. The duke of Burgundy was extremely concerned at what had happened, privately contrived a way for Edward's escape, and that he might have an opportunity of speaking with him: and their plot succeeded so well, that king Edward escaped out of prison, raised men, fought and defeated a great body of the earl of Warwick's troops. King Edward was very fortunate in his battles, for he fought nine pitched battles, always on foot, and was always conqueror. The earl of Warwick finding himself too weak to oppose king Edward, having first given instructions to his private friends what they were to do in his absence, took this opportunity, and put to sea with the duke of Clarence, who had married his daughter, and was then of his faction, (notwithstanding that he was brother to the king), and carrying with them their wives and children, and a great number of forces, with whom he appeared before Calais, and designed to have got in. There were at that time several of the earl's servants in the town, and one Monsieur Vaucler in the quality of his lieutenant, who instead of receiving him, fired his great guns upon him. Whilst they lay at anchor before the town, the dutchess of Clarence, who was daughter to the earl of Warwick, was brought to bed of a son; and great entreaties were used, before Vaucler and the rest could be persuaded to send her two flaggons of wine, which was great severity in a servant to use his master so: for it is to be presumed the earl thought himself secure of that place, it being the richest jewel belonging to the crown of England, and the best government in the world, or at least in Christendom; and this I know, for I was there several times during their differences, and was told by the chief officer of the staple for cloth, that he would willingly farm the government of the town at fifteen thousand crowns *per annum*, for the governor of Calais receives all profits on that side of the sea, has the benefits of convoys, and the entire disposal and management of the garrison.

The king of England was extremely pleased and well satisfied with Vaucler for refusing his captain, and sent him a patent to constitute him governor in the earl of Warwick's room, for he was an old experienced officer, a wise gentleman, and of the order of the garter. The duke of Burgundy was also well pleased with him for this action, and being at St. Omers, he sent me to Mon-

sieur Vaucler to assure him of a pension of a thousand crowns, and to desire him to continue that affection which he had already shewn to the king of England. I found him fixed and resolved to be so; and in a great hall in that town he swore solemnly to me, that he would serve the king of England against all opposers whatsoever: and when he had so done, the whole garrison took the same oath. I was near two months going and coming between Boulogne and Calais, to keep him steady in his principles; but the most part of the time I was with him, the duke of Burgundy was come to Boulogne, and had his residence there in order to the setting out a great fleet against the earl of Warwick, who at his departure from Calais had taken several ships belonging to the duke of Burgundy's subjects, which was partly the occasion of the war between the king of France and him. For the earl of Warwick's soldiers selling all their booty in Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, by way of reprisals, seized upon all the French merchants which came to the fair at Antwerp.

Since it is as absolutely necessary to be acquainted with the examples of the deceit and craftiness of this world, as with instances of integrity, not to make use of them, but to arm ourselves against them, I shall in this place lay open a trick, or piece of policy; but call it what you please, it was certainly wisely managed: but by it you may understand the jugling of our neighbours as well as our own, and that there are good and bad people in all places of the world. When the earl of Warwick came from Calais, which he looked upon as his principal refuge, and expected to be received, Monsieur Vaucler being a person of great prudence, sent him word, that if he entered, he was a lost man, for all England, and the duke of Burgundy would be against him; besides, the inhabitants of the town would be his enemies, and a great part of the garrison, as Monsieur Duras, who was the king of England's marshal, and several others who had great interest in the place. Wherefore he advised him, as the best thing he could do, to retire into France, and not to concern himself for Calais, for of that he would give him a fair account upon the first opportunity. He did his governor good service by giving him that counsel, but none at all to the king, for certainly no man was ever guilty of a higher piece of ingratitude than this Vaucler, considering the king of England had made him governor in chief of Calais, and the duke of Burgundy settled a large pension upon him.

CHAP. V.

The earl of Warwick, by the assistance of Lewis king of France, drives king Edward IV. out of England, to the great displeasure of the duke of Burgundy, who received him into his countries.

THE earl of Warwick, who followed Vaucler's counsel, landed in Normandy, and was kindly received by the king of France, who furnished him with great sums of money to pay his troops. The duke of Burgundy had at this time a great fleet abroad, infesting the king's subjects both by land and sea; and this fleet was so powerful, that nothing durst oppose it. The king ordered the bastard of Bourbon admiral of France, with a strong squadron to assist the English against any attempt that should be made upon them by the duke of Burgundy's fleet: all this happened a little before the surrender of St. Quintin and Amiens, which was in the year 1470. The duke of Burgundy was stronger at sea than the earl of Warwick and the king both; for at Sluys he had seized upon several great ships belonging to Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, besides many hulks from Germany.

King Edward was not a man of any great management or foresight, but of an invincible courage, and the most beautiful prince my eyes ever beheld. The Earl of Warwick's landing in Normandy did not so much affect him as it did the duke of Burgundy, who presently perceiving there were great transactions in England in favour of the earl of Warwick, gave frequent information of it to that king; but he never valued it, which in my opinion was great weakness, considering the mighty preparations the king of France had made against him; for he equipped all the ships he could hastily get ready, and well manned and victualled them, and ordered the English fugitives to be paid: by his management also a marriage was concluded between the earl of Warwick's second daughter and the prince of Wales, which prince was the only son to Henry VI. who was at that time alive, and prisoner in the the Tower: an unaccountable match! to dethrone and imprison the father, and marry his only son to the daughter of him that did it. It was no less surprising that he should delude the duke of Clarence, brother to the king whom he opposed, who ought in reason to have been afraid of, and to have endeavoured to hinder the restoration of the house of Lancaster; but affairs of so nice a nature are not to be managed without great cunning and artifice.

During the whole time of this preparation, I staid at Calais to keep Monsieur Vaucler firm to his principles; but I could discover nothing of his juggling, though he had been at it for three months. My business with him was, to desire that he would order twenty or thirty of the earl of Warwick's servants, who were there, to leave the town, for I was assured the king's fleet, in conjunction with the earl's, was ready to sail; and if they should land suddenly in England, it might happen that those servants of the earl of Warwick's might raise some tumult or other in the town that he might not be able appease; for which reason I was very earnest for their being turned out. Before, he had always promised me he would, but then he took me aside, and bid me not be concerned, for he would keep the town well enough; but he had something else to impart to me, and that was, that I would acquaint the duke of Burgundy, that if he desired to shew himself a friend to England, he would advise him to employ his good offices rather in mediating peace, than endeavour to promote the war, and this he said in respect of the great preparations which the duke of Burgundy had made against the earl of Warwick. He told me further, that it would be no hard matter to compass an accommodation, for that very day there was a lady of quality passed by Calais into France, with letters to the dutchess of Clarence, and in them overtures of peace for king Edward; and he said true: but as he had done with others, so the lady dissembled with him; for her business was of another kind of importance, which she accomplished at last, to the utter destruction of the earl of Warwick, and all his party.

You cannot be better informed of the secret contrivances and subtile collusions which happened on our side of the water, than from me, especially as to the transactions of these last twenty years.

The secret affair to be managed by the lady, was to solicit the duke of Clarence not to contribute to the subversion of his own family, by endeavouring to restore the house of Lancaster; that he would remember their old insolences, and the hereditary hatred that was between them, and not be so infatuated as to imagine that the earl of Warwick, who had contracted his daughter to the prince of Wales, and sworn allegiance to him already, would not endeavour to place him upon the throne. This lady managed the affair that was committed to her charge with so much cunning and dexterity, that she prevailed with the duke of Clarence to promise to come over to the king's party, but desired first to be in England.

This lady was no fool, nor blab of her tongue; and being al-

lowed the liberty of visiting her mistress the dutchess of Clarence, she for that reason was employed in this secret, rather than a man. Vaucler was a cunning man, and jealous enough; yet this lady was too hard for him, wheedled him, and carried on her intrigues till she had effected the ruin of the earl of Warwick, and all his faction: for which reason it is no shame for persons in his condition to be suspicious, and keep a watchful eye over all comers and goers; but it is a great disgrace to be circumvented and outwitted, and to lose any thing through one's own negligence or credulity; however, our suspicions ought to be grounded on some foundation, and not to be entertained on every trivial occasion, for that is as bad the other way.

You have already been informed that the earl of Warwick's fleet, with the squadron the king of France had sent to convoy him, were ready to sail, and that the duke of Burgundy's navy lay ready at Havre to engage them: but it pleased God to order it so, that a great storm arising that night, the duke of Burgundy's navy was driven by stress of weather, some into Scotland, some into Holland, and all of them dispersed; after which, in an hour's time, the weather coming about fair for the earl of Warwick, he took his opportunity and sailed safe into England. The duke of Burgundy had sent king Edward word of the very port where the earl designed to land, and had persons constantly about him on purpose to put him in mind of taking care of himself, and putting his kingdom in a posture of defence. But he never was concerned at any thing, but still followed his hunting; and nobody was so great with him as the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montague, both the earl of Warwick's brothers, who had sworn to be true to him against their brother, and all opposers whatsoever, and the poor deluded king put an entire confidence in them.

Upon the earl of Warwick's landing, great numbers came in to him, and king Edward was much alarmed; then, when too late, he began to look about him, and sent to the duke of Burgundy to desire that his fleet might be ready at sea to intercept the earl of Warwick in his return for France, for at land he knew how to deal with him. The duke of Burgundy was not well pleased with these words, for it was looked upon as a greater piece of policy to have hindered the earl from landing, than to be forced to run the hazard of a battle afterwards, to drive him out again. The earl of Warwick had not been landed above five or six days, before the whole country came in to him: he encamped within three leagues of the king, whose army (had they been all true to his interest) was superior to the earl's, and waited on purpose to give

him battle. The king was possessed of a strong villa or house, to which, as he told me himself, there was no access but by one bridge, which proved of great service to him; the rest of his forces were quartered in the neighbouring villages. As he sat at dinner, news was brought him that the marquis of Montague, the earl of Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality, were mounted on horseback, and caused their soldiers to cry—"God bless king Henry." At first king Edward would give no credit to it, but dispatched other messengers to inquire, and in the mean time armed himself, and posted a battalion of his guards at the bridge in case of any assault. There was with him at that time a very prudent gentleman called the lord Hastings, high chamberlain of England, in great authority with the king, and he deserved it, for though his wife was the earl of Warwick's sister, he continued loyal to his king, and was then in his service, as he told me afterwards, with a body of three thousand horse. There was another likewise with him called the lord Rivers, brother to king Edward's queen, besides several persons of quality, who began to think that all was not well, for the messengers confirmed what was told the king before, and that the enemy was marching boldly on, with a design to surprise him in his quarters.

It happened king Edward's quarters were no great distance from the sea, and a small ship that followed with provisions for his army lay at anchor, with two Dutch vessels, hard by. King Edward had but just time to get on board one of them; his chamberlain staid a little behind, advised his lieutenant and the rest of the officers to go in with the rest to the Earl of Warwick, but conjured them to retain their old affection and allegiance to the king, and then he also went a-board the ships which were just ready to set sail. It is the custom in England, when a battle is won, to give quarter, and no man is killed, especially of the common soldiers, (for they know every body will favour the strongest side), and it is but seldom that they are ransomed; so that when the king had made his escape, not one of his men was put to the sword. King Edward told me, that in all the battles which he had gained, his way was, when the victory was on his side, to mount on horseback, and cry out to save the common soldiers, and put the gentry to the sword, by which means none, or very few of them escaped.

And thus king Edward made his escape in the year 1470, by the assistance of a small vessel of his own, and two Dutch merchantmen, being only attended by seven or eight hundred men, without any clothes but what they were to have fought in, no money in their pockets, and not one in twenty of them knew whither they

were going. It was very surprising to see this poor king, for so he might justly be called, run away in this manner, and be pursued by his own subjects. He had indulged himself in ease and pleasures for twelve or thirteen years together, and enjoyed a larger share of them than any prince in his time. His thoughts were wholly employed upon the ladies, hunting, and dressing. In his summer-hunting his custom was to have tents set up for the ladies, where he treated them after a splendid and magnificent manner, and indeed his humour and person were as well turned for love-intrigues as any prince I ever saw in my life: for he was young, and the most beautiful man of his time, I mean when he was in his adversity, for afterwards he grew very corpulent. But see now how on a sudden he is fallen into the calamities of the world. He sailed directly for Holland. At that time the Easterlings were at war both with the English and French; they had many ships abroad, and were dreaded by the English, and upon good grounds, for they were good soldiers, had done them much prejudice that year already, and had taken several of their ships. The Easterlings at a great distance discried the ships which were with the king, and about seven or eight of them began to give them chase; but being far before them, he gained the coast of Holland, or rather something lower, for he put into Friesland not far from a little town called Alcmaer, where he came to an anchor, and being low water, the king could not get into the harbour, but ran himself as near the shore as he could. The Easterlings came as near him as they could possibly make, and dropped their anchors, intending to board him the next tide.

Misfortune and danger seldom go alone: the king's success and his courage were now strangely altered, and his affairs had taken a surprising turn. A fortnight before, that man would have been looked upon as mad, who should have told him—"The earl of Warwick shall drive you out of England, and in eleven days have the supreme power in his own hands, for it cost him no more time to conquer the whole kingdom." Besides, he laughed at the duke of Burgundy for squandering his money so extravagantly in the defence of the sea; giving out that he wished his adversary was landed in England: but what excuse he could make for himself after such a loss, and by his own fault, I cannot guess, unless this—"That I did not think it possible!"—and if a prince be but arrived to years of discretion, he ought to blush at such an excuse, for it will not serve his turn. So that this is a fair example for such princes as think it beneath them to be afraid, or have a watchful eye on their enemies; and are fond of such courtiers as

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flatter and indulge them in that opinion, tell them they are the more valued and esteemed for it, and that it is a proof of their courage and resolution to despise and laugh at danger. I know not what they may say to their faces, but I am sure wise men account such expressions imprudent. It is honourable to fear where there is occasion, and provide against it with all the security and caution imaginable. A wise man in a prince's court is a great treasure and security to his master, if one has the liberty to speak truth, and the other discretion enough to believe him, and follow his advice.

By chance the lord de la Grutuse, the duke of Burgundy's governor in Holland, was at that place, where, and when king Edward would land; who by some persons put on shore, was immediately informed of his miserable condition, and the danger he was in by reason of the Easterlings. The governor sent immediately to the Easterlings, to charge them to lie still, went on board the king's ship himself, invited him on shore; whereupon the king landed, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, who was called afterwards king Richard III. and about fifteen hundred men in their train. The king had no money about him, and was forced to give the master of the ship for his passage a gown lined with martins, and promised to do more for him whenever he had an opportunity; but sure so poor a company was never seen before, yet the lord de la Grutuse dealt very honourably by them; for he gave many of them clothes, and bore all their expenses till they came to the Hague, to which place he safely conducted them. Having waited upon king Edward thither, he dispatched the news of his arrival to the duke of Burgundy, who was much surprised when he heard it, and would have been much better pleased if it had been of his death, for he was in great apprehension of the earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and at that time absolute in England. The earl, upon the king's leaving the kingdom, had prodigious numbers of people flock in to him; even the king's own party, some for love, and others through fear, submitted to him wholly, so that every day his army increased; and not long after, he marched to London. A great number of persons of the best rank, who were in king Edward's interest, fled to the sanctuaries in that city, and did him good service afterwards, among whom was the queen his wife, who in great want of all things that were necessary, was there brought to bed of a prince.

CHAP. VI.

Of the earl of Warwick's releasing Henry VI. king of England, out of the Tower.

THE earl of Warwick immediately upon his arrival at London, went directly to the Tower, which is the castle, and released king Henry, whom long before he had committed thither himself.—When he imprisoned him, he went before him, crying—"Treason, treason, and behold the traitor;" but now he proclaimed him king, attended him to his palace in Westminster, and restored him to his royal prerogative, and all in the duke of Clarence's presence, who was not at all pleased with the sight; immediately he dispatched three or four hundred men over to Calais to make an incursion into the Boulonnois, which party was well received by the lord Vaucler, whom I mentioned before, and the affection which he had always borne to his master was at that time very conspicuous. That very day in which the duke of Burgundy received the news of king Edward's being in Holland, I was come from Calais, and found him at Boulogne, having heard nothing of that, or of king Edward's defeat. The first news the duke of Burgundy heard of him was, that he was killed, and he was not at all concerned at it, for his affection was greater to the house of Lancaster than York, and there were at that very time in his court the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, and several others of the Lancastrian party; so that he thought by their means to be easily reconciled to that family; but he dreaded the earl of Warwick. Besides, he knew not after what manner to carry himself to king Edward, whose sister he had married, and moreover they were brethren of the same orders, for the king wore the Golden Fleece, and the duke the Garter.

The duke dispatched me presently back to Calais, and a gentleman or two with me, who were of the king's party. He gave me instructions how I was to proceed with this new ministry, and pressed me very earnestly to go, assuring me the business required it; I went as far as Tournehem, a castle near Guise, but durst venture no farther, for I found the people in confusion, and flying from the English, who had sent out a strong party to plunder and harass the country: I sent one immediately to the lord Vaucler for a passport, for before I used to go without any such thing, and was still honourably entertained, for the English are naturally of a free and generous temper.

This was a new scene of affairs to me, I had never seen such alterations in the world before; that night I sent the duke word of the danger which hindered me from proceeding in my journey, but not knowing what answer I should receive from Vaucler, I said nothing that I had sent for a passport: he sent me a seal ring from off his finger, commanding me to go on, and if I was taken prisoner, he would ransom me. He made no scruple to expose any of his servants when he thought it for his advantage; but I had provided for myself by sending for a passport, which I received with very kind letters from the lord Vaucler, assuring me that I should have the liberty of coming and going as formerly.—Upon these letters I went on to Guise, where I found the captain at the gate, who presented me with a glass of wine, yet did not invite me into the castle as he was wont, but he shewed me great respect, and treated the gentlemen which were with me, who were of king Edward's party, very nobly. From thence I went to Calais, but had nobody come out to meet me, as formerly, all were in the earl of Warwick's livery; at the gate of my lodgings, and the door of my chamber, the people had made several white crosses with certain rhymes underneath, signifying that the king of France and earl of Warwick were all one, all which I thought very surprising; I sent however to Gravelines, which is about five leagues from Calais, requiring them to seize all English merchants and their effects, to recompense all the mischief done us in their incursion into the Boulonnois. The lord Vaucler sent to me to dine with him; I found him well attended, with a white ragged staff of gold upon his bonnet, which was the cognizance of the earl of Warwick; all the rest had ragged staffs likewise, but they who could not be at the expense of gold, had them of cloth. I was informed at dinner, that within a quarter of an hour after the arrival of an express from England with the news of king Edward's flight, the whole town had got into his livery, so hasty and sudden was the change, and this was the first time that I had ever seen or considered an instance of the instability of all human affairs. The lord Vaucler made me many compliments, and some excuses in behalf of his captain the earl of Warwick, from whom, as he told me, he had received many favours and civilities; but for the rest who were with him, I never heard people talk so extravagantly. Those whom I looked upon as the king's greatest friends, were the most bitter and invective against him; yet I am apt to think some did it for fear, though others spoke the real sentiments of their hearts. Those whom I formerly endeavoured to have turned out of the town, as being ser-

vants to the earl, were now in great reputation; yet they never knew of my ever having spoke any thing against them to the lord Vaucler. I told them upon all occasions that king Edward was dead, and that I had certain information of it, though indeed I knew to the contrary; I added likewise, that if he was not dead, it was no great importance, for the duke of Burgundy's alliance was with the king and kingdom of England, so that this accident could not infringe it; for whoever they declared their king, should be so to us, and in consideration of such revolutions in times past, they had put in these very words—WITH THE KING AND THE KINGDOM; and we were to have four of the chief towns in England as a security for performance of articles: the merchants pressed very hard that I might be detained, because several of their goods were seized at Gravelines, and as they pretended, by my express command. At length we came to this composition, that they should pay for, or restore all the cattle which had been plundered, for by agreement with the house of Burgundy they had liberty to take what cattle they wanted, for the necessary provision of the town, out of certain grounds that were appointed, for which they were to pay a certain price; and for prisoners, they had taken none. Hereupon it was concluded between us, that the alliance which we had made with the crown of England should stand good, only we were to put in Henry instead of Edward.

This accommodation was extremely welcome to the duke of Burgundy, for the earl of Warwick was sending four thousand men over to Calais to make war upon him and furiously invade his territories, and no way could be found out to pacify him: but at last the great merchants of London, many of which were then at Calais, diverted him from that undertaking, because it was the staple of their wools, and it is almost incredible what prodigious returns they make from thence twice every year; there their wool lies till the merchants come over, whose chief vent is into Flanders and Holland: for which reason therefore, they were very solicitous to promote this accommodation, and stop the forces which the earl of Warwick was sending over. This treaty fell out very lucky for the duke of Burgundy, for it happened at the same time that the king had taken Amiens, and St. Quintin, and if he had been to have maintained war with both these kings at a time, he had certainly been ruined. He tried all the ways imaginable to sooth and pacify the earl of Warwick; he openly declared himself of the house of Lancaster, and that he would act nothing to the prejudice of king Henry, and made use of such other expressions as he thought would serve his turn best.

In the mean time king Edward arrived at the duke of Burgundy's court at St. Paul, and pressed very hard for supplies to enable him to recover his kingdom, for he assured him of great interest he had in England, and entreated him for God's sake, not to abandon him, since he had married his sister, and they were besides brethren of the order. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter violently opposed it, and used all their artifice and cunning to bring him over entirely, and keep him firm to king Henry's interest. The duke was in suspense, and knew not which side to favour; he was fearful of disobliging either, because he was engaged in a desperate war at home; but at length he struck in with the duke of Somerset, and the rest of that party, upon certain promises which they made him, against the earl of Warwick their ancient enemy. King Edward was present upon the place, and much dissatisfied to see how unsuccessful his affairs went on; yet they gave him all the fair words imaginable, and told him that all was but artifice and dissimulation, to keep off a war against two kingdoms at once; for if that should happen, the duke would certainly be ruined, and not be in a capacity to assist him, if he should be ever so inclinable to do it. However, finding king Edward bent upon his return, and being unwilling, for several reasons, absolutely to displease him, he pretended publicly that he would give him no assistance, and issued out a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to go along with him; but privately, and under-hand he sent him fifty thousand florins with St. Andrew's cross, furnished him with three or four great ships, which he ordered to be equipped for him at La Vere in Holland, which is a free port, where all persons are received; besides which, he hired secretly fourteen Easterlings for him, who were well armed, and had promised to transport him into England, and wait fifteen days afterwards on him, which supply was very great, considering those times.

CHAP. VII.

King Edward's return into England, where he engages, defeats, and kills the earl of Warwick, and afterwards the prince of Wales.

KING Edward set sail for England in the year 1471, at the same time as the duke of Burgundy marched towards Amiens in order to put a stop to the progress of the king of France's arms. The duke was of opinion that the affairs of England could not go amiss

for him, since he was sure of friends on both sides. King Edward was no sooner landed, but he marched directly for London, where he had above two thousand of his party in sanctuary; among whom were three or four hundred persons of quality, who were of great advantage to his affairs, and added considerably to the small number of forces he brought over with him. The earl of Warwick was at that time in the north with a powerful army, but upon the news of king Edward's landing, he marches back again with all speed, towards London, in hopes to have got thither before him; however, he presumed the city would have been true to him, but he was mistaken, for king Edward was received into the city on the Monday before Easter, with the universal acclamation of the citizens, contrary to the expectation of most people, for every body looked upon him as lost; and without dispute, if the citizens had but shut their gates against him, he had been irrecoverably lost, for the earl of Warwick was within a day's march of him. As I have been since informed, there were three things especially, which contributed to his kind reception into London; the first was the persons of quality of the party which were in the sanctuaries, and the birth of a young prince, of which the queen was there brought to bed. The next was the great debts which he owed in the town, which obliged all the tradesmen that depended upon his restoration, to appear for him. The third was, that the ladies of quality, and rich citizens' wives with whom he had formerly intrigued, forced their husbands and relations to declare themselves of his side. He staid but two days in the town, for on Easter-Eve he marched with all the forces he could to give the earl of Warwick battle; the next day, being Easter-day, they met, and as they were drawn up, and stood in order of battle one against the other, the duke of Clarence went over to his brother king Edward, and carried with him near twelve thousand men, which was a great discouragement to the earl of Warwick's army, and a mighty strengthening to king Edward's, which before was but weak.

You have already heard how the negotiation with the duke of Clarence was managed; yet for all this, the battle was sharp and bloody: both sides fought on foot; and the king's vanguard suffered extremely in this action, and the earl's main battle advanced against his, and so near, that the king himself was engaged in person, and behaved himself as bravely as any officer in the army. The earl of Warwick's custom was never to fight on foot, but when he had once led his men to the charge, he mounted on horseback himself, and if he found victory inclined to his side, he

charged boldly among them, if otherwise, he took care of himself in time, and provided for his escape. But now, at the importunity of his brother the marquis of Montacute, who was a person of great courage, he fought on foot, and sent away his horses. The conclusion of all was, the earl, the marquis of Montacute, and several other brave officers were killed, for the slaughter was very great, king Edward having resolved at his departure from Flanders to call out no more to spare the common soldiers, and kill only the gentlemen, as he had formerly done; for he had conceived a mortal hatred against the commons of England, for having favoured the earl of Warwick so much, and for other reasons besides; so that he spared none of them at that time: this battle was bravely fought, for on the king's side there were killed fifteen hundred men.

The very day on which this fight happened, the duke of Burgundy being before Amiens, received letters from the dutchess, his wife, that the king of England was not at all satisfied with him, that the assistance he had given him was not done frankly, and with an intention of serving him, but as if he had been in dispute with himself whether he should have deserted him or not; and to speak plainly, there was never a good understanding between them afterwards: yet the duke of Burgundy seemed to be extremely pleased at the news, and published it all over the army. I had almost forgot to acquaint you that king Edward finding king Henry in London, took him along with him to the fight: this king Henry was a very weak prince, and almost a changeling, and, if what was told me be true, after the battle was over, the duke of Gloucester, who was king Edward's brother, and afterwards called king Richard, slew this poor king Henry with his own hand, or caused him to be carried into some private place, and stood by himself, while he was killed.

The prince of Wales, of whom I have spoken before, was landed in England before this battle, and had joined his forces with those of the earls of Exeter and Somerset, and several others of their family and party; so that in all, as I have been informed by those who were in that army, they amounted to above forty thousand men. If the earl of Warwick had but a little patience to have staid till he had been joined by those forces, in all probability they had won the day. But the fear he had of the duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death, and the hatred he bore to queen Margaret, mother to the prince of Wales, induced him to fight alone without waiting for their supplies.—By this example we may observe how old animosities and factions

last, how highly they are to be feared in themselves, and how destructive and dangerous they are in their consequences. As soon as king Edward had obtained this signal victory, he marched against the prince of Wales, and there he won another great battle, for though the prince of Wales's army was more numerous than the king's, yet king Edward got the victory; and the prince of Wales, several other great lords, and a great number of common soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the duke of Somerset being taken, was beheaded the next day. In eleven days the earl of Warwick had subdued the whole kingdom of England, or at least reduced it to his obedience. In twenty days king Edward recovered it again, but it cost him two great and desperate battles to regain it. And thus you have an account of the revolutions in England. King Edward caused several persons of quality to be put to death in many places, especially those that were found guilty of any confederacy against him. Of all nations in the world the English are easiest brought to a battle. After this fight, king Edward enjoyed a continual series of peace and prosperity till his death, yet not without some troubles and afflictions of mind; but I shall forbear saying any more of the English affairs, till I can do it more conveniently in another place.

CHAP. VIII.

Renewal of the war between king Lewis and the duke of Burgundy, at the solicitation of the dukes of Guienne and Bretagne.

THE place where I broke off the occurrences relating to our affairs on this side the water, was at the duke of Burgundy's breaking up from before Amiens, the king's retreat into Touraine, and his brother the duke of Guienne's into his own province. The duke of Guienne still persisted in his solicitation for the marriage to which he pretended, with the duke of Burgundy's daughter, as you have already heard. The duke of Burgundy seemed to entertain it very kindly, and to be pleased with his proposals, yet never suffered it to come to any conclusion, but admitted of every new overture that was made, nor could he ever forget the stratagem they made use of, to force him to consent to this match. The count de St. Paul, constable of France, had a great desire to be the main instrument in this marriage; the duke of Bretagne had also a design to be the principal manager himself, and the king's chief business was, if possible, to break it off; but his ma-

jesty might have spared his pains, for the reasons which I have mentioned before. Besides, the duke of Burgundy had no mind to have his son-in-law so powerful, but designed to make his advantage of his daughter, and advance his own interest by entertaining every body, so that the king took abundance of pains to no purpose; but not being able to dive into another man's thoughts, he had good reason to be afraid; for by this marriage his brother would have grown very considerable, and in conjunction with the duke of Bretagne, might have embroiled the king's affairs, and brought his children into very dangerous circumstances. In the mean time several ambassadors went both publicly and privately to negotiate this affair.

The going and coming of ambassadors in this manner is sometimes very dangerous; for many ill things are often transacted by them, and yet there is still a necessity of sending them. Those who read this chapter may perhaps demand what expedient I can propose to remedy this inconveniency, which seems as it were a thing impossible to be prevented? I am sensible there are many persons better qualified, and more able to treat of this nice subject than myself; yet this I will venture to say, that ambassadors which come from true friends, where there is no ground of suspicion, ought, in my judgment, to be treated with abundance of freedom and openness, and, if the quality of the persons permit, often admitted to the king's presence, provided the prince is wise, handsome, and affable, for if otherwise, the less he is seen the better; and whenever he gives audience, he ought to be magnificently dressed, well prepared in his answers, and not permitted to hold a long discourse, for the friendship between princes is not of a long duration. If ambassadors are sent in a public or private capacity between princes that are in continual hatred and war with one another, as all those that I have known and been conversant with in my time have been, in my opinion they are not to be trusted. However, they are to be honourably received, and civilly entertained. All formalities are to be used towards them, for, to send to meet them, to lodge them in handsome apartments, and to appoint honest and discreet persons to attend them, is safe as well as civil; for thereby you do not only discover what persons they generally converse with, but also prevent fickle and mutinous people from resorting to them with news, and there is no court without some malecontents. Again, I would advise that they have their audience and dispatch as soon as possible, for to me it seems dangerous to keep an enemy in one's house; but to feast, to bear their expenses, and to make them presents, is but honour-

able. Moreover, though war be proclaimed, no treaty nor overture of peace ought to be interrupted, for nobody knows what occasion they may have of them hereafter, but all is to be carried on smoothly, and all messengers heard as before; yet a strict eye is to be kept upon such as have any discourse with them, or are sent to them with any message either by night or day; and this is to be managed with as much secrecy as possible. Were it my case, for one ambassador they sent me, I would be sure to send them two; nay, though they were weary, and desired to have no more, I would not fail to send when I had opportunity and convenience; for there is no spy so good, and so safe, nor can have such liberty to pry and inform himself; and if you send two or three ambassadors at once, it is impossible the enemy should be so cautious, but that one or other of them may pick up something for their turn, I mean if they carry themselves civilly towards them, as they ought to do to ambassadors. It is also to be supposed a wise prince will make it his business to place some friend or other about his enemy, to give him intelligence of all their motions, and preserve him as long as he can; for in such cases a prince cannot do always as he would. But perhaps it may be objected, that this is but the way to puff up your enemy, and make him more proud. It is no matter if it does, I shall know the more of his councils, and at the making up of our accounts the whole profit and honour will be mine. Though the enemy should have the same practices upon me, I would not forbear sending, but embrace all propositions, without rejecting of any, that I might have fresh occasion to send; for all men have not an equal share of wisdom and penetration, neither have they any experience in such affairs, nor is there any necessity they should have; yet in this case the wisest is always the most fortunate, and of this I will give you a clear and undeniable proof. Never was there any treaty between the French and the English, but the French always outreached them; insomuch, as I have been told, the English have a common proverb among them—"That in all, or most of their battles and engagements with the French, the English had the better, but in their capitulations and treaties of peace, they were still bubbled and outwitted." And certainly, at least in my thoughts, I have known politicians in this kingdom as proper to manage such secret negotiations as any persons alive, especially of king Lewis's training up; for in these cases, the persons employed ought to be mild and complaisant, and such, that to compass their masters designs, can digest words, and overlook neglects, and such were for king Lewis's turn. I have enlarged a little upon the manner

of receiving these ambassadors, and the caution that is to be used towards them; but it is not without reason, for I have known so many intrigues, and so much mischief carried on under that colour, that I could not forbear laying this matter open and speaking less of it than I have done.

This marriage between the duke of Guienne and the duke of Burgundy's daughter proceeded so far, that promises were passed not only by word of mouth, but by letters: the like was done also by Nicholas duke of Calabria and Lorrain, the son of John duke of Calabria, whom I have mentioned before; as also by Philibert duke of Savoy, who died last; and afterwards by Maximilian of Austria, now king of the Romans, and only son to the emperor Frederick, which last received a letter under the lady's own hand, written by her father's express command, and with it a rich diamond as a present. These promises were made with all these princes in less than three years time; and sure I am none of them would ever have been accomplished whilst he lived, at least by his consent; but Maximilian, since king of the Romans, made his advantage of that promise, as I shall declare hereafter. I do not mention this with any design to reflect upon the duke of Burgundy, or any other person I have spoken of, but only to describe things honestly and impartially, as to my own certain knowledge they happened; for which reason I do not despair, though perhaps inferior persons will not give themselves the trouble of reading these memoirs, but princes and other great statesmen may do it, and find some information to reward their pains.

Whilst this marriage was in agitation, new enterprises were always contriving against the king. In the behalf of the duke of Guienne there were resident at the duke of Burgundy's court, the lord d'Urfe, Poncet de Reviere, and several other officers of less note. On the duke of Bretagne's part, there was the abbot de Begar, since bishop of Leon, who acquainted the duke of Burgundy that the king was endeavouring to corrupt the servants of the duke of Guienne his brother, and was in a fair way of bringing them over to his party, either by love or fear; that he had already caused a place belonging to monsieur d'Estissac, one of the duke's servants, to be demolished; and that he had begun several other things against him, and inveigled several of his domestics; from whence it might be reasonably concluded, that as the king had formerly dispossessed him of Normandy, after he had given it him by way of appennage, so now he would disseize him of Guienne. The duke of Burgundy sent several embassies to the king about these affairs, who replied, that his brother the duke of Guienne

was in fault, who by endeavouring to extend his territories, gave occasion to all those disputes; and without that he would not meddle with his appennage in the least. But here one may observe, by the by, how great the troubles and distractions of a kingdom are, when they happen in a time of confusion and discord, how difficult and uneasy they are to be managed, and how far from a conclusion, when once they are begun; for though at first the quarrel be only between two or three princes, or persons of lower condition, before two years be expired, the whole neighbourhood will be concerned and invited to the feast. However, in the beginning of an affair, every man presumes there will be a speedy end; but it is very uncertain, as you will plainly perceive by what follows.

At the time above mentioned, the duke of Guienne (or his ministers) and the duke of Bretagne solicited the duke of Burgundy not to employ the English, who were enemies to the crown, in any of his wars, upon no account whatsoever; and since their own pretences were only for the ease and advantage of the kingdom of France, they did not doubt but that if his forces were in readiness, they should be strong enough of themselves, by reason of great intelligence which they maintained with the officers and governors of towns. I was present one day when the lord d'Urfè pressed the duke of Burgundy to assemble his army with all possible diligence; the duke called me aside to a window, and said—"Do you see this lord d'Urfè? he presses me very earnestly to raise what force I can, and tells me we shall do great matters for the advantage of the kingdom; do you believe if I enter France with my army, I shall do them any good?" I replied, smiling, that I thought not. He answered again in these very words—"I love the kingdom of France better than the lord d'Urfè believes, for whereas they have but one king, I wish they had six."

Whilst this treaty of marriage was on foot, Edward king of England, being deceived, as well as the king of France, in supposing it real, used his utmost endeavours with the duke of Burgundy to break it; remonstrating to him, that if the king of France died, having no sons, the crown would devolve upon the duke of Guienne, so that all England would be in danger of being utterly ruined by the consummation of that marriage, which would annex so many lordships to that crown. And this was a great uneasiness and mortification to the king of England and his whole council, though without any cause; nor could all the duke of Burgundy's excuses induce the English to believe him. However, for all the solicitation of the agents of the dukes of Guienne and Bretagne to the contrary, the duke of Burgundy had a mind the English should

be concerned in the war; but it was to be done privately, as if he had known nothing of it; but the English were so far from embracing this opportunity, that they would at that time rather have assisted the king of France, so fearful were they, lest by this marriage the territories of the house of Burgundy should be annexed to the crown of France. You see here, according to my design, these great princes thoroughly employed and surrounded with men of such wisdom and prospect, that their lives were not sufficient to accomplish half what they foresaw; and it proved so afterwards, for one after another, all of them died in a short space of time, in the midst of their anxieties and hurry of life, every one rejoicing and triumphing at the death of his companion, as a thing which he most passionately desired. Not long after, their masters followed them, and left their successors deeply involved in wars and troubles, only our present king found his kingdom at peace both abroad and at home, his father having provided better for him than he ever could, or would have done for himself, for in my time he was never out of war till a little before his death.

About this time the duke of Guienne fell sick; some were of opinion he was in great danger, others said he would soon recover of his illness. His agents in the mean while pressed the duke of Burgundy, seeing the season was proper, to take the field and open the campaign, for the king of France had already assembled his army about St. Jean-d'Angely or Saintes, and they prevailed so far, that the duke of Burgundy ordered his forces to rendezvous about Arras, and marched towards Peronne, Royes, and Mondidier. His army was very numerous, and in better order than it ever was before, for it consisted of twelve hundred standing lancers, who to every man at arms, had three archers, all of them well armed, and well mounted; besides, in every company he had ten supernumerary men at arms, without reckoning lieutenant or cornet. The gentry of the country were likewise in complete order, for they were well paid, (the country being at that time very rich), and commanded by experienced officers.

CHAP. IX.

The final peace which was negotiating between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and broken off by the duke of Guienne's death, and how those two great princes laboured to circumvent one another.

WHILST the duke of Burgundy was busy in raising the abovementioned army, the lord de Craon and Peter Doriole, chancellor of France, came to him twice or thrice with proposals for a final

and lasting peace, which could never be compassed before, because the duke insisted upon the restitution of Amiens and St. Quintin, to which the king would by no means consent: but now seeing the duke's preparations, and hoping it might conduce to the following design, he agreed to restore them. The conditions of peace were, that the king should deliver up Amiens and St. Quintin, and whatever else was in dispute between them: that he should likewise abandon the count de Nevers and St. Paul, constable of France, with all the lands and territories belonging to either of them to be disposed of as his own, if the duke could get the possession of them. On the other side, the duke of Burgundy was to renounce the dukes of Guienne and Bretagne, as also the protection of their countries, and to permit him to act against them as he pleased. The duke of Burgundy swore to these articles in my presence, and the lord de Craon's; and the chancellor of France, having taken the same oath in behalf of the king, they took their leaves of the duke, but advised him not to disband, but rather march forward with his army, to hasten their master's surrender of the above-mentioned towns; and Simon de Quingey was sent with them to see the king take his oath, and confirm what his ambassadors had done. The king delayed the ratification of this treaty for some days, and in the mean-time his brother the duke of Guienne died. In the midst of this negotiation, and as the duke of Burgundy was setting out from Arras, two couriers arrived, one of them with the news that Nicholas duke of Calabria and Lorrain, heir to the house of Anjou, and son to John duke of Calabria, was upon his journey to his court, in order to marry his daughter. The duke received him very honourably, and gave him great hopes of success. The next day, which, if I mistake not, was the 15th of May 1472, letters arrived from Simon de Quingey, who was the duke's ambassador at the king's court, importing that the duke of Guienne was dead, and the king already in possession of great part of his country.

Not long after, we heard the news from several parts, but all gave a different account of his death. Within a little time the duke of Burgundy's ambassador returned himself, being sent back by the king with mild and courteous words, but no swearing to the peace, which the duke highly resented, as a thing done in scorn and contempt. Whilst the war lasted, for this and several other reasons you have heard before, the duke's ministers made bold with his majesty, and gave him most bitter and reproachful language, and the king's own subjects did not dissemble the matter, but were very free with his character.

The duke of Burgundy, being highly concerned at the death of the duke of Guienne, at the instigation of other people as much concerned as himself, wrote letters full of bitter reflections upon the king to several of the duke of Guienne's towns, but to no purpose; yet I am of opinion, that if the duke had not been dead, the king would have found work enough, for the Bretons were up in arms, and had a stronger party in the kingdom than ever they had before, but his death put a stop to all. In this violent passion the duke of Burgundy took the field, marched towards Nesle in Vermandois, and began a more cruel and barbarous war than ever before, burning and destroying all wherever he marched. His van besieged Nesle, in which there was a small garrison of Frank-archers, but otherwise the town was of no great strength; the duke himself had his quarters three leagues off. A herald coming to them with a summons, was slain by the inhabitants of the town. The governor would fain have excused it, and having obtained a passport, came out to that purpose, but could not agree upon the matter. As he returned into the town, the garrison stood exposed upon the walls, but there being a truce whilst the governor was abroad, nobody fired upon the townsmen; however, they killed two more of the besiegers. Upon this the truce was broken, and word sent in to madam de Nesle, to tell her, that if she pleased she and her servants might have the liberty of coming out, and bringing all her moveables with her; which she had no sooner done, than the town was attacked, taken, and most of the garrison put to the sword. Those who were taken alive were hanged, except some few whom the common soldiers in mere compassion suffered to escape: some of them had their hands cut off, a cruelty which gives me some concern to mention; but having been upon the place, I thought myself obliged to give some account of it. It must be granted that the duke of Burgundy was highly transported to be guilty of such an action, or else there must have been some extraordinary cause that provoked him to it; two were pretended, one was, the strange report of the manner of the duke of Guienne's death, as if the king had been concerned in it; and the other, the indignation he conceived for being disappointed in the surrender of Amiens and St. Quintin, and the ratification of the peace.

Those who hereafter may read these memoirs, may think I have spoken very disrespectfully, and with two much freedom, of these two great princes, or that else they were persons of but small honour or faith. I would not willingly speak ill of either of them; and what great obligations I have to the king my master, all the world knows. But to continue my history in the same manner,

as you my good lord archbishop of Vienna have desired me, I am obliged to give an impartial and true account of what I know, which way soever it happened. However, were they to be compared with the rest of the great princes that reigned in Europe at the same time, they would appear noble and conspicuous, and our king very wise, for he left his kingdom enlarged, and at peace with all his neighbours. But now let us observe a little what artifice and stratagems they used to overreach and circumvent one another, that in case any young prince, who has the same game to play, should hereafter accidentally meet with this history, he may, by reading it, be prepared, and defend himself the better; for though neither enemies nor princes are always alike in respect of their humours or qualifications, yet their affairs being often the same, it is not altogether unprofitable to be informed of what is past. To give, then, my opinion, I am very confident, these two princes had the same design of circumventing each other, and their success, as you shall hear afterwards, was the same. Each of them had a numerous army in the field, the king had taken several towns, and whilst the treaty was on foot, pressed his brother very hard. There were already come over to the king of the duke of Guienne's party, the lords de Contay, Patus, Foucart, and several others. The king's army had actually invested Rochelle, held great intelligence in the town, which was much improved by the report of the peace, and the duke of Guienne's illness; and I believe the king's resolution was, if he either succeeded in his enterprise there, or his brother died, not to swear to the peace; but if the enemy got the better of him, he would then swear, and keep his engagements, to deliver himself from danger. In this manner he spun out his time, managed all his affairs with wonderful diligence and sagacity, and, as you have heard, kept Simon de Quingey eight days together in suspense, and in the mean-time his brother happened to die: for he knew the duke of Burgundy was so intent upon the restitution of those two towns, that he durst not be angry, but might securely be wheedled for a fortnight or three weeks, till he saw whether his brother the duke of Guienne would recover or not, and so it fell out.

Having already spoken of the king, and the artifice he made use of to overreach and circumvent the duke, it is now necessary that we should say something of the duke's designs upon the king, and how he would have acted if the duke of Guienne's death had not intervened, and broke all his measures. At the king's request, Simon de Quingey had commission from the duke of Burgundy, as soon as the king had sworn to the peace, and letters confirming

what his ambassadors had done should be received, to signify to the duke of Bretagne the contents of the peace, and also to the ambassadors of the duke of Guienne, who were there, to the end they might notify it to their master, who was then at Bourdeaux; and this the king proposed as a thing that would startle the Bretons, since they found themselves forsaken by an ally in whom they had reposed so great a confidence, and who was the main support of all their hopes and mighty undertakings. Now you must know, that this Simon de Quingey had by chance in his retinue one of the querries of the duke of Burgundy's stable, whose name was Henry, a Parisian by birth, and a very sensible intelligent person, to whom the duke had given a letter under his own hand, directed to his ambassador Simon de Quingey; but his instructions were, not to deliver that letter till the ambassador had left the king's court, and was arrived at the duke of Bretagne's at Nantes. Then he was to deliver the letter to him, shew him his credentials, and let the duke of Bretagne know that he had no occasion to be concerned at his master's having quitted his alliance with him and the duke of Guienne, for it was only pretended, and he would still stand by them, both with his life and fortune; that what had been already transacted was only to avoid the war for the present, and repossess himself of Amiens and St. Quintin, which the king had taken from him in time of peace, and contrary to his promise. He was likewise ordered to acquaint him, that the duke his master, as soon as he should be possessed of what he demanded, would send ambassadors on purpose to the king, to desire and entreat his majesty to desist from his enterprises against those two dukes, and not depend too much upon the oath he had taken; for he was resolved to keep it with no more strictness or religion than the king had kept his in the treaty before Paris, and the pacification at Peronne, which for a long time he neglected to confirm and ratify. He designed likewise to put him in mind, that he could not but be sensible that the siezing of the said towns in time of peace was contrary to his solemn promise and honour, and therefore he ought not to be surprised if the duke had taken the same measures to recover them.

As to the constable of France and the count de Nevers, whom the king had abandoned; though he had a mortal hatred against them, and not without cause, yet he was to declare that the duke of Burgundy would pass by all their injuries and affronts, if the king would grant all the proposals that were made him by the dukes of Bretagne and Guienne, and suffer all parties to live in peace according to his oath, and the treaty of peace at Conflans,

where they were all of them assembled together; protesting, that if he refused, he should be obliged to assist his allies with all the forces he could raise, and that the duke was actually in the field when this embassy was dispatched. But man proposes, and God disposes; for death, which divides all things, and defeats the counsils of mankind, cut them out other work; for the king, as you have heard, did not deliver up the two towns, and yet he siezed upon the dutchy of Guienne, as reverting unto him upon the death of his brother.

A treaty between Lewis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy, whereby the treaties of Arras, Conflans, and Peronne, are confirmed; concluded at the castle of Crotoy, October 3, 1471.

1. THAT there is a firm and lasting peace concluded between the king and kingdom, and us and our territories; and that all hostilities shall cease for ever between them and their subjects, &c.

2. That the said peace may be the better confirmed and established, and the friendship remain inviolable, the treaty made at Arras between the late king Charles and our late most dear lord and father; as also the treaty of Conflans, together with that of Peronne, are hereby confirmed as much as if they were expressly and word for word inserted, and shall remain in their full force, so far as they concern the king and the duke of Burgundy. And all those points and articles of the treaty of Peronne, not yet executed, shall be fully accomplished, in the same way and manner, and within the same time, as is specified in the said treaty.

3. By this present treaty the king is to surrender to us, or those authorized by us, the towns of Amiens and St. Quintin, with the provostships of Vimecy, Foulloy, and Beauvois, with all their appurtenances; and whatever has been transferred to us by the treaties of Conflans and Peronne, to be employed by us in the manner prescribed by the said treaties. In like manner the king is to give up to us the towns, provostships, and territories of Royes and Mondidier, with their appurtenances; as also what was to have been taken from the provostship of Peronne: and as to those places, towns, castles, and fortresses, in the dutchy, county, and country of Burgundy, Charolois, Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Liege, which the king surrenders to us, we shall enjoy them with all their appurtenances, as we did before any contests arose about them.

4. As to all moveables possessed on either side, as also all rents, revenues, and profits, no disputes or lawsuits shall be made concerning them.

5. The subjects on both sides shall be fully restored to all their lands, seigniories, and inheritances, and all immoveables, in the condition they are; as also such moveables as are upon the spot, and arrearages of rent, and this put into the possession of them without any let or molestation.

6. All disorders and injuries done and committed during the war on either side are remitted, pardoned, and abolished in such a manner as if they had never been; and no lawsuit or process shall ever be formed concerning them.

7. Seeing both the king and us have in the beginning of the troubles forbid all trade and commerce between our subjects, a free trade and commerce is now restored, both by sea and land, as before the war.

8. All judgments, judicial proceeding, and sentence, given on either side during the war against the adherents of the king or us, upon the account of contumacy, or otherwise, shall be null, and of no effect.

9. The allies of both parties shall be comprehended in this treaty, if within a year after the conclusion of it they signify their assent in due form; which assent or declaration the king and the duke are to notify to one another within two months after the same is made; but in case that should not be done, there shall be no breach of the peace between them. The observance of all which we do oblige ourselves in the most solemn manner imaginable, upon the word of a prince, and upon the forfeiture of all we have; and in case we contravene the same, we shall subject ourselves to all censures ecclesiastical. We shall also cause these presents to be registered in all our courts by our proper officers.

CHAP. X.

The duke of Burgundy having encamped before Beauvois, and finding he could not take it, raised the siege, and marched with his army to Rouen.

BUT to proceed in my relation of the war, of which I was speaking before. After the duke of Burgundy's barbarous treatmen of the poor garrison of Nesle, he broke up from thence, and marched with his whole army and invested Royes, in which place there was a garrison of fifteen hundred Frank-archers, besides a considerable number of the Arrier-ban. The duke of Burgundy's army never made so fine an appearance as at that time; whereupon the next

morning the Frank-archers being struck with a sudden fear, immediately leaped over the walls, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The next day the remaining part of the garrison delivered up the town upon composition, leaving behind them their horses and arms, only the men at arms were allowed to march away with their swords. Having left a small garrison in this town, he advanced to Mondidier, with a full design to have demolished it quite; but finding that the people of that district had a peculiar affection to that place, he ordered it to be repaired, and put a garrison in it. From thence his design was to have marched directly into Normandy, but as he was on his way near to Beauvois, the lord des Cordes scouring the country before him with his vanguard, made some attempt upon the town; and at the first attack, the suburbs, which faces the bishop's palace, was taken by one James Montmartin, a covetous Burgundian, who commanded a hundred of the duke's lancers, and three hundred of his standing archers. The lord des Cordes made an attack in another quarter, but his ladders were too short and too few. He had two pieces of cannon with him, which were fired twice, and no more, at the gate, where they did good execution; and if he had had more guns and ammunition to have continued his attack, he had certainly taken the town; but he was ill provided, and not furnished for so great an undertaking. Upon our first investment there were no forces in the town, but Loyset de Bailligny the governor, with some few of the Arrier-ban; but that would not have saved the town, had not God himself interposed and preserved it miraculously. The Burgundians were engaged with the French hand to hand through the hole in the gate, and the lord des Cordes dispatched several messengers to the duke of Burgundy to acquaint him, that if he marched up presently with his army he would take the town. Before the duke's arrival, some of the inhabitants brought kindled faggots to throw in their faces who were forcing the gate; and so many were thrown that the gate was set on fire, and the Burgundians were glad to retire till the flame was extinguished.

The duke upon his arrival concluded the town would be his as soon as the fire could be quenched, which was very great, for the whole gate was in flames. If the duke could have been persuaded to have posted part of his army on that side towards Paris, no succours could have been thrown into it, and the town could not possibly have escaped. But it pleased God, that he was afraid where there was no occasion, for it was only the passing of a small inconsiderable river that made him scruple it then; and yet afterwards, when the garrison was considerably reinforced, he would

fain have attempted it, though with the hazard of his whole army, and much ado there was to dissuade him from it. In the mean time, the fire of which I was speaking continued burning all day long, which was the 28th of June 1472. Towards night ten of the king's standing lancers, and no more, got into the town, as I have been told, for at that time I was in the duke of Burgundy's service; this small party was not perceived, because on one side every body was busy in taking up their quarters, and on the other there was nobody at all. By break of day the next morning the duke's cannon came up, and some time after we saw a reinforcement of at least two hundred men at arms enter the town together. I believe had they not arrived as they did, the town would have capitulated. But the duke of Burgundy was in such a violent passion, that he was for storming it immediately; and certainly if he had taken it, he would have burnt it to the ground, which would have been a great loss, and truly I am of opinion it was preserved by a miracle. From the time the recruits entered, for fifteen days together, or thereabouts, the duke's cannon fired continually from several batteries; and the breaches in the town wall were wide enough, and fit for a general storm. However, the ditch being full of water on one side of the gate, which was burnt, a bridge was of necessity to be made before we could pass it, but on the other side of the gate we could make our approaches to the walls without any danger, unless it were from one casemate which lay too low for our cannon to batter.

It is not only dangerous but imprudent to attack a town where the garrison is so strong. Besides, if I mistake not, the constable was in it, or the marshal Joachim, I know not which, and not far off lay the marshal de Loheac, the lord de Crussol, William de Valleu, Mery de Croy, Sallezard, Thevenot de Vignoles, all of them old soldiers, with at least a hundred men at arms of the standing forces, a good body of foot, besides many brave men, which accompanied them, in the nature of volunteers. For all this the duke of Burgundy resolved to storm it, but he was singular in his opinion, for there was not one officer in the whole army that agreed with him in it. As he was in his tent at night, and lay down in his clothes, he asked some who were about him, if they thought that the town expected to be stormed? who answered, yes, and that the garrison was strong enough to defend it, though it were fortified only with a hedge; upon which the duke laughed, and replied—"You will not find a man there in the morning." About break of day it was bravely attacked, but better defended. Our men pressing eagerly forward over the bridge in order to

mount the breach, the lord Despiris being in the middle of them, was crowded to death. He was an ancient knight of Burgundy, and the bravest person that was killed that day. On the other side of the gate several of our men got upon the walls, but some of them never came back again. They were at push of pike a great while together, and the assault continued a long time. Orders were given for fresh troops to march up, and relieve those that had made the first attack, but the duke perceiving the vigorous defence of the besieged, and the difficulty greater than at first he imagined it to be, ordered them immediately to draw off. The garrison made no sally, for they saw us drawn up in order of battle ready to receive them. In this attack we had about six score men killed, some say more, among which was the lord Despiris, who was the only officer of any note that was lost; and the number of wounded was full a thousand. The next night after this, they sallied out upon us, but the party being small, most of them on horseback, and their horses incommoded by the cords of our tents, they did us no great mischief, for they had two or three officers killed and wounded, and we lost but one of ours, whose name was James d'Orson, a brave soldier, and master of the duke's ordnance, and who not long after died of his wounds.

About a week after this repulse, a fancy came into the duke's head to divide his army, and post one part of it before the gate towards Paris, but he found none of his officers approved of that design. Upon his first arrival, indeed, it was practicable, but now the garrison was so considerably re-inforced, that it was too late to be done: seeing there was no remedy, he raised the siege, and marched off in very good order. He expected they would have sallied out and fallen upon his rear, and he had taken care to have given them a warm reception, but they were too cunning for that: from thence he marched with his army towards Normandy, having promised the duke of Bretagne to meet him before Rouen; but upon the duke of Guienne's death, he altered his resolution, and stirred not out of his own territories. The duke of Burgundy presented himself before Eu; and after the taking of that, and the town of St. Vallery, he destroyed with fire and sword the whole country to the very walls of Dieppe. He also took Neufchatel, and burnt it with the whole country of Caux, or at least the greatest part of it, to the very walls of Rouen: in this expedition he lost several of his foragers, and his army was mightily distressed for want of provisions; so that winter drawing on, he retired, and put them into quarters of refreshment: his back was no sooner turned, but the king's forces took Eu and

St. Vallery upon composition, by which seven or eight of the townsmen were left prisoners at his discretion.

CHAP. XI.

The king concludes a peace with the duke of Bretagne, and a truce with the duke of Burgundy: the count de St. Paul very narrowly escapes a plot that was laid for him by these two princes.

ABOUT this time, which was in the year 1472, I came into the king of France's service, who had also entertained most of the duke of Guienne's servants: the king was then at Pont de Cè, having assembled all his forces against the duke of Bretagne, with whom he was at war. At this place arrived certain ambassadors from the duke of Bretagne, and others were sent to his court: among those which came in an embassy to the king, there was Philip des Essars, a servant of the duke's, and William de Soubsplenville a servant of the lord de Lescut, who when he saw his master the duke of Guienne past all hopes of recovery, embarked at Bourdeaux for Bretagne, whither he retired and brought with him the duke of Guienne's confessor, and one of the querries of his stables, who were suspected to have a hand in the duke's death, and were kept prisoners for it in Bretagne for several years after. These embassies forward and backward continued not long, before the king determined to have peace on that side, and to behave himself so handsomely, to the lord de Lescut, as should bring him back again, into his service, and make him forget his old animosity; for though the Bretons had neither courage, nor conduct but what they learned from him, yet so powerful a prince, with so cunning and wise a statesman was not to be despised: the Bretons themselves, had he not been among them, would willingly have accepted of a peace; and certainly the generality of them desired nothing more, for there are constantly many of them in the kingdom of France in great posts and reputation, and not without cause, for heretofore they did his majesty signal service: some persons, whose judgment in state affairs was not so good as the king's, condemned this accommodation; but in my opinion I think his majesty acted very prudently: he had a great value for the person of this lord de Lescut, saying—"That he could commit any affair to his management, for he knew him to be a person of honour and integrity, and one who in all the late troubles would never hold any correspondence with the English, nor consent

that any towns in Normandy should be put into their hands, but still advised to the contrary, which was the chief reason of his preferment afterwards. For these reasons he desired monsieur Soubs-plenville to set down in writing what his master's demands were both for the duke of Bretagne and himself: Soubs-plenville brought him in a bill, and they were these: for the duke of Bretagne a pension of eighty thousand franks. For himself a pension of six thousand franks, the government of Guienne, the two seneschalships of Vannes and Bourdelois, the command of one of the castles of Bourdeaux, the captainship of Blaye, and of the two castles in Bayonne, Dax, and St. Sever, four-and-twenty thousand crowns ready money, the king's order, and the earldom of Comminges: all was granted and made good; only the duke's pension was retrenched to half the sum, and that paid but two years. Besides, the king gave monsieur Soubs-plenville six thousand crowns, but not paid till four years after this agreement, the ready money which I mentioned both for his master, and himself. Besides which sum, Soubs-plenville had an annual pension of twelve hundred franks, the mayoralty of Bayonne, the bailiwick of Montargis, and some other little offices in Guienne, all which were enjoyed both by him and his master during the king's life. Philip des Essars was made bailiff of Meaux, and lord chief justice in Eyre, of France, with a present of four thousand franks, and a pension of twelve hundred: from that time to the death of our master, they enjoyed these places all very quietly, and the count de Comminges acquitted himself handsomely in his post, like a loyal and faithful subject.

After the king had settled his affairs in Bretagne, he marched towards Picardy: it was the custom of the king and duke of Burgundy, as soon as winter drew on, to make a cessation of arms for six or twelve months, and sometimes longer. According to that custom, a new one was proposed, and the chancellor of Burgundy, with other ambassadors, came thither to negotiate it. The king shewed the chancellor the final peace which was concluded between the king and the duke of Bretagne, by which the said duke renounced his alliance with the English, and the duke of Burgundy; wherefore the king insisted, that the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors should not name the duke of Bretagne among their allies: but the ambassadors would not agree to it, but urged that it might be left to his own choice to declare himself for the king, or their master, as he pleased, provided he did it in the usual time: they remonstrated likewise, that the duke had formerly abandoned them under his hand, and yet not de-

parted from their amity; adding, that they did look indeed upon the duke of Bretagne as a prince who was guided more by other men's judgments, than his own: yet in the conclusion, they observed he always recollected himself, and acted according as the present posture of his affairs required: and all this happened in the year 1473.

Whilst this treaty was on foot, both sides murmured loudly against the count de St. Paul, constable of France. The king, and those who were nearest about him, had conceived great hatred against him, and the duke of Burgundy a greater, as he had reason, for I have heard the true causes on both sides. It was impossible for him to forget that the count de St. Paul had been the occasion of the revolt of Amiens and St. Quintin; and he shrewdly suspected that he was the cause and fomenter of the war between him and the king; for during the cessation of arms, he gave him the best words in the world, but as soon as the war was begun again, he shewed himself to be his mortal enemy: besides, the count would have forced him to have married his daughter as you have heard. The duke had also another quarrel with him, and that was, that during the time the duke lay before Amiens, the constable made an inroad into Hainault, and among the rest of his actions, burned a castle called Solre, which belonged to a certain knight called Baudoüin de Lannoy: till this war it was not usual to burn any places, of either side: but, to retaliate upon the constable, the duke of Burgundy fired all that summer wherever he came; so that to be revenged of the constable, both sides began to conspire against him. In discourse between some of the king's party, and certain of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers, whom they knew to be the constable's enemies, they happened to mention him; and all of them agreeing that he was the occasion of the war, they began to open themselves more freely, and discover all his expressions on both sides, and by degrees unanimously resolved to contrive his ruin.

But some persons may hereafter perhaps demand, whether the king was not able to have ruined him alone? I answer, no; for his territories lay just between the king, and the duke of Burgundy, he had St. Quintin always, and another strong town in Vermandois: he had Han, and Bohain, and other considerable places not far from St. Quintin, which he might always garrison with what troops, and of what country, he pleased. He had four hundred of the king's men at arms, well paid, was commissary himself, and made his own musters, by which means he feathered his nest very well, for he never had his complement. He had

likewise a salary of forty-five thousand franks, and exacted a crown upon every pipe of wine that passed into Hainault, or Flanders, through any of his dominions, and besides all this, he had great lordships and possessions of his own, a great interest in France, and a greater in Burgundy, upon account of his relations.

The truce lasted a whole year, and during that time this plot was hatching and contriving against the constable of France.—The king's agents applied themselves to one of the duke of Burgundy's favourites called the lord d'Himbercourt, who for a long time had hated the constable, but more particularly of late, upon the following occasion. In a convention at Royes, where the constable and others were met on the king's part, the chancellor of Burgundy, the lord d'Himbercourt, and others in behalf of the duke, in the heat of their argument, the constable in a passion gave the lord d'Himbercourt the lie: the lord d'Himbercourt made no other reply, but, that he would not expect satisfaction from him, but from the king, upon whose security he was come thither, under the character of an ambassador, for the affront was not so much to him, as his master, whose person he represented, and to whom he would give an account. This singular piece of insolence, which was so suddenly committed, was the occasion afterwards not only of the constable's death, but also the ruin of his family, as the sequel of this history will inform you. By this last instance one may observe, that persons in great authority, nay princes themselves ought to be careful of their language, and consider to whom it is they speak, for the greater the person is, the greater is the injury, and it lies heavier upon him that is affronted, because he thinks the grandeur and authority of him that committed it, makes it more remarkable, and more liable to be objected against him. If it be one's own king, or master, it makes him despair of a further preferment from him; and generally the hopes of future advancement, make courtiers serve a prince better and more faithfully, than the thoughts of what they are already possessed of.

[1474]. But to return:—The king's agents made continual applications to the lord d'Himbercourt, and the chancellor, who was present when that abusive language was given at Royes, and was besides a particular friend of the lord d'Himbercourt's; and so far they proceeded in that affair, that they appointed a meeting at Bouvines, which is a town not far from Namur, to consult further about it: on the king's part there was the lord of Curton governor of Limosin, and monsieur John Heberge, afterwards bishop of Eureux; and for the duke of Burgundy, there was the chancellor of Burgundy and the lord d'Himbercourt.

The constable having private information that they were contriving something against him, sent immediately to both the princes to let them know that he understood both their designs; and he managed the matter so cunningly, that he created a jealousy in the king that the duke would deceive him, and debauch the constable from his party; upon which, the king in great haste despatched a message to his ambassadors at Bouvines, commanding them not to conclude any thing against the constable for reasons which he would tell them, but to prolong the truce according to their instructions, which was for six months, or a year, I know not which. When these orders arrived, the whole affair was concluded, and the articles sealed or exchanged the night before. But the ambassadors were so good friends, and understood one another so well, that they delivered back their writings, by which the constable for certain reasons there mentioned, was declared criminal, and an enemy to them both; and the princes did mutually promise and swear, that which of them soever should get him first in his power, should cause him to be executed within eight days after his apprehension, or else deliver him over to the other to be disposed of at his pleasure; and it was further concluded, that he should be declared an enemy to both princes by sound of trumpet, and all that served, or favoured, or assisted him. The king also promised to deliver up the town of St. Quintin, so often mentioned before, to the duke of Burgundy; and all the money and moveables belonging to the constable, which should be found in the kingdom of France, with all his seigniories and lordships, and particularly Han and Bohain, two strong places, in order to which, it was agreed, that on a certain day both the king's forces and the duke's were to meet before Han, and besiege the constable in that town. But all this agreement was quashed for the reasons above mentioned, and a day and place appointed for a conference between the king and the constable, the king having first given security for his return; for the constable was fearful of his person, as having had intelligence of the whole progress at Bouvines. The place was three leagues from Noyon towards la Fere, upon a little river which was impassable, by reason that on the constable's side the bridges were taken away. Upon a causey in that place a strong barrier was erected, and being finished, the constable was the first that appeared at it, attended by all, or the greater part of his men at arms; for he had three hundred gentlemen in his train, all of them well armed, and he wore his own cuirass under a loose coat. The king was attended by six hundred men at arms, and among them the count de Dammartin, lord high steward of France, who was the constable's mortal

enemy. The king sent me before to excuse him to the constable for staying so long, but presently after his majesty's arrival, they discoursed together with five or six of a side. The constable excused his coming in arms, pretending he could not otherwise secure himself against the count de Dammartin. The conclusion was, that all things past should be buried in oblivion, and no mention to be made of them for the future; upon which the constable came over to the king's side, the count de Dammartin and he were reconciled, he waited upon the king that night to Noyon, and the next morning returned to St. Quintin very well satisfied, as he pretended. But when the king came to consider what he had done, and understood the dissatisfaction of his subjects, he began to be sensible of his having committed a great oversight in giving a meeting to his servant, suffering a bar between them at that interview, and permitting him to come attended with such a number of men at arms, all his subjects, and paid out of his purse; so that if his hatred to the constable was great before, this confidence mightily increased it, neither was the constable himself much better pleased.

CHAP. XII.

A digression not altogether improper in this place, concerning the wisdom of the king, and the constable, with useful remarks for those who are in authority with princes.

HE that seriously considers this action of the king, must certainly allow, that his majesty acted with consummate wisdom and prudence; for it is not altogether improbable but the constable might have made his peace with the duke of Burgundy by the surrender of St. Quintin, notwithstanding all his promises to the contrary. But certainly for a wise man, as the constable undoubtedly was, he took the wrongest measures in the world, or else God had strangely infatuated his understanding, to come thus in that warlike manner and disguise to converse with his king and master, under a guard of so many horsemen, all of them the king's subjects, and at that time in his pay; and indeed by his looks he appeared to be ashamed of the action himself; for as soon as the king came to him, though they were parted by nothing but a rail, he ordered it immediately to be opened, and in coming to the king was in no little danger that day.

Perhaps he and some of his friends might highly value themselves upon this action, and think it glorious to have a monarch

stand in awe of him, as being sensible of the king's timidity; and indeed sometimes he was fearful, but never without just cause. The king had extricated himself out of all his troubles and wars with the great lords of his kingdom, by large presents, and larger promises; was sensible of many false steps he had made, and for the future was resolved to put nothing to a venture that he could gain otherwise. Many were of opinion it was from his fear and cowardice that this cautious way of acting proceeded; but several persons, who, upon the strength of that imagination durst presume to provoke his anger, found themselves strangely mistaken, and their fancy very ill grounded, as the count d'Armaignac and others, who paid dear for that opinion; for he knew very well how to distinguish between the appearance and reality of danger: and this I dare boldly say in his commendation, and if I have said it before, it is not unworthy to be repeated, that in my whole life I never knew any man so wise in misfortunes. But to return to the constable, who perhaps had a mind that the king should be afraid of him, at least I suppose he had, for I would not accuse him, and what I say is only for the information of such as are in the service of great princes, and have not an equal knowledge of the affairs of this world. Had I a friend in that capacity, I would advise him to carry himself so respectfully, that his master might have a tenderness and love for him, and not dread him; for I never saw any courtier whose authority depended upon an awe he had upon his prince, but some time or other he was ruined, and by his master's consent. Many examples of this nature have been seen in our time, or not long before, in this kingdom, as in the case of the lord de la Tremoville and others. In England the earl of Warwick and his faction were a remarkable instance: I could name others in Spain and elsewhere; but perhaps those who shall read this chapter may know it better than I. This arrogance generally proceeds from some extraordinary service that they have performed, by which they are so strangely puffed up, that they think their merit ought to bear them out in whatever they do, and that their masters cannot live without them. But princes on the contrary are of opinion, the best service their subjects can do them, is no more than their duty. This they maintain in all their discourses, and desire nothing more than to be rid of such persons. Again, in this place I must insert two things which the king told me in our discourse about persons who had done great service, (and he named the author from whom he received that information), that to have served too well is sometimes the ruin of the agent; and that very often great ingratitude is the reward of long

and faithful services, upon account of the arrogance of those who have performed them; who, presuming too much upon their good fortune, behave themselves insolently towards their master or fellow-subjects; so that princes are not always to be blamed, if their subjects are not rewarded according to their deserts. His majesty told me further, that he thought that person more happy in his preferments at court, whom his prince had advanced beyond his desert, whereby he remained a debtor to his prince; than he, who by any signal service had obliged his prince to him: for he himself loved those persons with a greater affection who were obliged to him, than those, whoever they were, to whom he was obliged. So that in all conditions of life it is a difficult matter to live well in this world; and a great blessing it is to those whom God hath endued with a right understanding, to manage their affairs with wisdom and discretion. This interview between the king and the constable was in the year 1474.

END OF BOOK III.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The duke of Burgundy seizes the dutchy of Gueldres; his further attempts on the Germans; and his besieging Nuz.

DURING this conference, the duke of Burgundy seized upon the province of Gueldres, upon an accident well worthy to be related, to demonstrate the justice of God. There was a young duke of Gueldres called Adolphus, who had married a daughter of the house of Bourbon, sister to the present duke. The marriage having been consummated in the duke of Burgundy's court, was the reason that he still retained some affection for him, and continued his friend. This young duke had committed a most execrable act, in seizing upon his father one night as he was going to bed, carrying him five dutch leagues on foot, bare-legged in a very cold night, and confining him a close prisoner in a dungeon at the bottom of a tower, where there was no light but what came through a cleft in the wall, and where he kept him in that miserable condition for the space of six months. This barbarous action occasioned a desperate war between the duke of Cleves, whose sister the old duke had married, and the young duke Adolphus. The duke of Burgundy often interposed his good offices, and would fain have accommodated their difference, but could not effect it. At length the pope and the emperor began to stir in the affair, and the duke of Burgundy was commanded upon great penalty to release the old duke Arnold out of prison, and it was done: for the young duke seeing so many princes concerned in the business, and fearing lest the duke of Burgundy would otherwise have done it by force, consented to it. I have seen them both several times in the duke of Burgundy's chamber, pleading their causes before the council, and the good old man in a passion threw his son his glove, and demanded the combat.

The duke of Burgundy would fain have reconciled them, and offered to the young duke, who was his favourite, the title of governor of Burgundy, and the province of Gueldres, with the whole revenue thereof; and that only a small town near Brabant called Grave, with a revenue of six thousand florins, one-half to be received out of the profits of the said town, and the other as a pension, should be continued to his father, with the title of duke, as was but reasonable. I was deputed, with others wiser than myself, to make this report to his son, whose answer was—"That he had rather fling his father headlong into a well, and himself after him, than consent to such an accommodation; for his father had been duke four-and-forty years already, and it was time now that he should have his turn; but if that would satisfy him, he would condescend to allow him a pension of three thousand florins, upon condition he would leave the dutchy, and never come into it again"—besides several other extravagant and detestable expressions to that effect. This happened just at the time when the king took Amiens from the duke of Burgundy, who was then with these two dukes at Dourlens very busy in adjusting their differences. Upon the news of the taking Amiens, he removed suddenly to Hesdin, and forgot their controversy which was before him. The young duke disguised himself like a frenchman, and endeavoured, only with one servant, to make his escape into his own country. Passing a ferry not far from Namur, he paid a florin for his passage, which being observed by a priest that stood by, he presently suspected him, asked the ferry-man what it was he had given him, and looking earnestly upon the person who gave it, he knew him, caused him to be apprehended and carried to Namur, where he was kept a prisoner, till, upon the duke of Burgundy's death, the citizens of Ghent released him, and would have forced the duke's daughter, since dutchess of Austria, to have married him. After which, taking him along with them in their expedition against Tournay, he was miserably slain, and as sordidly buried, as if the vengeance of God Almighty, for his barbarity to his father, could not have been satisfied with the first. The old duke dying before the duke of Burgundy, and during his son's imprisonment, upon account of his inhuman and vile treatment, disinherits him, and leaves the succession of Gueldres to the duke of Burgundy, by virtue of which title, though he found some little resistance, the duke of Burgundy conquered it, and enjoyed it till his death, and his successors enjoy it to this day, and shall do as long as God shall think good. This I have related

for no other reason, as I said in the beginning, but to shew that such unnatural impiety goes seldom unpunished.

The duke of Burgundy returned into his own country mightily puffed up upon the accession of this dutchy. He took great pleasure in concerning himself with the affairs of the empire, for the emperor was a mean-spirited prince, and to avoid an expensive war, would tamely suffer any thing. Besides, of himself, without the concurrence of the princes of the empire, he could do but little; for this reason the duke prolonged his truce with the king, though some of his courtiers were utterly against it, alledging the danger of the duke's growing too powerful; and what they urged was not altogether unreasonable, but they wanted experience, and did not see far enough into the consequence of things. Others, of greater judgment and foresight, in respect that they had been in those countries, advised by all means that the cessation of arms might be prolonged, and the duke permitted to tire and baffle himself against the Germans, whose grandeur and strength, when united, is almost inconceivable; for he was of such an ambitious temper, that the taking of one town, or the accomplishing of one design, did but excite and hurry him on to attempt another; so that one war drawing a second upon him, contrary to the king's humour, his restless desires were not to be satisfied with any single success. Wherefore they advised the king, as the best and the easiest way to revenge himself upon him, rather to give him some little assistance, than the least jealousy of breaking the truce, for the greatness and puissance of the princes in Germany would quickly confound him; and, the emperor himself not being a warlike prince, they would certainly unite and oppose him; and so it happened in the conclusion.

There were at that time two persons that pretended a right to the bishoprick of Cologne, one of them was brother to the landgrave of Hesse; and the other a relation to the count Palatine of the Rhine. The duke of Burgundy sided with the Palatine, and undertook to establish him by force, and, in hopes of gaining some of the towns thereabouts for himself, besieged Nuz, which is a town not far from Cologne, in the year 1474. He had so many things upon the anvil at once, and so many enterprises and designs in his head, that he sunk beneath the burden of them.—He would fain have persuaded Edward king of England, to have transported a great army, which, upon his solicitation, he had raised at that time, to favour his designs in Germany, which was this; if he took Nuz, he designed to have put a strong garrison

into that, and two or three towns more in that neighbourhood, by which means Cologne would have been blocked up, and then to have marched up the Rhine as far as the county of Ferette, which was then under his jurisdiction, by which means all the Rhine, as far as Holland, would have been under his subjection, which space of ground contains more fortified towns and castles than any kingdom in Christendom, except France. The truce which the duke of Burgundy had made with the king, had been prolonged for six months, and the greatest part of it being expired, the king desired it might be renewed, that the duke might have enough of the war in Germany; but the duke was engaged before to the English, and would not consent to it.

I would willingly have omitted this siege of Nuz, as an affair not absolutely necessary to my history; and besides, I was not at it; but I am obliged to mention it on the account of some passages which depended on it. The town of Nuz was strongly fortified, and in it there were the landgrave of Hesse, and several of his relations and friends, with a body of eighteen hundred horse, as I was informed, all choice troops, as they proved afterwards, and as many foot as they thought convenient for the defence of the place. This landgrave, as I said before, was brother to the bishop, who was chosen in opposition to that party whom the duke of Burgundy would have advanced: upon which, being highly disgusted, he sat down before Nuz 1474. His army was at that time more numerous and in better order than it ever had been formerly; especially his cavalry, for upon pretence of some designs into Italy, he had got together about a thousand Italian men at arms, under the command of the count de Campobasso, a Neapolitan, a partizan of the house of Anjou, a most perfidious and dangerous man. There was likewise James Galeot, a Neapolitan gentleman, a brave officer, and several others, whose names for brevity sake I omit them. Besides he had with him three thousand English, all stout soldiers; a vast number of his own subjects well armed, mounted, and disciplined in his wars, and a fine train of artillery; all which were prepared and in readiness to join the English, that were raising in England with all expedition, upon their first landing; but things of that importance are very tedious there: for the king not being able to undertake such an affair without calling his parliament, which is in the nature of our Three Estates, and consisting for the most part of sober and pious men, is very serviceable, and a great strengthening to the king. At the meeting of this parliament the king declares his intention, and desires aid of his subjects, for no money is raised in

England, but upon some expedition into France or Scotland, or some other extraordinary occasion; and then they supply him very liberally, especially against France. Yet the kings of England have this artifice when they want money, and have a desire to have any supplies granted, to raise men, and pretend quarrels with Scotland or France; and having encamped with their army for about three months, disband it, return home, and keep the remainder of the money for their own private use; and this trade king Edward understood very well, and often practised it.

It was a whole year before this English army could be raised, and in order; when it was ready, and provided with every thing necessary to take the field, notice of it was given to the duke of Burgundy, who lay then before Nuz, and was of opinion that in a few days he should put his bishop into possession, and have Nuz and other towns assigned him for the purposes above mentioned.

I am of opinion this was God's own doings in mercy to the kindom of France; or else the duke of Burgundy might have done more mischief to that nation, with an army of old troops accustomed for several years together to invade it, without any defence but what was made by the fortified towns: and yet something may be attributed to the king's wisdom and management, who would not put any thing to a venture, not so much for fear of the duke of Burgundy, as of tumults at home upon the loss of a battle: for he did not believe himself safe with his servants or subjects, especially the great lords; and, if I may speak freely, he often told me that he knew the inclination of his subjects very well, and should find them inclinable to rebellion upon the loss of a battle or any misfortune. Wherefore, whenever the duke of Burgundy invaded any part of his dominions, his majesty's way was, to put strong garrisons into all the towns by which he was to march; so that, without the expense and hazard of an army in the field, the duke's forces in a little time wasted and baffled themselves without endangering the nation; which, in my judgment, was very good policy. However, the duke being so strong as I have represented him, if the English army had appeared at the beginning of the summer, according to the agreement, and the duke had not committed that error in besieging Nuz, certainly the kingdom of France would have been in imminent danger, and found work enough to have defended itself against so powerful a confederacy; for the king of England never invaded France with so numerous and so well disciplined an army; all the great lords of England attended him, without any exception, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men at arms, a great number for

the English, all well accoutred, and with a great retinue; besides fourteen thousand archers on horseback with their bows and arrows, and a numerous body of foot to secure their camp, but not one page in the whole army. Besides, the king of England was to have landed three thousand men at Bretagne to join the duke of Bretagne's army. I saw likewise two letters under the hand of the lord d'Urfè, master of the horse of France, but then in the duke of Bretagne's service; one directed to the king of England, and the other to the lord Hastings, high chamberlain of England, which had this, among other expressions—"That the duke of Bretagne would do more by his intelligence in a month, than the king of England and the duke of Burgundy both, could do in six, with all the force they could make." Nor do I question the truth of what he said, if things had been managed as they might have been. But God, who was still careful of the preservation of this kingdom, disposed of them otherwise, as you shall understand hereafter. These letters above mentioned, were purchased by our king of one of the English secretaries, for three-score marks of silver.

CHAP. II.

Of the town of Nuz being relieved by the Germans and the emperor; and of other enemies which the king of France stirred up against the duke of Burgundy.

AS I said before, the duke of Burgundy had invested Nuz, and met with greater difficulties in that siege than he expected. The city of Cologne, which lies four leagues higher up the Rhine, was forced to be at the expense of a hundred thousand florins of gold a-month to secure themselves against the duke of Burgundy; and had, in conjunction with some of the neighbouring towns above it, also on the Rhine, raised a body of fifteen or sixteen thousand foot, and posted them with a large train of artillery on the bank of the river, opposite to the duke's camp, with a design to intercept all his convoys of provision, which came out of the country of Gueldres up the river, and sink his boats with their cannon. The emperor and the electoral princes of the empire had a meeting about this affair; and it was unanimously resolved to raise an army. The king having sent several ambassadors to them to solicit them to that purpose, they sent to him a canon of Cologne, of the house of Bavaria, and another ambassador with him, with a roll or list of the army which the emperor designed to raise,

provided the king would give him any diversion on his side. They were sure of a favourable answer from his majesty, and whatever they demanded was granted. Besides, the king promised in writing, both to the emperor and the several princes and states, that as soon as the emperor should take the field, and advance to Cologne, he would send twenty thousand men to join them under the command of the lords de Craon and Sallezard. Hereupon the German army was raised and got ready, amounting to an incredible number of men; for all the princes of Germany, both spiritual and temporal, all the bishops and free towns, sent in their respective forces in great numbers. I was informed the bishop of Munster, who is none of the greatest, sent into that army six thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse, all clothed in green, besides twelve hundred waggons; but his bishoprick was hard by. It was seven months time before this army was raised and fit to march; when it was ready it advanced, and posted itself within half a league of the duke of Burgundy's camp; and, as I have been informed by several of the duke's people, was three times the number of the duke of Burgundy's and the English army together, both in men, tents, and pavilions; and besides this army of the emperor's, there was the army on the other side of the river, which continually annoyed the enemy, both by cannonading their camp, and intercepting their convoys.

As soon as the emperor and the princes of the empire were arrived before Nuz, they dispatched a certain doctor of great reputation among them, called Hesevare, who was afterwards a cardinal to the king. His business was to solicit his majesty to the performance of his promise, and to the sending away of his twenty thousand men; otherwise the Germans would accommodate matters with the duke of Burgundy.

The king promised him fair, made him a present of four hundred crowns, dispatched him immediately, and sent along with him to the emperor one John Tiercelin lord of Brosse. But this did not satisfy the doctor, so that there were great shuffling and intrigues practised on all sides during the siege. The king endeavoured to make peace with the duke of Burgundy, or at least to prolong the truce, to prevent the English from landing. The king of England solicited hard for the duke to raise the siege before Nuz; and, according to his engagement, to make war upon France, for the winter began to approach; in which errand the lord Scales, nephew to the constable, and a very fine gentleman, was sent twice with several other ambassadors to the duke. But the duke was perverse, as if God Almighty had infatuated his un-

derstanding; for all his life long, he had been labouring to get the English over to invade France, and now when they were ready, and all things prepared to receive them both in Bretagne and elsewhere; he obstinately persisted in an enterprise that was impossible for him to succeed in. There was at that time with the emperor an apostolic legate, who passed daily from one army to the other, to negotiate a peace. The king of Denmark also, being quartered in a small town not far from the armies, endeavoured the same: so that the duke of Burgundy might have had honourable terms, and marched off to the king of England, but he would not accept of them. He excused himself as handsomely as he could to the English, told them that his honour was engaged, and it would be a lessening to his reputation to raise the siege; and such trifling stories. These were not the English who had performed such glorious exploits in his father's days, and had behaved themselves with so much valour and conduct in the kingdom of France; but these were all raw soldiers, utterly unacquainted with the French affairs; so that the duke did very unwisely, if he had any design to make use of them for the future, for he should have inured them by degrees to the fatigues of war, and led them on as it were, step by step, at least the first campaign.

The duke of Burgundy's perverse resolution to continue the siege of Nuz occasioned two or three other wars to break out upon him: the lord de Craon, having for the advantage of the king's affairs, persuaded the duke of Lorrain it would turn highly to his advantage, to quarrel with the duke of Burgundy in this present juncture; though he was in perfect amity with him, yet he sent him a defiance, by a servant of the lord de Craon, as he lay in his camp before Nuz; and immediately he took the field, invaded the dutchy of Luxemburg, committed great ravages in the country, and razed a town called Pierre-fort in the said province, not above two leagues from Nancy. Besides, by the conduct and management of the king and his ambassadors, a ten-years alliance was concluded between the Swiss and the towns upon the Rhine, as Basil, Strasburg, and others, who had been at enmity before.

A peace was likewise struck up between Sigismond, duke of Austria, and the Swiss, in order to facilitate his recovery of the county of Ferette, which he had engaged to the duke of Burgundy for a hundred thousand florins of the Rhine, and it was agreed: but one thing remained in dispute between them still, the Swiss pressed hard to have passage when they pleased, either with their arms, or without, through four towns in the county of

Ferette; and it being referred to the king, he decided it for the Swiss. By what has been already said, it may clearly be understood what troubles the king heaped upon the duke of Burgundy, and yet all his management in that affair was private and underhand.

All things being resolved on, they were executed accordingly; for in a fair night Peter Archambault, the governor of the county of Ferette for the duke of Burgundy, was surprised, and eight hundred men with him; the men were all immediately discharged, but the governor was detained and carried prisoner to Basil, where process being made against him, for some exorbitancies which he had committed in the said county of Ferette, his head was struck off, and the county restored to Sigismond duke of Austria. Then the Swiss began to make war upon the duke of Burgundy, and took Blasmond, belonging to the marshal of Burgundy, who was of the house of Neufchatel; from thence they marched and besieged the castle of Herycourt belonging also to the house of Neufchatel; the Burgundians attempted to relieve it, but were beaten, and a great number of them killed in that action: after which the Swiss did much mischief, ravaged the whole country, and then retired for that time.

CHAP. III.

Of the king's taking from the duke of Burgundy the castle of Tronquoy, with the towns of Mondidier, Royes, and Corbie, and the endeavours he used to persuade the emperor to seize upon such towns as belonged to the duke in the empire.

THE truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy being expired, to the king's no little regret, for he had much rather have renewed it; but finding it was impossible to be done, he besieged a small castle called Tronquoy, in the beginning of the summer 1475, and took it by assault in an hour's time. The next day I was sent with the admiral of France, bastard of Bourbon, to capitulate with Royes, which, despairing of relief, surrendered to the king; they would neither of them have submitted had the duke of Burgundy been in the country, for which reason, though contrary to our promise, both of them were burnt: from thence the king marched with his army to Corbie, where he was expected. We carried on our approaches very well, and fired from our batteries for three days successively: in the town there were the

lord de Contay, and several other officers who surrendered at last, and marched out with their bag and baggage: two days after the poor town was plundered and then burnt.

The king at this time had some thoughts of retiring with his army, supposing the necessity of the duke of Burgundy's affairs would have put him upon a new truce: but a certain lady, that I know, but will not name, because she is still living, wrote to the king to desire his majesty to march with his army to Arras, and the country thereabouts: the king believed her, for she was a person of honour, yet I cannot commend her for it, because she was under no obligation of doing it; but the king, however, sent the admiral bastard of Bourbon, with a strong detachment thither, who burnt a great many of their towns between Abbeville and Arras. The citizens of Arras having enjoyed a long series of peace and prosperity, and being grown haughty and arrogant, would compel their garrison to make a sally; but being too weak for the king's party, when they came to charge, they were most of them taken or killed especially of their officers; and among the rest monsieur James de St. Paul, brother to the constable, the lord de Contay, the lord de Carency, and some of the nearest relations to the lady who was the occasion of that undertaking, and indeed she herself was a great sufferer by it, but the king was so gracious, as to make her a handsome reparation for the loss she had sustained.

About this time the king had sent John Tiercelin lord de la Brosse in an embassy to the emperor, to prevent the accommodation between him and the duke of Burgundy, and to excuse him to the emperor for not having sent his forces according to his promise: his ambassador was also to assure his imperial majesty, that for the future he would be more punctual, and continue his incursions as well into the duke of Burgundy's own country, as into the country of Picardy: besides which, he was to make a new proposal, that they should mutually engage and swear one to the other, to make no peace nor truce without the knowledge and consent of both; that the emperor should seize and take all such lands into his hands as belonged, or ought to belong, to the said duke of Burgundy in the empire, and declare them forfeited, upon which terms the king would possess himself of all that he held of France, as Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, and the rest. The emperor was never accounted valiant in his life, but being ancient, he had seen much, and had a great deal of experience, and these treaties and contrivances between him and the king having taken up much time, the emperor by degrees grew weary of the war,

though it had not cost him a farthing; for the German princes were all at their own charges, as their custom is, whenever the common interest of the empire is concerned. By way of answer to the king's ambassadors, the emperor told them the following story—"Not far from a certain town in Germany there was a great bear that had ravaged up and down, and done a great deal of mischief; two or three boon companions which used to drink often together, came to a tavern, where they had run up a large reckoning before, and desired the landlord that he would give them credit but for that one reckoning, and before two days were at an end, they would wipe off all scores, for they were resolved to kill that bear which had done so much mischief, and her skin would yield them a great deal of money, besides all presents that would come in for the service they had done the country in destroying that ravenous beast. Their landlord trusted them once more, and when their bellies were full, away they marched in search of the bear. Her den happening to be nearer than they supposed it was, they stumbled upon the bear before they were aware of it, and being all three in a great consternation, they betook themselves to their heels; one ran towards the town, the other climbed up a tree, but the third was overtaken, and being beaten down, the bear trampled upon him with her feet, and ran her snout into his ear. The poor man had clapped himself close to the ground, and lay in a posture as if he was dead: now it is the nature of that beast to suppose that whatever prey it seizes upon is dead, when it perceives no further motion, and then lets it alone: accordingly this bear went away to her den, without doing him any hurt: by degrees the poor man began to peep, and finding the enemy retired, he got upon his legs, and ran as fast as he could to the town. His companion that had secured himself in the tree having seen the whole passage, came down with all speed, ran and hallooed after him, desiring him to stop, who turned back very civilly, and staid till he came up: when he who had been on the tree had overtaken him, and recovered his breath a little, he asked his companion, and pressed him to swear, what counsel it was which the bear was so long a-whispering into his ear. His comrade replied—She charged me never for the future to sell the bear's skin till the beast was dead." And with this story the king's ambassador was dispatched, for he gave him no other answer in public; the meaning of which was—"That if the king came according to his promise, they would take the duke if they could, and when he was taken, they would talk of dividing his dominions."

CHAP. IV.

Of the constable's falling again under the suspicion both of the king, and the duke of Burgundy.

YOU have already heard of the taking of monsieur James de St. Paul and other officers, prisoners, in the action before Arras, which was an accident very unpleasing to the constable, for this James was a kind and tender brother: but this misfortune came not alone, for almost at the same time his son the count de Roussy, governor of Burgundy for the duke, was taken prisoner likewise, and not long after died the constable's wife, an excellent lady, and sister to the queen of France, upon whose account he found much favour and support; but yet the combination, which as you have heard was for some time interrupted at Bouvines, was carried on; and the constable never thought himself safe afterwards, but was in perpetual fear and jealousy on both sides, but more especially from the king, for he was sensible his majesty repented of his having withdrawn his articles at Bouvines. The count de Dammartin was quartered with his men at arms in the neighbourhood of St. Quintin, and the constable was afraid of them, as if they had been enemies, whereupon he threw three hundred of his own troops into that town, and staid amongst them himself, for he had no confidence in the king's forces, but lived in continual anxiety and disquiet of mind. The king sent several messages with orders to him to take the field and march into Hainault, and besiege Avennes at the same time that the admiral with his detachment made an incursion into Artois, which he did, but with incredible fear: he had not lain many days before the town with a strong guard about his person, but he retired to St. Quintin again, and sent the king word, which by the king's order was delivered to me, that he raised the siege upon certain information that there were two persons in the army employed by the king to assassinate him, and he told so many circumstances to confirm it, that people began to believe it, and one of the persons was suspected to have revealed something to him that he ought to have kept secret; I will not name the persons, nor make any further mention of them. The constable sent frequently into the duke of Burgundy's quarters, and upon the return of his agents, he always sent some news or other to the king, which he imagined would please his majesty, and withal acquainted him with his design in sending so often to the duke, by which artifice

he thought to amuse and cajole the king. Sometimes also he sent to let the king know the duke of Burgundy's affairs were in a very prosperous condition, but it was only to frighten him; and so jealous he was of being surprised, that he begged the duke of Burgundy to release his brother James de St. Paul, the lord de Fiennes, and others of his relations, who were then with him at the siege of Nuz; and that he would give him leave to put them and their troops into St. Quintin; but without the badge and cognizance of the house of Burgundy, which is the cross of St. Andrew; for which he promised to keep St. Quintin for the duke, and in a little time after, to deliver up the town to him; and for better security offered to give it under his hand. The duke of Burgundy granted his request; and when his brother James, the lord de Fiennes, and the rest of his relations, were twice within a league or two of St. Quintin, and ready to enter, his fear vanished, he repented, and sent them back from whence they came, and the third time he did so again; such was his desire to carry his affairs swimmingly between both, and preserve himself in the station he was in, for there was neither of them but he exceedingly feared. These passages I understood from several persons, and particularly from monsieur James de St. Paul's own mouth, who, when he was taken prisoner, told it to the king when nobody was present but myself; and the sincerity of his answers was very serviceable to him. The king demanded of him what number of troops he designed to have put into the town? He told his majesty three thousand. Then the king asked him, if he had succeeded, and entered, for whom he would have kept it? whether for him, or for the constable? Monsieur James de St. Paul replied, that the two first times he came only to encourage his brother; but the third time, having observed his brother's juggling twice before, both with his master and his majesty, if he had found his party the strongest, he would have kept it for the king, but without any violence or detriment to his brother; only if he had commanded him to have left the town, he would have presumed to have disobeyed his orders. Not long after this private conference, the king released monsieur James, gave him a handsome post in the army, and a large estat . and employed him afterwards in several affairs, as long as he lived, and all upon the freedom and sincerity of his answers.

Since my speaking of Nuz, I have intermingled several occurrences, which, however, were coincident; for the siege continuing a year, they happened in the same time. There were two things which mightily tempted the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege;

one was, the war which the king of France had begun in Picardy, in which he had burnt three pretty little towns, and a good part of the country in Artois and Ponthieu; the other was, the great army, which at his request and solicitation the king of England had raised, whom he had been importuning all his life long to invade France, and could never effect it till now. The king of England and all his nobility were highly discontented at the duke of Burgundy's delays, and added threats to their entreaties, as they had reason; for they had been at a prodigious expense in raising an army, and the best part of the season for action was almost spent. The duke of Burgundy was extremely delighted, and thought it highly for his honour that so puissant an army as the emperor's, in conjunction with the forces of so many princes, prelates and states, as amounted to a greater number than had been assembled together since the memory of man, and a long time before, were not able to force him to raise the siege. But he paid dearly for his vanity; for it is he that makes advantage, and gains several acquisitions by it, that bears away all the honour of the war. However, the legate I mentioned before, continued his good offices on both sides so long, till at length a peace was concluded between the emperor and the duke of Burgundy, and Nuz was delivered into the hands of the pope's legate, to be disposed of as his holiness should direct. But to what extremity must the duke of Burgundy be reduced? to see himself pressed so hard by the French forces on one side, and the English menaces on the other; especially at a time when Nuz was reduced to such a miserable condition, that in fifteen days time they must have surrendered or been starved. Nay, I was told by a captain who was there in the town, that it could not have held out ten days longer; and yet for these urgent reasons the duke of Burgundy was forced to raise his siege in 1475.

CHAP. V.

The king of England passes the sea with a powerful army to assist his ally the duke of Burgundy against the king of France, to whom the king of England sends a defiance by one of his heralds at arms.

BUT to proceed. The king of England, in order to embark for Calais, was marched down to Dover with an army the most numerous, the best disciplined, and the best armed that ever any king of that nation invaded France with. He was attended by

the flower of the English nobility, which consisted of fifteen hundred men at arms, accoutred after the French fashion, well mounted, and every one of them several persons on horseback in his retinue. His archers were fifteen thousand on horseback with their bows and arrows, besides a great number on foot to pitch his tents and pavilions, take care of the artillery, and enclose his camp, and not one useless person in the whole army; besides which there was a body of three thousand men that was to be landed in Bretagne. I have already mentioned it before, but however, it is not impertinent to do it again, if it were for no other reason but to shew, that if the providence of God had not by peculiar mercy to this kingdom, which he has preserved more miraculously than any other in the world, infatuated the duke of Burgundy's understanding, no one could ever have believed that he should be so blind to his own interest, as to invest, and so obstinately carry on the siege of a town which was so strongly fortified, and so bravely defended as Nuz; and at that present juncture, when he had at last prevailed with the English, after many importunities, to pass the seas, and, in conjunction with him, invade France; a thing that he had been labouring at all his life-time, but could never effect till now. Besides, he knew that the troops of that nation were at present of little importance in his wars with France, and if he expected any mighty assistance from them afterwards, it was necessary he should have made one campaign with them at least, to have acquainted and instructed them in the methods of our wars; for though no nation is more raw and undisciplined than the English in their first coming over, yet, a little time makes them brave soldiers, excellent officers, and wise counsellors. But the duke acted quite contrary; and among the rest of the disadvantages that followed, the summer was almost spent, and his own army so diminished and fatigued, he was ashamed they should be seen; for he had lost before Nuz four thousand of his standing forces, the very flower of his army: by which one may see how God disposed him to act in this affair contrary to reason, interest, and his own understanding, which he would have been ashamed of ten years before.

The king of England being at Dover, ready to embark, the duke of Burgundy sent him five hundred Dutch bottoms, which were flat and low, and very proper for the transportation of horses; which boats in Holland and Zealand are called scuts: yet, notwithstanding that vast number, and all that the king could provide of his own, the embarking and landing his forces at Calais took up three weeks, though the distance between Dover and that place is

but seven leagues. From whence one may observe with what prodigious difficulty the kings of England transport their armies into France; and if the king of France had understood the sea, as well as he did the land affairs, king Edward could never have landed in France, at least that year. But his majesty had no skill in them; and those to whom he committed the care and management of them, knew less of them than himself; yet one of our men of war belonging to Eu took two or three of their transports.

Before the king of England embarked, he sent one of his heralds named Garter, a native of Normandy, to the king of France, with a letter of defiance written in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that I can scarce believe any Englishman wrote it.

The contents were, that our king should surrender to the king of England, the kingdom of France, as his right and inheritance; to the end that he might restore the church, the nobility, and the people, to their antient liberty, and relieve them from the great oppression and slavery they groaned under; and if he refused, he declared all the ensuing miseries and calamities would lie at his door, according to the forms upon such occasions. The king of France read the letter to himself, and then wisely withdrawing into another room, commanded the herald to be called in. As soon as he was admitted into his presence, he told him that he was very sensible his master had not made this descent upon any disposition of his own, but at the importunity of the duke of Burgundy, and the commons of England; that it was visible the summer was far spent, and the duke of Burgundy returned from Nuz, but so weak, and in such a miserable condition, he would not be in a capacity to assist him: that as for the constable, he was satisfied he held intelligence with the king of England, for he had married his niece; but there was no confidence to be reposed in him, for he would deceive the king his master as he had often done him: and having enumerated several favours which he had conferred upon him, he added—"His design is to live in eternal dissimulation, to treat and amuse every body, and to make his advantage of them all." Besides which, the king used several arguments to the herald to persuade his master to an accommodation with him, gave him three hundred crowns with his own hand, and promised him a thousand more upon the conclusion of the peace; and then in public his majesty ordered him to be presented with a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells.

The herald replied, that, according to his capacity, he would contribute all that lay in his power towards a peace, and he believed his master would not be averse to it, but there was no mak-

ing any proposals till he was landed with his whole army in France, and then, if his majesty pleased, he might send a herald to desire a passport for his ambassadors, if he had a mind to send any to him to set a treaty on foot; but withal he desired his majesty to address his letters to the lords Howard or Stanley, and a word or two to himself, to introduce his herald.

There were abundance of people attending without, during the king's private discourse with the herald, all of them impatient to hear what the king would say, and to see how his majesty looked when he came forth. When he had done, he called me, and charged me to entertain the herald till he ordered him some other company, that might keep him from talking privately with any body; he commanded me likewise to give him a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells, which I did. After which the king addressed himself to the rest of the company, gave them an account of his letters of defiance, and calling seven or eight of them apart, he ordered the letters to be read aloud, shewing himself very cheerful and valiant, without the least sign of fear in the world; and indeed he was much revived by what he had got out of the herald.

CHAP. VI.

Of the trouble and perplexity of the constable, and of certain letters he wrote to the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which afterwards were partly the cause of his death.

BY the way, we must say a word or two concerning the constable, who was in great perplexity for the trick which he had played the duke of Burgundy about St. Quintin, and he looked upon himself quite ruined in the king's favour, who had already drawn away the lords de Genli and de Moüy (two of his principal servants) from him, though the lord de Moüy went to visit him sometimes. The king very earnestly desired the constable to come to him, and offered him certain recompenses which he demanded for the county of Guise, and which the king had formerly promised him; the constable was willing to come, but required that the king should swear upon the cross of St. Lau d'Angers neither to do, nor consent that any mischief should be done to his person; insisting, that his majesty might as well do it to him now, as he did formerly to the lord de Lescut. The king replied, that he would never take that oath again for any man whatever; but let him propose any other, and he would take it. You must understand that

both constable and king were in great uneasiness and perplexity of mind; so that for a good while together there was not a day came over their heads, but somebody or other passed between them to settle this oath. It is a great instance of the misery and infelicity of human life when we speak and write so many things contrary to our minds, as if it were done on purpose to shorten it. But if these two I have mentioned were full of cares and anxieties, the king of England and the duke of Burgundy had their share also. The king of England's landing at Calais, and the duke of Burgundy's raising the siege of Nuz, were much about the same time: the duke with large journeys, but a small retinue, came directly to wait on the king of England, and congratulate him upon his safe landing, having sent his army, shattered and fatigued as you have heard, into the countries of Barrois and Lorrain to plunder and refresh themselves, for you have already heard the duke of Lorrain had begun war upon him, and defied him before Nuz. This was a great oversight, among the rest, which he was guilty of in respect of the English, who expected him at their landing to have joined them with at least five-and-twenty hundred men at arms, well provided, and a considerable body of horse and foot, as the duke had promised, and that he should have opened the campaign in France three months before their descent, that they might have found the king either tired of the war, or in great distress: but, as you have heard before, God Almighty prevented it. The king of England, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, went from Calais to Boulogne, and from thence to Peronne, where the duke entertained the English but coldly, for he ordered the gates to be shut, and suffered very few to come into the town, and those but in small bodies, the rest encamping in the field, which they were the better able to endure, because they had tents, and were well provided with all things necessary upon such an occasion.

They were no sooner arrived at Peronne, but the constable dispatched one of his servants, called Lewis de Creville, to make his excuse to the duke of Burgundy for not having delivered St. Quintin, pretending, if he had done that, he should have been for ever disabled from serving him any further in the kingdom of France, for by that means he should have lost all his credit and intelligence in that nation: but now the king of England was come, he would act hereafter according to the duke of Burgundy's directions; and for greater assurance, the messengers delivered him a letter to the king of England, in which the constable seemed to refer the character of his integrity to the duke of Burgundy's relation. Besides this, the duke of Burgundy had another sealed up and ad-

dressed to himself, in which he made violent professions of friendship and service to the duke, and that he would assist him and his allies, and particularly the king of England, against all persons and princes whatever. The duke of Burgundy gave his letter to the king of England, and acquainted him with the contents of his own, enlarging a little, and assuring the king that the constable would receive him into St. Quintin, and all the rest of the towns; and the king really believed it, because he had married the constable's niece, and he thought him so terribly afraid of the king of France, that he durst not venture to break his promise with the duke and himself. Nor was the duke of Burgundy less credulous than king Edward. But neither the perplexities of the constable, nor his jealousy of the king of France, had as yet carried him so far, his design was only to wheedle and amuse them, according to his custom, and lay before them such plausible reasons, as might prevail with them not to force him to declare himself openly. The king of England and his nobility were not so well skilled in the artifice and subtlety of this kingdom, but went more bluntly and ingenuously about their affairs, so that they were not so sharp at discovering the intrigues and compliments on this side the water. Those English that have never travelled are naturally passionate, as the people are generally in all cold countries. Our kingdom, as you see, is neither pierced with cold, nor scorched with the sun, being bounded on the east by Italy, Spain, and Catalonia; on the west by Flanders and Holland; and Germany on the south, all along the country of Champagne; so that part of our country being hot, and part of it cold, our people are of two complexions; but, in my judgment, there is no country in the whole universe better situated than France.

The king of England, who perhaps had some promises made him before, but nothing near so large as now, being overjoyed at the news he received from the constable, set out with the duke of Burgundy, and his despicable retinue, from Peronne towards St. Quintin; a party of English, not having patience to march with the army, were advanced before, expecting, as I was told some few days after, that the citizens would have ordered the bells to have been rung for joy of their approach, and that they would have met them with the usual ceremony of the cross and holy water. But they were mightily mistaken; for they no sooner came in sight of the town, but the great guns were fired upon them, and a strong body of horse and foot sallied out to engage them, in which action two or three English were killed, and some few taken prisoners. It happened to be a terrible rainy day, yet they were

forced to march through it, and retire to their army, much out of humour with the constable, and calling him a traitor. The duke of Burgundy was resolved to take his leave the next morning of the king of England, (which was a little odd, considering it was upon his importunity that he had undertaken this expedition), and return to his forces in Barrois, pretending he would do great feats for the English; but the English, being naturally of a jealous temper, novices on this side the water, and astonished at these kind of proceedings, began to entertain an ill opinion of their ally, and could not be satisfied with him, or believe he had any army at all; besides, the duke of Burgundy could not satisfy them as to the constable's manner of reception, though he endeavoured to persuade them all was well, and what was done would turn to their advantage; but all the duke of Burgundy's arguments could not pacify them, and being disheartened at the approach of winter, they seemed by their expressions to be more inclinable to peace than war.

CHAP. VII.

Of the king of France's disguising one of his menial servants in an herald's coat, and sending him with a message to the king of England, who gave him a favourable answer.

IN the mean-time, even at the very moment of the duke's taking his leave, the English took a gentleman's servant belonging to the king of France's court, named James de Grassè; the servant was brought immediately before the king of England and the duke; and being ordered into a tent, after some slight examination, the duke of Burgundy took his leave, and set out by the way of Brabant for Maisons, where part of his army lay. The king of England ordered the servant to be released, as being the first prisoner they had taken. Upon his departure, the lords Howard and Stanley gave him a noble, and desired him—"To present their most humble service to the king his master, when he had an opportunity of speaking to him." The servant came with all speed to Compeigne, where the court was at that time, to give the king an account of their compliment; but his majesty was afraid of him, and suspected him to be a spy, because his master's brother, Gilbert de Grassè, was then in Bretagne, and a great favourite of that duke's. The servant had irons clapped upon him immediately, and a guard set to watch him that night; yet several courtiers talked with him by the king's orders, who told his majesty that

by his discourse he seemed to be a very honest fellow, and he might venture to see him without any manner of danger. Upon these assurances, the next morning the king spoke with him himself; and, after he had discoursed with him a little while, he ordered his irons to be knocked off, but kept him still in custody: from thence he went to dinner, full of thought and consultation, whether he had best send to the king of England or not. Before he sat down to the table he spoke something of it to me, for his way was, as you know, my lord of Vienna, to speak privately and familiarly with those who were about him as I was then, and others since, and took a strange fancy to whisper into people's ears: he was thinking upon what the king of England's herald had told him, that he should send to the king of England for a passport for his ambassadors, as soon as he was landed, and that his negotiation should be addressed to the lords Howard and Stanley. As soon as he was sat down, and had considered a little, according to his custom, which to those that were unacquainted with his fancy seemed strange, and might induce them to believe he was a prince of no great wisdom, but his actions declared the contrary, he whispered me in the ear, and bid me rise and go dine in my chamber, and send for a servant belonging to the lord des Halles, who was son to Merichon of Rochelle, and ask him whether he would venture with a message into the king of England's army in the habit of an herald: I obeyed his orders, and was much astonished at the sight of the servant, for he seemed to me, neither of a stature nor aspect to be fit for such an undertaking; yet his judgment was good, as I found afterwards, and his manner of expressing himself tolerable enough; but the king had never talked with him but once: the poor man was confounded at the motion, and fell down upon his knees before me as one that thought himself ruined and undone. I did all I could to encourage him, told him he should have ready money for his pains, and a place in the isle of Ree, and for his greater assurance, I persuaded him that the English made the first overture themselves. I made him dine with me, and there being nobody but he and I, and one servant that waited, by degrees I gave him instructions what he was to do, and how he was to behave himself in this affair. Not long after, the king sent for me, and I gave him a relation of what had passed, and recommended others to him, which in my opinion were more proper for his design; but he would employ no other, went and talked with him himself, and animated him more with one word, than I could do with a hundred. There came along with the king into my chamber only the lord de Villiers, at that

time master of the horse, and now bailiff of Caen. When the king had prepared and encouraged his man, he sent the master of the horse for the banner of a trumpet to make his herald a coat of arms, for the king was not so stately, nor vain, as to have either herald or trumpet in his train as other princes have; wherefore the master of the horse and one of my servants made up the coat of arms as well as they could, and he having fetched a scutcheon from a little herald, called Plein Chemin, belonging to the admiral of France, they fastened it about him, sent for his boots and his cloak privately; and his horse being got ready, he mounted, and nobody perceived him, with a bag or budget at the bow of his saddle, in which his coat of arms was put; and having been well instructed what he was to say, away he went directly to the English army. Upon his arrival in his herald's coat, he was immediately stopped, and carried to the king of England's tent; being asked his business, he told them he was come with a message from the king of France to the king of England, and had orders to address himself to the lords Howard and Stanley.

He was carried into a tent to dinner, and very civilly entertained. After the king of England had dined, the herald was sent for, who told him that his errand was to acquaint his majesty that the king of France for a long time had had a desire to be at amity with him, that both their kingdoms might be at quiet, and enjoy the blessing of peace: that since his accession to the crown of France he never had made war, or attempted any thing against him, or his kingdom; and as for having entertained the earl of Warwick formerly, he said his master had done that more in opposition to the duke of Burgundy than out of any quarrel to him. Then he remonstrated to him, that the duke of Burgundy had not invited him over, but to make his own terms the better with the king of France, and if others had joined with him, it was only to secure themselves against their former offences, or to advance their own private affairs; which when they had once compassed, they would not regard the interest of the king of England: he represented likewise the lateness of the season, that winter was approaching, that his master was sensible of the great charge the king of England had been at, and that he knew there were in England, many, both of the nobility, and merchants, who were desirous of a war on this side the water; yet when the king of England should be inclined to a treaty, his master would not be averse, nor refuse to come to such terms as should be agreeable both to himself and his subjects; and if the king of England had a mind to be more particularly informed of these matters, if he

would give him a passport for a hundred horse, his master would send ambassadors to him with full instructions. Or if the king should think it more proper to depute certain commissioners, and let them have a conference together in some village between the two armies, he would willingly consent, and send them a passport. The king of England and part of his nobility were extremely pleased with these proposals; a passport was given to the herald according to his desire, and having been presented with four nobles in money, he was attended by a herald from the king of England for the king of France's passport in the same form as the other; which being given, the next morning the commissioners met in a village near Amiens: on the part of the king of France there were the bastard of Bourbon admiral of France, the lord de St. Pierre, and the bishop of Eureux called Herberge: on the king of England's, there were the lord Howard, one Chalanger, and one doctor Morton, who is at present chancellor of England, and archbishop of Canterbury.

Some people, I believe, will think this too great a condescention in our king; but the wiser sort may see by what I have said before, that his kingdom was in great danger, had not God himself supported it by disposing the king to so lucky a resolution, and infatuating the duke of Burgundy's understanding so, as to make him commit so many irreparable errors, and lose that by his own obstinacy, which he had been endeavouring at so long. We had besides many private intrigues and secret cabals among us, which would have produced great and speedy troubles to this nation, as well out of Bretagne, as other places, had not the king clapped up this peace: so that what I have often said before, I must once again repeat and confirm, that I do certainly believe by what I have seen in my time, God has a particular, and more than ordinary care of the preservation of this kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a negotiation of a truce for nine years, between the kings of France and England, notwithstanding the difficulties and impediments which were given by the constable and the duke of Burgundy.

BEING within four leagues of one another, or less, upon the return of our herald the commissioners met the next morning.—Our herald was well received, had his money, and the office in

the isle of Ree, where he was born. The English at first demanded according to their custom the crown of France, and by degrees they fell to Normandy, and Guienne: our commissioners replied as became them; so that it was well urged on the one side, and well refused on the other: yet from the very first day of the treaty there was great prospect of an accommodation; for both parties seemed very condescending, and inclinable to hearken to reasonable proposals: our commissioners came back, and theirs returned to their camp. The king was acquainted with their demands, and the final resolution was to have seventy-two thousand crowns paid them down before they left the kingdom. A marriage concluded between our present king, and the eldest daughter of king Edward, who is now queen of England, and for her maintenance, either the dutchy of Guienne, or a pension of fifty thousand crowns to be paid annually during the nine years in the Tower of London; at the end of which term, the king present and his queen, were to enjoy quietly the whole revenue of Guienne, and our king to be discharged from paying the pension for the future. There were several other articles, but being of no great weight or importance, I shall pass them over; only this I shall add, that in this peace which was to continue nine years between the two crowns, the allies on both sides were to be comprehended, and the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were named expressly by the English. The king of England offered, which was strange, to make a discovery of some persons who, as he said, were traitors to our king and his crown, and to produce an instance of their treason under their hands. King Lewis was extremely pleased with the progress that our commissioners had made in this affair.

He held a council to consult what measures to take, and I among the rest assisted at it: some were of opinion all this was but a trick and fallacy in the English: but the king was of another mind, and he inferred it from the time of the year, being pretty near winter, and their being unprovided of any one place for a secure quarter; as also from the delays and disappointments which they had received from the duke of Burgundy, who had, as it were, forsaken them already; and as for the constable, he was well assured he would not deliver up any of his towns, for the king sent every hour to entertain and wheedle him, and prevent him from doing any harm. Besides, our king was perfectly acquainted with the king of England's humour, and that he loved to indulge himself in ease and pleasures: so that by the consequence it plainly appeared that his majesty spoke wiser, and made

a better judgment of those affairs than any of his council. Whereupon he resolved to raise the money with all expedition, and recommending the way to them, it was resolved it should be done by a loan, and every one advance something for greater dispatch. The king declared he would do any thing in the world to get the king of England out of France, except putting any of his towns into his possession, for rather than do that, he would hazard all.

The constable began to perceive these intrigues, to fear he had disobliged all parties, and to be jealous of the designs which he presumed were concluded against him at Bouvines; for which reason he sent frequently to the king. At this very hour there arrived at court, a servant of the constable's named Lewis de Creville, and one of his secretaries named John Richer, who were ordered by the king to deliver their message to the lord du Bouchage and me. The message which they brought to the king pleased his majesty extremely, for he resolved to make his advantage of it, as you shall hear. The lord de Contay, who, as I have already mentioned, was a servant to the duke of Burgundy, and not long since taken prisoner before Arras, went up and down upon his parole between the duke and the king, who had promised him not only his liberty, but a considerable sum of money if he could dispose his master to a peace. It happened that he was just returned from waiting on the duke of Burgundy the very day the two gentlemen above mentioned arrived at court from the constable; the king caused the lord de Contay and myself to hide ourselves behind a great old skreen that stood in his chamber, that the lord de Contay might hear and report to the duke of Burgundy the language with which the constable and his creatures treated him. The king placed himself upon a stool near the skreen, that we might more distinctly hear what the said Lewis de Creville, with whom none of the king's servants except the lord du Bouchage were admitted, had to say, and his colleague began their discourse, told the king that their master had sent them lately to wait on the duke of Burgundy, that they had used several arguments, and remonstrated many things to induce him to a rupture with the English, and that they had found him in so great a passion against the king, that they were in a fair way to prevail upon him, not only to abandon, but also to fall upon and destroy them in their retreat; and to please the king the more, as he thought, when he spoke those words, Lewis de Creville, in imitation of the duke of Burgundy, stamped with his foot, swore by St. George, called the king of England the son of an archer, with as many invectives besides, as could possibly be used against any

man. The king pretended to be highly pleased at this relation, desired him to tell him it over again, and to raise his voice, for of late he was grown a little deaf; du Creville was not backward, began again, and acted it to the life.

The lord de Contay, who was with me behind the skreen, was the most surprised person in the world, and all the arguments that could have been used, could never have been able to have made him believe it, had he not over-heard it himself. In the conclusion they advised his majesty, to prevent the imminent danger that threatened his affairs, that he would make a truce; promised that the constable should do all that lay in his power to forward the negotiation; and, to satisfy the English in some measure, they proposed that the king should give them a small little town or two for their winter-quarters, which could not be so bad but they would be glad of it; yet naming no towns, it was presumed they intended St.Valery and Eu. By this means he thought to reconcile himself to the English, and expiate the affront which he had put upon them at Peronne. The king having sufficiently acted his part, and made the lord de Contay hear every word that was spoken, his majesty gave them no uncivil answer, but only told them, that he would send to his brother, and give him an account of his affairs; and then they took their leave and withdrew.

One of them swore to the king, that whatever secret he should be intrusted with that concerned his majesty's affairs, he would certainly discover it to him. The king could scarce dissemble his resentment at the advising him to give the English the towns; but fearing lest it might further provoke the constable, and put him upon worse practices, he would not make such a reply as might make him suspect that he disliked the proposition, but sent a messenger of his own to him, for the way was but short, and it took up no great time to go thither, and return. When the ambassadors were gone out, the lord de Contay and I came from behind the skreen, and found the king very pleasant, and laughing heartily; but the lord de Contay was out of all patience to hear such fellows speak so disrespectfully of his master the duke of Burgundy, especially considering the great transactions which were at that time between the constable and him. The lord de Contay was impatient to be on horseback, to make a relation of it to his master, and therefore was immediately dispatched with a copy of the discourse written with his own hand, and a letter of credit under the king's.

Our negotiation with the English was concluded, as you have heard, and all these intrigues were carried on at one time. The

king of France's commissioners, who had had a conference with the English, reported their proposals; and the king of England's returned to their camp. At last it was agreed upon by the ambassadors on both sides, that the two kings should have an interview, and swear mutually to the performance of the articles; after which the king of England should return into his own country upon the receipt of 720,000 crowns, and that the lord Hastings and Sir John Cheney, master of the horse, should be left as hostages till he was arrived in England; and last of all a pension of 16,000 crowns a-year was promised to the privy counsellors of the king of England, viz. to the lord Hastings 2000, who would never give an acquittance for it; to the chancellor 2000; and the rest to the lord Howard, the master of the horse, Mr. Chalanger, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and several others: besides a great deal of ready money and plate, that was distributed among the rest of the king of England's retinue.

The duke of Burgundy, who was then at Luxemburg, having notice of these proceedings, came in mighty haste to the king of England, attended but only with sixteen horsemen in his retinue. The king of England was extremely surprised at his unexpected arrival, and demanded what it was that brought him thither? for he saw an uneasiness in his countenance that plainly denoted a disturbance of mind: the duke told him he was come to discourse with him: the king of England asked whether it were in public or private? then the duke asked him if he had made a peace; the king told him he had made a truce for nine years, in which the duke of Bretagne and himself were comprehended, and he desired they would accept of that comprehension. The duke fell into a violent passion, and in English, a language that he spoke very well, began to cammemorate the glorious achievements of his predecessors, who had formerly invaded France, and how they had spared no pains, nor declined any danger, that might render them famous, and gain immortal honour and renown abroad. Then he inveighed against the truce, and told the king, he had not invited the English over into France out of any necessity he had of their assistance, but only to put them in a way of recovering their own right and inheritance; and to convince them he could subsist without their alliance, he was resolved not to make use of the advantage of the truce till the king had been three months in England; and having delivered himself after this imperious manner, he took his leave of the king, and returned to Luxemburg. The king of England and his council were extremely displeased with his language; but others, who were averse to the peace, highly extolled it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the king's entertaining the English in Amiens, and of the place appointed for the interview of the two kings.

IN order to bring the peace to a conclusion, the king of England advanced within half a league of Amiens, and the king of France being upon one of the gates, saw his army marching at a great distance. To speak impartially, his troops seemed but raw and unfit for action in the field, for they were in very ill order, and observed no manner of discipline. Our king sent the king of England, three hundred cart-loads of the best wines in France as a present, and I think the carts made as great an appearance as the whole army. Upon the strength of the truce several of the English came into the town, where they behaved themselves very imprudently, and without the least regard to their prince's honour; for they entered the town all armed, and in great companies, so that if the king of France could have dispensed with his oath, never was there so handsome an opportunity of cutting off a considerable number of them; but his majesty's design was only to entertain them nobly, and to settle a firm and lasting peace, that might continue during his reign. The king had ordered two large tables to be placed on each side of the street, at the entrance of the town-gate, which were covered with a variety of nice dishes of all sorts of food most proper to relish their wine, of which there was great plenty, and of the richest that France could afford, and abundance of servants in the king's livery to wait and attend on them, but not a drop of water did the English call for. At each of the tables the king had placed five or six jolly drinking companions, persons of rank and condition, to entertain those that had a mind to take a hearty glass, amongst which were the lord de Craon, the lord de Briquebec, the lord de Bresmes, the lord de Villiers, and several others. Those English which were within sight of the gate, saw the entertainment, and there were persons appointed on purpose to take their horses by the bridles, and lead them to the tables, where every man was treated handsomely, as he came in his turn, to their very great satisfaction. When they had once entered the town, wherever they went, or whatever they called for, nothing was to be paid; they were liberally furnished with all that they wanted, and they had whatever they had a mind to call for, without paying for it, according to the king of France's orders, who bore all the expense of that entertainment, which lasted three or four days.

You have already heard how dissatisfied the duke of Burgundy was with the truce, but the constable was much more so; for having abused all parties, he could expect nothing but inevitable ruin. He sent therefore his confesser to the king of England with letters of credit to this purpose—To desire him for God's sake not to depend on the oaths and promises of the king of France, but for the present to accept of Eu and St. Valery for his winter-quarters, for in two months time he would order affairs so, as his troops should be better accommodated. But he mentioned nothing of security, only gave him great hopes; and lest the want of money should have forced the king to have consented to this truce, he offered to assist him with fifty thousand crowns, and made him several other fair proposals besides. By this time the king of France had ordered the towns of Eu and St. Valery to be burnt, because the constable had proposed to have delivered them up to the English, and the English were informed of it. However, the king of England returned this answer to the constable—"That the truce was already concluded, and could not be altered; but if he had performed his promise, it had never been made." Which answer stung him to the very soul, and made him desperate on all sides.

I have already given you an account of the king's nobly entertaining the English at Amiens. One night the lord de Torcy came to the king, and told him their numbers in the town were so considerable, that he apprehended there might be some danger in it; but his majesty being angry with him, every body else was silent. The next day was Childermas-day, on which the king neither spoke himself, nor permitted any one else to apply to him about business, but took it as an ill omen; and would be very pettish when any such thing was proposed, especially from those who waited on him, and knew his temper. However, the morning I speak of, when the king was dressed, and gone to his devotions, one came to me with news, that there were at least nine thousand English in the town. I resolved to venture his displeasure, and acquaint him with it; whereupon, entering into his closet, I said—"Sir, though it be Childermas-day, I think myself bound in duty to inform your majesty of what I have heard." Then I gave him an account of the number of troops already in the town; that more were coming in every moment; that they were all armed, and that nobody durst shut the gate upon them for fear of provoking them. The king was not offended; but left his prayers, and told me, that for once he would put off the devotions of that day. He commanded me immediately to get on horseback, and endeavour to speak with some of the English officers of note, to

desire them to order their troops to retire; and if I met any of his captains, to send them to him, for he would be at the gate as soon as I. I met three or four English commanders of my acquaintance, and spoke to them according to the king's directions; but for one that they commanded to leave the town, there were twenty came in. After me the king sent the lord de Giè, now marshal of France; and having found me, we went together into a tavern, where, though it was not nine o'clock, there had been a hundred and eleven reckonings to pay that morning. The house was filled with company; some sung, some laughed, some slept, and the rest were drunk; upon seeing of which, I concluded there was no danger, and sent to inform the king of it; who came immediately to the gate, well attended, and ordered two or three hundred men at arms to be armed privately in their captains' houses, some of which he posted at the gate by which the English entered. The king ordered his dinner to be brought to the porter's lodgings at the gate; where his majesty dined, and did several English officers the honour of admitting them to dinner with him. The king of England had been informed of this disorder, and was much ashamed of it; and sent to the king of France to desire his majesty to admit no more of his troops into the town. The king of France sent him word back, he would not do that, but if he pleased to send a party of his own guards thither, the gate should be delivered up to them, and they might let in or exclude whom they pleased. In short, so they did; and several of the English, by their king's express command, were ordered to evacuate the town.

And then, in order to bring the whole affair to a conclusion, they consulted what place was most convenient for the interview of the two kings, and persons were appointed to survey it; the lord du Bouchage and I were chosen for our master; and the lord Howard, one Chalanger, and a herald, for the king of England. Upon our taking a view of the river, we agreed the best and securest place was Picquiny, a strong castle some three leagues from Amiens, belonging to the Vidame of Amiens, which had been burnt not long before by the duke of Burgundy; the town lies low, the river Somme runs through it, and is not fordible near it. On the one side, by which our king was to come, was a fine champain country; and on the other side it was the same, only when the king of England came to the river, he was obliged to pass a causey about two bow-shots long, with marshes on both sides; which might have been of very dangerous consequence to the English, if our intentions had not been honourable. And certainly, as I have said before, the English do not manage their

treaties and capitulations with so much cunning and policy as the French, let people say what they will, but proceed more ingenuously, and with greater freedom in their affairs; yet a man must be cautious, and have a care not to affront them, for it is dangerous meddling with them. After we had fixed upon the place, our next consultation was about a bridge that was ordered to be built large and strong; to which purpose we furnished our carpenters with materials. In the midst of the bridge there was contrived a strong wooden grate or lattice, such as the lions' cages are made of, the hole between every bar being no wider than to thrust in a man's arm; the top was covered only with boards to keep off the rain, and the body of it was big enough to contain ten or twelve men of a side, with the bars running across to both sides of the bridge, to hinder any person from passing over it either to the one side or the other; and in the river there was only one little boat to convey over such as had a mind to cross it.

I will now relate the occasion that induced the king to have the place of their interview contrived after such a fashion, that there should be no passage from one side to the other; and perhaps the time may come, when it may be useful to some persons who may have the same occasion. During the minority of Charles VII. the kingdom of France was much infested by the English. Henry V. lay before Roanne, had straitened it very much, and the greatest part of those in the town were either subjects, or partisans of John duke of Burgundy, who was then living.

There had been a long and great difference between John duke of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans; and the whole kingdom was engaged in their quarrel, to the prejudice of the king's affairs; for faction never begins in any country, but it is difficult to extinguish, and dangerous in the end. In this quarrel that I speak of, the duke of Orleans had been killed in Paris the year before; duke John had a powerful army, and advanced to raise the siege of Roanne; that he might do it with more ease, and assure himself of the king's friendship, it was agreed that the king and he should have an interview at Montereau or Faut Yonne, where a bridge was erected, with a barrier in the midst; and in the middle of the barrier, a little wicket, which was bolted on both sides, and by which means, and by the consent of both parties, they might pass to either. The king met on one side, and duke John on the other, both attended with a strong party of their guards, but especially duke John; they met, and had a long conference upon the bridge, and about the duke's person there were not above three or four at the most. In the height of their discourse, the duke, either by

the persuasion of others, or out of a desire to pay a more than ordinary respect to his majesty, unbolted the wicket on his side, and they doing the same on theirs, he passed through it to the king, and was slain himself and all those who attended him; which was the occasion of abundance of mischief that ensued afterwards, as every body knows: but this not being material to my design, I shall speak of it no further, only let me tell you, you have the story just as the king told it to me himself, when he sent me to choose a place, commanding expressly, that there should be no door, for, said he, if that had not been, there had been no occasion of inviting the duke on that side, and then that misfortune had been prevented, the principal contrivers and executors of which were some of the duke of Orleans's servants, who were present at that time, and in great authority with Charles VII.

CHAP. X.

Of the interview between the two kings, and of their swearing to the truce which was concluded before; and some fancied the Holy Ghost descended upon the king of England's tent in the shape of a white pigeon.

THE barrier being finished, and the place fitted for the interview, as you have already heard, the next day, which was the 29th of August 1475, in the morning, the two kings appeared. The king of France came first, attended by about eight hundred men at arms: on the king of England's side, his whole army was drawn up in order of battle; and though we could not discover their whole force, yet we saw such a vast number both of horse and foot, that the body of troops that were with us seemed very inconsiderable in respect of them; but indeed the fourth part of our army was not there. It was given out, that twelve men of a side were to be with each of the kings at the interview, and that they were already chosen out of the greatest and most intimate of their courts. With us we had four of the king of England's party to view what was done among us, and they had as many of our's, on their side, to have an eye over their actions. As I said before, our king came first to the grate, attended by about twelve persons of the greatest quality in France; among which were John duke of Bourbon, and the cardinal his brother. It was the king's royal pleasure, according to an old and common custom that he had, that I should be dressed like him that day. The king of England advanced along

the causey, which I mentioned before, very nobly attended, with the air and presence of a king: there were in his train his brother the duke of Clarence, the earl of Northumberland, his chamberlain called the lord Hastings, his chancellor, and other peers of the realm; among which there were not above four dressed in cloth of gold like himself: the king of England wore a black velvet cap upon his head, with a large flower-de-luce made of precious stones upon it: he was a prince of a noble majestic presence, his person proper and straight, but a little inclining to be fat; I had seen him before when the earl of Warwick drove him out of his kingdom, then I thought him much handsomer, and, to the best of my remembrance, my eyes had never beheld a more beautiful person. When he came within a little distance of the rail, he pulled off his cap, and bowed himself within half a foot of the ground; and the king of France, who was then leaning over the barrier, received him with abundance of reverence and respect: they embraced through the holes of the grate, and the king of England making him another low bow, the king of France saluted him thus—"Cousin, you are heartily welcome; there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion." The king of England returned the compliment in very good French, then the chancellor of England, who was a prelate, and bishop of Ely, began his speech with a prophecy, (of which the English are always provided), that at Picquiny a memorable peace was to be concluded between the English and French: after he had finished his harangue, the instrument was produced which contained the articles the king of France had sent to the king of England. The chancellor demanded of our king, whether he had sent the said articles? and whether he had agreed to them? the king replied—"Yes:" and king Edward's being produced on our side, he made the same answer. The Missal being brought and opened, both the kings laid one of their hands upon the book, and the other upon the true cross, and both of them swore religiously to observe the contents of the truce, which was, that it should stand firm and good for nine years complete; that the allies on both sides should be comprehended; and that the marriage between their children should be consummated as was stipulated by the said treaty of peace. After the two kings had sworn to observe the treaty, our king, who had always words at command, told the king of England in a jocular way, he should be glad to see his majesty at Paris, and that if he would come and divert himself with the ladies, he would assign him the cardinal of Bourbon, for his confessor, whom he knew would willingly ab-

solve him, if he should commit any sin, by way of love and gallantry: the king of England was extremely pleased with his raillery, and made his majesty several handsome repartees, for he knew the cardinal was a jolly companion. After some discourse to this purpose, our king, to show his authority, commanded us who attended him to withdraw, for he had a mind to have a little private discourse with the king of England. We obeyed, and those who were with the king of England seeing us retire, did the same, without expecting to be commanded. After the two kings had been alone together for some time, our master called me to him, and asked the king of England if he knew me? The king of England replied he did, named the places where he had seen me, and told the king, that formerly I had endeavoured to serve him at Calais, when I was in the duke of Burgundy's service. The king of France demanded if the duke of Burgundy refused to be be comprehended in the treaty, (as might be suspected from his obstinate answer), what the king of England would have him do? The king of England replied, he would offer it him again, and if he refused it then, he would not concern himself any further, but leave it entirely to themselves. By degrees the king came to mention the duke of Bretagne, who indeed was the person he aimed at in the question, and made the same demand about him. The king of England desired he would not attempt any thing against the duke of Bretagne, for in his distress he had never found so true and faithful a friend. The king pressed him no further, but recalling the company, took his leave of the king of England in the handsomest and most civil terms imaginable, saluted all his attendants in a most particular manner, and both the kings at a time, or very near it, retired from the barrier, and mounting on horseback, the king of France returned to Amiens, and the king of England to his army. The king of England was accommodated out of the king of France's court with whatever he wanted, to the very torches and candles. The duke of Gloucester, the king of England's brother, and some other persons of quality, were not present at this interview, as being averse to the treaty; but they recollected themselves afterwards, and the duke of Gloucester waited on our master at Amiens, where he was splendidly entertained, and nobly presented both with plate and fine horses.

In the king's return from this interview, in our discourse by the way, he happened to fall upon two points, at which he was more than ordinarily concerned: one was, that the king of England was so easily persuaded to come to Paris; his majesty was not at all pleased with it, and he told me,—"He is a beautiful prince, a

great admirer of the ladies, and who knows, but some of them may appear to him so witty, so gay, and so charming, as may give him a desire of making us a second visit: his predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already; and I do not care for his company so near, though, on the other side of the water, I should be ready to value and esteem him as my friend and brother." Besides, the king was displeased to find him so obstinate in relation to the duke of Bretagne, on whom he would fain have made war, and to that purpose made another overture to him by the lord du Bouchage, and the lord de St. Pierre: but when the king of England saw himself pressed, he gave them this short but generous answer—"That if any prince invaded the duke of Bretagne's dominions, he would cross the seas once more in his defence:" upon which they importuned him no further.

When the king had arrived at Amiens, and ready to go to supper, three or four of the English lords who attended upon the king of England at the interview, came to sup with his majesty, and the lord Howard being of the number, he told the king in his ear, that if he desired it, it should go hard but he would find a way to bring his master to him to Amiens, and to Paris too, to be merry with him for some time. Though this proposition was not in the least agreeable to the king, yet his majesty dissembled the matter pretty well, and fell a-washing his hands, without giving a direct answer; but he whispered me in the ear, and told me, that what he suspected was at last come really to pass. After supper, they fell upon that subject again; but the king put it off with the greatest gentleness and wisdom imaginable, pretending his expedition against the duke of Burgundy would require his departure immediately. Though these affairs were of very great importance, and great prudence was used on both sides to manage them discreetly, yet there were some pleasant occurrences among them worthy to be recorded to posterity. Nor ought any man to wonder, considering the great mischiefs which the English have brought upon this kingdom, and the freshness of their date, that the king of France should be at so much labour and expense to send them home in a friendly manner, that he might make them his friends for the future, or at least divert them from being his enemies.

The next day a great number of English came to Amiens, some of which reported that the Holy Ghost had made that peace, and prophecies were produced to confirm it; but their greatest argument to support this ridiculous opinion was, because during the time of their interview a white pigeon came and sat upon the king of England's tent, and could not be frightened away by any noise

they could make. But some gave another reason, which seemed to be a much better one, and that was, that a small shower of rain having fallen that day, and awhile after the sun shining out very warm, the poor pigeon finding that tent higher than the rest, came thither only to dry herself. And this reason was given me by a gentleman of Gascony, called Lewis de Bretrailles, who was in the king of England's service. Having been an old acquaintance of mine, he told me privately—"That we did but laugh at the king of England." Among the rest of our discourse, I asked him how many battles the king of England had fought? He told me nine, and that he had been in every one of them in person. I demanded next, how many he had lost? He replied, never but one, and that was this in which we had outwitted him now; for he was of opinion that the ignominy of his returning so soon after such vast preparations, would be a greater disgracce and stain to his arms than all the honour his majesty had gained in the nine former victories. I acquainted the king with this smart answer, and the king replied—"He is a shrewd fellow, I warrant him, and we must have a care of his tongue." The next day he sent for him, had him to dinner at his own table, and made him very advantageous proposals, if he would quit his master's service, and live in France. But finding he was not to be prevailed on, he presented him with a thousand crowns, and promised what great matters he would do for his brothers in France. Upon his going away, I whispered him in the ear, and desired him that he would employ his good offices to continue and propagate that love and good understanding which was so happily begun between the two kings.

The king was under the greatest concern imaginable, for fear he should drop some word or other that might make the English suspect he imposed upon and laughed at them. The next morning after the interview, his majesty being retired into his closet with only three or four of us about him, began to droll and jest upon the wines and presents which he had sent to the English camp, but turning suddenly round, he perceived a merchant of Gascony who lived in England, and was come to court to beg leave to export a certain quantity of Bourdeaux wines, without paying the duties, the obtaining of which would have been very advantageous to him. The king was much surprised at the sight of him, and wondered how he came thither. The king asked him of what town in Guienne he was? Whether he was a merchant? and whether married in England? The merchant replied, Yes, he had a wife in England, but what estate he had there was but small. Before he went out, the king appointed one to go with him

to Bourdeaux, and I had also some discourse with him by his majesty's express command. The king gave him a considerable employment in the town where he was born, the exemption of the duties upon his wines, and a thousand franks to bring over his wife, but he was to send his brother into England for her, and not go fetch her himself; and this penalty the king imposed upon him for the too great liberty of his tongue.

CHAP. XI.

Of the constable's endeavouring to excuse himself to the king of France, upon the conclusion of the peace with the English; and of a truce which was likewise made for nine years between the duke of Burgundy and the king of France.

THE next day after the interview, the constable dispatched one of his servants called Rapine with letters to the king, who preferred him afterwards for having been faithful to his master; the king ordered the lord du Lude and myself to receive his message. At the same time the lord de Contay, whom I have mentioned so often, was returned from the duke of Burgundy's court, with designs against the constable; so that the constable looked upon himself as ruined and undone, and knew not to which of the saints he should address his devotions; Rapine's message was very submissive. He told us, that his master was very sensible that several accusations and charges had been brought against him to the king; but the event could sufficiently clear him from all those aspersions. However, to give the king greater evidence of his loyalty, he made some proposals to his majesty, that if he pleased to order matters so, he would persuade the duke of Burgundy to join his forces with the king's, and destroy the king of England and his whole army in their return; and by his manner of speaking, it seemed to us as if his master was in the height of despair. We told him the peace was already concluded, and that we were not desirous of beginning a new war. The lord du Lude proceeded so far as to ask Rapine where his master had disposed of his ready money? I was amazed at his question, for Rapine having the character of being faithful to his master, it might give him a hint of his impending ruin, discover the designs that were forming against him, and make the constable fly, especially when he reflected on the danger he had escaped but the year before. But I have seen but very few people in my time either here or in other kingdoms, that knew how to fly

from danger in time, or were wise enough to escape their ruin. Some have not profited by the experience they might have had of their neighbour's misfortune: others never travelled into foreign countries, which is certainly a great fault in a man of quality; for to have seen the world, and to have some experience in the affairs of it, gives a man great wisdom and presence of mind. Others are too passionately fond of their wives, their children, or estates, and one of them has been the ruin of many a brave man.

After we had given his majesty an account of Rapine's message, he called for one of his secretaries. There were then in his presence only the lord Howard, an English courtier, who knew nothing of our affair with the constable, the lord de Contay, who was newly returned from the duke of Burgundy, and we two, who had been in discourse with Rapine. The king dictated a letter to the constable, in which his majesty acquainted him with what had been transacted the day before in relation to the truce. He told him that at that instant he had weighty affairs upon his hands, and wanted such a head as his to finish them; and then turning to the English nobleman and the lord de Contay, he told them—I do not mean his body, I would have his head with me, and his body where it is. After the letter was read, it was delivered to Rapine, who was mightily pleased with it, and took it as a great compliment in the king to write, that he wanted such a head as his master's, for he did not understand the sting and ambiguity of it. The king of England sent two letters which the constable had written to him, to the king of France, and acquainted his majesty with all the proposals he had ever made him; by which it may easily be discerned into what a miserable condition he had brought himself, when every one of these three great princes joined in his destruction.

As soon as the king of England had received his money, and delivered the lord Howard and Sir John Cheney, (his master of the horse), as hostages till he was landed in England, he retreated towards Calais by long and hasty marches, for he was jealous of the duke of Burgundy's anger, and the hatred of the peasants; and indeed, if any of his soldiers straggled, some of them were sure to be knocked on the head.

At the beginning of our affairs with the English, you may remember that the king of England had no great inclination to this descent; and as soon as he came to Dover, and before his embarkation there, he entered into a sort of treaty with us. But that which prevailed with him to transport his army into Calais was, first, the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy, and the animosity of the English, which is natural in them against the French, and

has been so in all ages; and next, to reserve a great part of the money which had been liberally granted him for that expedition, to himself; for, as you have already heard, the kings of England live upon their own revenue, and can raise no taxes but under the specious pretence of invading France. Besides, the king had another stratagem to delude and amuse his subjects, for he had brought along with him ten or twelve of the chief citizens of London, and other towns in England, all fat, jolly, and of great power in their country, such as had promoted the war, and had been very serviceable in raising the army. The king ordered very fine tents to be made for them, in which they lay; but that not being the way of living they had been used to, they soon began to grow weary of the campaign, for they concluded they should come to an engagement within three days after their landing; and the king multiplied their fears and the dangers of a war, on purpose that they might be better satisfied with a peace, and to pacify the murmurs of the people, upon his return into England: for since Arthur's days, never king of England invaded France with so great a number of the nobility, and such a formidable army. But, as you have heard, he returned immediately into England upon the conclusion of the peace, and reserved the greatest part of the money, that was raised to pay the army, for his own private use; so that in reality he accomplished most of the designs he had in view. The king of England was not of a complexion or turn of mind to endure much hardship and labour; and that any king of England who designs to make any considerable conquest in France must expect to endure. Besides, our king was in a tolerable posture of defence, though in all places he was not so well prepared as he ought to have been, by reason of the variety and multitude of his enemies. Another design the king of England had in view, which was, the accomplishment of the marriage between our present Charles VIII. and his daughter, and this wedding causing him to wink at several things, was a great advantage to our master's affairs.

After all the English, except their hostages, were landed in England, the king of France retired towards Laon, to a little town called Vervins, bordering upon the marches of Hainault, for the chancellor of Burgundy, and other ambassadors were at Avennes in Hainault with the lord de Contay, with a commission from the duke of Burgundy to treat of an accommodation, and the king himself had a great desire to a general peace. The vast numbers of the English had put him into a dreadful fright; he had seen enough of their exploits in his time, and had no mind to see any more of them. The chancellor, who was one of the duke of Burgundy's

plenipotentiaries, as you have heard, intimated to the king, that if he pleased to send his ambassadors to a bridge half way between Avennes and Vervins, he and the rest of them would certainly attend them. The king sent them word he would come thither himself, and though some persons endeavoured to dissuade his majesty from it, yet he went, took the English hostages along with him, and they were present when the king gave audience to the ambassadors, who had a strong guard of archers, and other soldiers, well armed, handsomely clothed, and in complete order; but no business was dispatched then, only the king took them to dinner with him.

One of the English that was there began to be concerned at the peace, and told me at the window, that had they seen many such men of the duke of Burgundy's before, perhaps the peace had not been concluded so soon. The viscount of Narbonne, now called the lord de Fouez, over-hearing him, replied—"Could you be so weak as to believe the duke of Burgundy wanted great numbers of such soldiers? he had only put them into quarters of refreshment, and you were in such haste to be at home again, that six hundred pipes of wine, and a pension from our king sent you back into England." The Englishman was in a passion, and answered with much warmth—"I plainly see it is as every body said, and you have done nothing but abused us: do you call the money your king gave us, a pension! it is a tribute, and by St. George you may prate so much as will bring us back again to prove it." I interrupted them, and turned it into a jest, but the Englishman would not understand it so: when I informed the king of it afterwards, he was highly offended with the viscount of Narbonne.

The king of France had but a short conference with the chancellor and the rest of the plenipotentiaries at that time; for it was agreed they should wait on his majesty at Vervins, and so they did. When they were at Vervins, the king appointed Tanneguy du Chastel, and Peter Doriole, chancellor of France, to negotiate with them; and committed the whole management of that affair to them. Great representations were made, and both sides very zealous for the advantage of their masters. The king's ambassadors made their report, and acquainted his majesty that the duke of Burgundy's commissioners had been fierce and insolent in their language, but they had given them as good as they brought, and then repeated their answers. The king was not pleased with it, told them there had been too many of those smart answers already; but the debate being only about a truce, not a final peace, he would have no more such expressions used, and therefore

would treat with them himself. Whereupon his majesty ordered the chancellor, and the rest of the duke of Burgundy's plenipotentiaries, to attend him in his chamber; where, none of his court being present but the admiral, the bastard of Bourbon, the lord du Bouchage, and myself, he concluded a truce with them for nine years to come, and all things to be restored that had been taken. But the ambassadors desired the king that it might not be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, as the usual manner was, to save his oath to the king of England, when he swore in his passion he would not accept of the benefit of the truce till the king had been in England so long, lest he should think their master had spoken otherwise than he designed.

The king of England being highly disgusted at the duke of Burgundy's rejecting his comprehension, and being now endeavouring to make a separate peace with the king, dispatched a great favourite of his, called Sir Thomas Montgomery, to the king at Vervins; and he happened to arrive there at the same time the king was negotiating with the duke of Burgundy. Sir Thomas desired, in behalf of the king of England his master, that the king of France would not consent to any other truce with the duke, than what was already made. He also pressed his majesty not to deliver St. Quintin into the duke's hands; and as a further encouragement, he offered to pass the seas once more with a powerful army to assist him, provided his majesty would continue the war against the duke of Burgundy, and he might have some compensation for the prejudice he should sustain in his duties upon wool at Calais, which would be worth little or nothing, though at other times they were valued at fifty thousand crowns a-year. He proposed likewise, that if he brought an army over to his assistance, the king of France should pay one half of it, and he would pay the other himself. The king of France returned the king of England abundance of thanks, made Sir Thomas a present of plate; but as to the continuation of the war, he begged to be excused, for the truce was already concluded, and upon the same terms as that which was agreed on by them; only the duke of Burgundy pressed mightily to have a separate one by himself; which he excused as well as he could to please and satisfy the English ambassador; and with this answer he returned into England, and the hostages with him. The king was extremely surprised at the king of England's offers, which were delivered only before me. He conceived it would be very dangerous to bring the king of England into France again; for between those two nations, when together, every trifling accident would raise some new quarrel;

and they might easily make up the matter with the duke of Burgundy, which consideration alone, forwarded the conclusion of the treaty with the Burgundians.

A treaty or truce of commerce made for nine years, between Lewis XI. and Charles the last duke of Burgundy, at Soleuvre, September 13, 1475.

1. THAT there shall be a good and firm truce concluded, and all hostilities cease, both by sea and land, and on fresh waters, between the king and the duke, their heirs, successors, territories, and subjects, from the thirteenth day of September, for nine years; viz. to 1484, without any manner of contravention on either side, under the pretence of letters of mart, countermart, reprisals, debts, or otherwise whatsoever. And supposing any thing done contrary hereunto, restitution shall be made without delay, that is, within eight days after the imparting of the fact by one party to the other; and if that be not done, the party aggrieved shall by force of arms recover such places as have been voluntarily given, or taken from him, and the other shall make no resistance; and yet the truce not violated thereby, and the party that shall not make the said restitution, shall bear all the other's charge.

2. All the subjects and servants on either side, of what quality, condition, or nation soever they be, shall follow their occupations peaceably, and quietly, and without any molestation whatsoever, as in time of peace.

3. No manner of hostilities shall be committed during the truce; but all persons whatsoever, without distinction, shall go, sojourn, converse, or trade, into the dominions of each other without any safeconduct, without any molestation or injury offered whatsoever; only armed soldiers shall not enter into each other's territories in a greater number than four score or an hundred horse.

4. All persons of all ranks and vocations during the truce, shall return to the enjoyment and possession of their benefices, places, lands, seigniories, and other immoveables in the condition they shall find them; and shall be admitted without any molestation or delay, without being obliged to do homage anew, but either in person or by their substitutes making oath before the proper officer that they shall do nothing in prejudice to the party to whom they belong, and upon the expiration of the truce they shall be left in full obedience to the party, where they are at present: nevertheless, the king is content to give up Rambures entirely to the lord of it, without putting any guard into it, upon condition

he swears and signs before the person who shall make that restitution, that during the truce, and after the expiration of it, he shall do nothing that is prejudicial to the king and his dominions, nor to the duke of Burgundy and his territories, nor put any garrison into the place that shall endamage either party.

5. As to the fortresses of Beaulieu and Vervins, the duke consents, that upon the actual restitution of the town and bailiwicks of St. Quintin, and the places concerning which treaties have been made between the king and him, they shall be demolished, and the revenue and lordships remain in the possession of the lords of them.

6. The lands and seigniories of la Fere and Chastellez, Vandeul and St. Lambert, depending on the count de Marle, shall remain under the king's obedience; but the seigniory and revenue are to be the count's.

7. The castles, towns, territories, aud chastellanies of Marle, Jarssy, Moncornet, St. Goubain, and Assay, shall be under the duke's obedience; but the revenue to belong to the said count.

8. As to this truce, so far as it concerns persons returning to their possessions on either side, the bastard of Burgundy, Sieur de Renty, John de Chassa, and Philip de Comines, are wholly excepted.

9. All infractions made on either side of this truce, shall be severely punished according to the demerits of them, and reparation shall be made within six days after they come to be known by the conservators of the truce on either side.

10. The conservators on the king's part—For the county of Eu, St. Vallery, and the adjacent places, the marshal de Gamaches; for Amiens, Beauvois, and the neighbouring marches, monsieur de Torcy; for Compeigne, Noyon, and those marches, the bailiff of Vermandois; for the county of Guise, la Tierache, and Rethelois, the sieur de Villiers; for the chastellany of la Fere and Laon, the provost of the city of Laon; for all Champagne, the governor there; for the countries of the king about the marches of Bourgongne, monsieur de Beaujeu; for the bailiwick of Lyonnois, the bailiff of Lyons; for all the sea coast of France, monsieur the admiral.

11. On the part of the duke of Burgundy—For the country of Ponthieu and the Vimeu, messieurs Philip de Crevecœur, and the lord des Cordes; for Corbie, and the provostship of Feüilloy and Beauquesne, the lord de Contay; for Peronne and the provostship of Peronne, the lord de Clary, and in his absence the lord de la Hargerie, and likewise for the provostships and towns of Montdidier,

Royes, and the adjacent countries; for Artois, Cambresis, and Beaurevoir, John de Longueval, Lord of Vaux; for the country of Marle, monsieur d'Himbercourt; for the country of Hainault, monsieur d'Aimeries, grand bailiff of Hainault; for the country of Liege and Namur, the lord d'Himbercourt; for the country of Luxemburg, the governor of the said country of Luxemburg, marquis of Rothelin; for the country of Burgundy, dutchy and county, &c. subject to the duke, the marshal of Burgundy; for the country of Masconnois, and adjacent places, monsieur de Clessy, governor of Masconnois; for the country of Auxerre and places adjacent, messieurs Tristan de Thoulonjon, and the governor of Auxerre; for the town and chastellany of Bar-sur-Seine, sieur d'Eschauez; for the sea of Flanders, messieurs of Lalaing, and the admiral; for the sea of Holland, Zealand, Artois, and Boulonnois, the count de Boukam, admiral of those parts.

12. If any of the conservators of the truce on either side shall contravene the same, the king and the duke shall appoint others well instructed in the premises, in the room of them.

13. The conservators, or their deputies in their lawful absence, shall meet once a-week alternately, on the borders in the territories of each prince, to hear complaints and to redress them; and if any grand difficulty should arise, they are to remit the same to the councils above, who shall determine them.

14. The decisions of the conservators are to be obeyed, without any appeals whatsoever.

15. The allies on both sides are comprehended in this truce, that have a mind to it, if they do intimate the same in due time; but if any of the king's allies, shall for themselves, or in favour of him, make war on the said duke of Burgundy, he is free to oppose them with his arms, and the king is to give them no manner of assistance, without making any infraction in the truce: and the king is at the same lay in respect to the allies of the duke of Burgundy.

16. The king shall declare himself in favour of the duke of Burgundy against the emperor of the Romans, the citizens of Cologne, and all that shall assist them; and he promises to give them no manner of aid against the duke and his territories.

17. Seeing this treaty has been on foot since the month of May 1474, all the places the king has taken from that time from the duke, shall be restored.

18. Narci and Gerondenelles shall be demolished, if that be not already done, and the lands remain in the possession of the rightful owners.

19. The king, in consideration of this truce, and in order to a perpetual peace, will deliver up the town and bailiwick of St. Quintin to the duke or his commissaries, only the king is to take away the artillery he brought thither; but not to meddle with the artillery of the town, nor any other that was in it before the duke of Burgundy lost the possession of it, and the duke may appoint persons to have an inspection hereof; but is obliged to maintain the inhabitants in their rights and privileges, and to treat them as good subjects.

20. As to all other things and places, not expressly mentioned, they are to remain in their present state during the truce.

Lastly, If the king does not deliver up St. Quintin as aforesaid, the duke is not obliged to the observance of the nine years truce any longer than to the first of May 1476.

CHAP. XII.

Of the king of France's and the duke of Burgundy's swearing the death of the constable, who retiring into the duke's country was, by his command, delivered to the king, and publicly executed.

IMMEDIATELY upon the conclusion of the truce, they proceeded in their designs against the constable, and, to shorten the process, they began where they left off at Bouvines, and the agreement in writing which had been restored, was delivered back again on both sides. For the duke's concurrence in this affair, it was stipulated that he should enjoy St. Quintin, Han, Bohain, and whatever else belonged to the said duke, besides all the constable's moveables wherever they could be found. In the next place they consulted the manner how he was to be besieged in Han, where at that time he was, and it was at last resolved, that whoever of the two should have the fortune to take him first, should see justice executed upon him in eight days, or surrender him to the other. Every body began immediately to have some mistrust of this confederacy, and the constable's chief servants had already forsaken him. The constable having received information that the king of England had delivered his letters, and discovered all his secret practices, and knowing they were his enemies who had promoted the truce, grew extremely fearful and jealous of his condition, and sent a message to the duke of Burgundy, to acquaint him, that if he would give him a safeconduct, he would wait on his highness, and impart several things to him of great importance concerning

his own affairs. The duke was very scrupulous at first, but at last he sent him one. In the mean time, this great man was irresolute and wavering in his mind, and could not tell whither he should fly for security: he had received information from all hands of his intended ruin, and had seen copies of the confederacy against him at Bouvines. Sometimes he consulted his Lorrain servants, and then he resolved to go into Germany, and, there being no danger of travelling that way, to carry such a sum of money with him as would purchase some place upon the Rhine, where he might live secure till he could make his peace either with the king or the duke of Burgundy. Another time, he was for staying in the castle of Han, which he had been at vast expense in fortifying, on purpose to defend himself in such a case of necessity, and indeed it was as well provided with ammunition and provision as any castle that I ever knew; but he had no soldiers that he could depend on, for all his garrison were either the king's or the duke of Burgundy's subjects; and perhaps his fear was so great, he durst not discover himself to them: but I verily believe if he had, he would not have been deserted, but by a very few; nor would it have been so dangerous for him to have been besieged by both princes at once, as by one, for it would have been impossible their two armies should have agreed. At last he resolved to put himself into the duke of Burgundy's hands upon the strength of his safe-conduct, and accordingly, attended only by fifteen or twenty horse, he went directly for Mons in Hainault, of which the lord d'Aimeries, who was his particular friend, was governor. He staid with him till he could hear further from the duke of Burgundy, who had begun a war against the duke of Lorrain, for sending him a defiance as he lay in his trenches before Nuz, and for the ravages and devastations he had committed in the province of Luxemburg.

The king having received information of the constable's departure, resolved to attempt some action that might prevent his reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy? wherefore he marched with all expedition towards St. Quintin with a detachment of seven or eight hundred men at arms, which he had assembled on a sudden, being privately advised of what number of troops the garrison consisted. Upon the king's approach, some of the citizens came out to meet his majesty, and submitted themselves to him. The king commanded me to enter the town, and order the garrison to their quarters, which I did; and our men at arms being entered, the king himself followed, and was well received by the inhabitants; upon which some of the constable's party fled after him into Hainault. As soon as the king was in possession of St.

Quintin, he immediately dispatched a courier with the news of it to the duke of Burgundy, to let him understand that all hopes of recovering it now by the constable's interest was entirely lost. Upon receiving this news the duke of Burgundy sent his commands to the lord d'Aimeries, his grand bailiff in Hainault, to keep such guards in Mons that the constable might not escape, and in the mean time to confine him to his house. The bailiff durst not disobey the duke's orders, yet his guards were not so strict but he might have escaped if he had pleased.

What account can we give of fortune in this case? This person was seated between the territories of these rival princes; he was possessed of several strong places, had four hundred men at arms well paid to his hands, all his own creatures without any controul, and had had the command of them a dozen years: he was a person of great wisdom and valour, was rich, and had great experience; and yet none of all these powerful advantages could, in the time of danger and distress, either afford him relief, or inspire him with courage enough to attempt his escape. One may say, and not improbably, that his old fortune had assumed another air, and began to regard him now with a frowning aspect: but, alas! fortune is nothing but the offspring of a poetical imagination, such surprising mysteries as these are far above her power and capacity, and when I reflect upon what has already been said, and what may further be urged, I cannot help thinking but that God had forsaken him; and if it were no offence to judge (especially for me), I should maintain that the most likely cause of all his misfortunes, was his restless endeavours and designs to foment and continue the war between the king and the duke of Burgundy, upon which alone his grandeur and power depended; nor indeed was it very difficult to accomplish, upon account of their humours and inclinations, which were naturally in themselves so vastly different. That person would indeed be guilty of the highest folly imaginable, who should believe fortune or chance had such an influence over human affairs, as to force a man of his experience in the world to incur the displeasure of two such mighty princes, who in their lives never agreed in any one point, but his ruin and destruction; and it would be more astonishing still, if she should have created an enmity between him and the king of England, who had married his niece, had a great value and respect for all his queen's relations, and particularly for the house of St. Paul. To speak impartially, neither can it be otherwise, God had withdrawn his grace from him, or else he could never have incensed these three powerful princes, and have managed his affairs so ill,

as not to have one friend left that would give him a night's entertainment in his distress: so that God himself was the fortune they speak of: and as it has happened formerly, so it will happen to many hereafter, who after a long series of ease and prosperity must expect to have the scene change, and fall under great misfortunes and adversity.

As soon as the king was informed of the constable's being arrested in Hainault by the duke of Burgundy's order, he sent to the duke to deliver him up to him, or put him to death himself, according to their agreement. The duke promised he would, and accordingly he caused the constable to be removed to Peronne, and placed a strong guard upon him. The duke of Burgundy had made himself master of several places in Lorrain, and had formally invested Nanci, which made a vigorous defence. The king had a considerable army in Champagne, of which the duke was extremely afraid, for by the truce he had no liberty to invade the duke of Lorrain's territories, who had put himself under the king's protection. The lord du Bouchage and the other ambassadors, pressed the duke of Burgundy to the observation of the articles. The duke told them always he would, and yet the eight days, by which time the constable was to be executed or delivered, were expired a month since; finding himself hard pressed, and fearing the king might put a stop to his conquests in Lorrain, which he extremely desired to complete, in order to open a passage through Luxemburg into Burgundy and lay all his territories together; for if this little duchy were once subdued, he might go from Holland almost as far as Lyons, all in his own countries and dominions: for these reasons he wrote to his chancellor, and the lord d'Himbercourt, both of them the constable's inveterate enemies, immediately to repair to Peronne, and at a certain day to deliver the constable to such ambassadors as the king should send to receive him, for in the duke's absence they two had the administration of all affairs, and he sent the lord d'Aimeries orders to deliver him to them.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy pushed on the siege of Nanci, and fired briskly day and night upon the town, in which there was a strong garrison that made a vigorous defence. One of the duke of Burgundy's great officers called the count de Campobasso, born in Naples, but banished that kingdom upon account of his espousing the interest of the house of Anjou, had entered into a correspondence lately with the duke of Lorrain, a near relation, and next heir to the house of Anjou, after the death of king Renè his uncle, by the mother, and promised to prolong the siege by not providing the army with ammunition, and other things that

were necessary for the taking of the town by force. It was indeed in his power, for he was a person of the greatest quality and command in the army, and therefore his villany and perfidiousness to his master was the greater, as you shall hear hereafter; and this was a kind of taste or earnest of all the misfortunes that happened afterwards to the duke. I really believe the duke expected he should have been master of the town before the day came in which he was obliged to deliver up the constable, and then he would not have done it. Besides, if the king had had him sooner, his majesty would have attempted something more in favour of the duke of Lorrain than he did; for the king was informed of his intelligence with Campobasso. But the king would not engage in the quarrel between them, though he was not obliged to stand still and let the duke of Burgundy overrun Lorrain. Besides, he had a considerable army upon the frontiers, but for several reasons of state, he thought it better to stand neuter.

The duke of Burgundy not being able to take Nanci before the day on which the constable was to be delivered up; and that day being come, those who were commissioned to deliver him, being the constable's mortal enemies, delivered him precisely at the gates of Peronne, into the hands of the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, and the lord de St. Pierre, who conducted him to Paris. I have been informed since by several, that within three hours expresses came post from the duke with orders to the lord d'Aimeries not to deliver up the constable till after the taking of Nanci; but they arrived too late. Immediately upon his arrival at Paris, process was ordered to be made against him, and the duke sent all his papers, and whatever he thought might be brought in evidence against him. The king pressed the court to dispatch, and persons were appointed to manage his trial: so that upon what the king of England had before given in against him, and the duke of Burgundy now, he was found guilty, condemned, executed, and his estate confiscated.

CHAP. XIII.

A digression concerning the duke of Burgundy's error in delivering up the constable to the king, contrary to the security which he had given him, and what happened to him afterwards.

THE whole management of this affair was very strange and surprising: I do not speak it either in the constable's vindication, or to upbraid the duke or the king, for both of them had been suffi-

ciently injured and imposed upon. But there was no necessity for the duke of Burgundy, who was so potent a prince, and of such an illustrious family, to have given him his protection, and afterwards to imprison him; and without dispute it was the highest act of injustice and severity imaginable, to deliver him up to a person who he was sure would put him to death, especially upon the account of avarice. After this dishonourable action the duke's good fortune was strangely altered; and one misfortune coming on the back of another, at last he was utterly ruined and undone. So that by reflecting upon what God has done in our time, and does still every day, it is evident he will not let injustice go long unpunished, and that all these dispensations proceed solely from him; for these sudden chastisements are beyond the power of nature, especially when they are used against such as commit violence or cruelty, who are commonly great persons, as kings, princes, or potentates. The house of Burgundy had been in a very prosperous and flourishing condition for a long time; and for a hundred years, or thereabouts, four of that family had reigned in as great splendour and reputation as any house in Christendom. Others perhaps were more potent, but they were involved in wars and afflictions, whilst this enjoyed an uninterrupted series of peace and plenty. The first great personage of this family was Philip the Bold, brother to Charles V. king of France, who married the daughter and heiress of the earl of Flanders, countess of that country, Artois, Burgundy, Nevers, and Rethel. The second was John. The third was Philip the Good, who annexed to his own territories the dutchies of Brabant, Luxemburg, Limburg, Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and Namur. The last was Charles, who, after his father's death, was reputed to be the richest and the most powerful prince in Christendom, who left him in jewels, plate, household-stuff, and books, more than any three houses in Europe could boast of. Of ready money indeed I have seen more elsewhere; for duke Philip the Good had levied no taxes of a long time, and yet he left him above 300,000 crowns in ready cash, and at peace with all his neighbours; but that was of no long continuance. Yet I will not lay the beginning of the wars solely to his charge, for there were other persons as deeply concerned in that affair as himself. Immediately upon the death of his father, his subjects, upon very little importunity, granted him a supply for ten years, each country by itself; which could not amount to less than 350,000 crowns per annum, besides the revenue of Burgundy; and at the time of the constable being de-

livered up to the king, he had raised 300,000 crowns, and had by him in his coffers 300,000 more. All the goods he could find of the constable's, which by the articles was to be his share, were not worth 80,000 crowns, for in money he had but 60,000; and yet for so poor and inconsiderable an advantage, he committed so base and dishonourable an act: but he paid severely for it; for God stirred up a new enemy against him, whom he never thought of, impotent and inconsiderable either in power, years, or experience, made him jealous of his subjects, and suspicious of his best servants, and place his confidence in another, who constantly betrayed him. And are not these the same steps and methods in which God Almighty proceeded of old, with those whose fortunes he intended to change from better to worse? Yet, the duke's heart never relented: he imputed all his success to his own wisdom and conduct; and before his death was more potent, and in greater renown, than any of his predecessors.

Yet before the surrendering of the constable, he was grown very diffident and mistrustful of his best subjects, and seemed to hate and despise them; for he had sent for a thousand Italian lancers, and had store of them in his army before Nuz. The count de Campobasso had four hundred Italian men at arms under his command, but no revenue of his own; for, as I said before, being a partisan of the house of Anjou, upon account of the wars which they had raised in the kingdom of Naples, he was banished; and having lost all, served ever since either in Provence or Lorrain under Renè king of Sicily, or Nicholas the son of John duke of Calabria: after whose death the duke of Burgundy entertained most of his servants, and particularly his Italians; and among the rest, this count, and one John Galeot, a young gentleman of great courage, merit, and loyalty. When this count de Campobasso went into Italy to raise his men, he received forty thousand crowns by way of advance. Passing by Lyons, he accidentally fell into the acquaintance of a certain physician called Simon de Pavia, by whom he signified to the king, that if his majesty would comply with his demands, at his return he would betray the duke of Burgundy into his hands; and he made the same proposals to the lord de St. Piere, the king's ambassador at that time in Piedmont. When he came back, and was quartered with his forces in the county of Marle, he offered the king, upon his arrival at the duke's camp, either to kill him, or make him prisoner; which he designed to execute thus—The duke was accustomed to ride about the camp upon a little ambling nag, attended but by few of his guards;

which, as he said true, would be a fair opportunity of doing it. If this was disapproved of, he had another offer to make; which was, that when the king and the duke of Burgundy should be drawn up in order of battle, and ready to engage, he would come over to the king's side with his whole battallion, upon certain conditions which he would ask. But the king abhorred his treachery, and sent the Lord de Contay very generously to acquaint the duke of his intentions to betray him; but the duke was so far from believing it, that he looked upon it as an artifice of the king's, and shewed the count greater favour than before. From whence it is evident, that God Almighty had infatuated his understanding, and confounded his reason, in not suffering him to believe the treachery of his servants, nor trust the generosity of the king. But though Campobasso was treacherous and disloyal, James Galeot was quite of another stamp; and having acquired great reputation in the world, died at last with as much honour as he had lived.

THE END OF BOOK IV.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The duke of Burgundy makes war upon the Swiss, and is defeated by them at the foot of the mountains, near Granson.

[1476]. AFTER the duke of Burgundy had conquered all Lorrain, and received of the king St. Quintin, Ham, and Bohain, with all the constable's goods which could be found, he entered into a treaty with the king for a final peace. The king and he were to have an interview upon some river, with a bridge built over it after the same manner as that at Picquiny for the king and the king of England; and several messengers passed and repassed continually about that affair. And so far they proceeded in it, that the duke of Burgundy resolved to put the greater part of his army, that were much fatigued and harassed in the seige of Nuz and their expedition into Lorrain, into quarters of refreshment, and canton the rest in such towns as belonged to the count de Romont which lay nearest to Berne and Friburg; upon which towns he had resolved to make war for their insolent behaviour during the siege of Nuz, for their having assisted the enemy in taking from him the country of Ferette, and on account of their usurpation of some part of the count de Romont's territories. The king was extremely desirous of this interview, and earnestly entreated the duke to let his army lie still in their quarters of refreshment, and not to attempt any thing against the poor Swiss. Upon the approach of his army, the Swiss sent ambassadors to the duke, and offered to restore whatever they had taken from the count de Romont. On the other hand the count de Romont pressed him to come in person to his assistance; and, contrary to the sober counsel, and what every body else declared would be best, the duke resolved to march against them himself, it being agreed between the king and him under both their hands, that, as to the affair of Lorrain, there should be no dispute between them.

With this shattered and fatigued army the duke marched out of Lorrain into Burgundy, where the ambassadors of the confederate Germans, called Swiss, met him; and offered, besides the restitution before mentioned, to abandon all alliances that were contrary to his interest, and particularly with the king of France, to enter into a league with him, and, for a small sum of money, to serve him against the king with six thousand men, whenever he should require their assistance. But the duke would hearken to no overtures, for his ruin was determined. The new allies, as they termed them in those parts, are Basil, Strasburg, and other imperial towns situated near the head of the Rhine, who heretofore joined with Sigismond duke of Austria their ally, at the time when he was at wars with the Swiss, but now a confederacy was made between them and the Swiss, at the solicitation and expense of the king of France, at the time that the country of Ferette was taken from the duke of Burgundy, and his governor Archambault, who was the cause of all his misfortunes afterwards, put to death at Brisac. A prince ought narrowly to watch and observe the conduct of those persons he appoints governors in his new conquests; for generally, instead of easing his subjects, administering justice, and treating them with more gentleness than before, they proceed quite contrary, and oppress them with all manner of violence and extortion, and are often the occasion of great mischief both to themselves, their prince, and abundance of brave men besides. This alliance, which, as I said before, was to be ascribed wholly to the king's management, proved afterwards very advantageous to his majesty's interest, and more than most people were able to foresee; for I esteem it as one of the wisest and most important actions of his whole reign, and the most prejudicial to his enemies; for the duke of Burgundy's affairs being once in a low condition, and his exorbitant power reduced a little, there was none left that was able to cope with the king, or durst oppose him in any of his designs; I mean of his subjects, and in his own kingdom; for all the rest were entirely under his management and direction. For this reason, it was an affair of great importance to join the duke Sigismond, and these new confederates in an alliance with the Swiss, between whom there had been great enmity for a long time; but it put his majesty to the expense of several embassies, and a vast sum of money.

All hopes of an accommodation being entirely vanished, the ambassadors acquainted their masters with the duke of Burgundy's absolute refusal of their address, and preparations were made for their defence. The duke marched with his army into the Pais de

Vaux, in Savoy, which the Swiss had taken from the count de Romont; and he took three or four towns belonging to monsieur de Chateau-Guyon, which the Swiss had siezed upon, but defended very ill. From thence he advanced to besiege a place called Granson, which also belonged to monsieur de Chateau-Guyon, into which they had thrown seven or eight hundred of their best troops, which, because it was near them, they resolved to defend to the last extremity. The duke's army was mightily increased; for he daily received considerable reinforcements out of Lorrain and Savoy, and he entertained them, rather than his own subjects, though of them he might have formed a sufficient army that would have been more faithful and valiant. But the death of the constable had filled his head and possessed his fancy with strange jealousies of them, and several other imaginations. He had a fine train of artillery, and he lived in great pomp and magnificence in the camp, to shew his grandeur and riches to the Italian and German ambassadors which were sent to him; for all his valuable jewels, plate, and rich furniture, were with him. Besides, he had great designs upon the dutchy of Milan, where he expected to find a considerable party. It was not many days after the duke's investing Granson, before the garrison, being terrified with his continual battering it with cannon, surrendered at discretion, and were all put to the sword. The Swiss were assembled, but they were not very numerous, as several of them have told me, or that country produced not so many soldiers as was imagined, and fewer than at present, because of late several of them had left their husbandry and followed the wars; and of their confederate troops there were not many, because they had no time to assemble a greater body, being obliged to hasten to the relief of their friends; and when their army was ready to march, they received advice that the town of Granson had surrendered at discretion, and that the garrison were all put to the sword.

The duke of Burgundy, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, resolved to advance, and meet the enemy at the foot of the mountains, to his great disadvantage, for he was already posted in a place much more proper to have engaged in, being fortified on one side with his artillery, and on the other by a lake, so that in all appearance there was no fear of his being defeated by them. He had detached a hundred of his archers to secure a certain pass at the entrance of the mountains, and was advancing forward himself, when the Swiss attacked him with great vigour and resolution, before the greatest part of his army, which was still in

the plain, could march up to sustain him, [March 1]. The troops which composed the duke's van, designed to have retreated to the main body; but the infantry that was behind, supposing they were running away, retired in good order towards their camp, and some of them behaved themselves handsomely enough; but in the end, when they arrived in their camp they wanted courage to make a stand and defend themselves there; for, in short, they all fled, and the Swiss possessed themselves of their camp, in which were all their artillery, a vast number of tents and pavilions, besides a great deal of valuable plunder, for they spared nothing but their lives. The duke lost most of his finest jewels, but not above seven men at arms, the rest fled, and the duke with them. It may more properly be said of him—"That he lost his honour and his wealth in one day," than it was of king John of France, who, after a brave and noble defence, was taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poictiers.

This was the first misfortune that ever happened to the duke of Burgundy in his whole life; for by the rest of his enterprises he always acquired either great honour, or some considerable advantage. But what a mighty loss did he sustain that day by his perverseness and scorn of good advice? What did his family suffer? in what a miserable condition is it at present? and how likely to continue so? How many great princes and states became his enemies, and openly declared against him? who, but the day before the battle, were his friends, or at least pretended to be so. And, for God's sake, what mighty provocation, what uncommon injury, was the cause of this inconsiderate war? Why, truly, a pitiful cart-load of sheep-skins, that the count de Romont had taken from a Swiss in his passage through his territories. If God Almighty had not forsaken the duke of Burgundy, and infatuated his understanding, it is scarcely conceivable he would have exposed himself to such great dangers upon so small and trivial an occasion; especially considering the offers they had made him, and that if he prosecuted the war against them with all the success he could wish for, his conquest would yield him neither profit nor honour; for at that time the Swiss were not in such esteem as now, and no people in the world could be poorer. A gentleman, one of their first ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, told me, that one of his chief arguments to dissuade the duke from his invading them, was, that there was nothing for him worth conquering, for their country was barren and poor, and he believed that if all his countrymen were taken prisoners, all the money they could raise for their ransom would not buy spurs and bridles for his army.

But to return to the battle. The king had his spies and his scouts abroad about the country, (most of them dispatched by my orders) and therefore it was not long before his majesty received an account of this defeat, at which he was extremely pleased; and if he was concerned at any thing, it was because so few of the army were cut off. The king, for his better intelligence, and to countermine the duke's designs, was removed to Lyons, and, being a prince of great wisdom and penetration, he was afraid lest the duke should by force of arms annex Switzerland to his own dominions. The house of Savoy was at the duke of Burgundy's absolute disposal. The duke of Milan was his ally. Renè king of Sicily intended to make him his heir, and to deliver Provence into his hands, so that if his affairs had been crowned with success, he would have been lord of all the countries from the western to the eastern sea, and the people of France could not have stirred out of the kingdom by land, without the duke's permission, who would have been possessed of Savoy, Provence, and Lorrain. To every one of these princes the king sent his ambassadors. The dutchess of Savoy was his sister, but in the duke's interest; the king of Sicily was his uncle, yet he was mighty cautious of receiving his ambassadors; and, when he did, he referred all to the duke of Burgundy. The king also sent to the German confederates, but with some difficulty, for the roads being infested, and the passages stopped, he was forced to employ mendicants, pilgrims, and such kind of people. The confederate towns replied somewhat bluntly—"Tell your king," said they, "if he does not declare for us, we will clap up a peace with the duke, and declare against him;" and the king was afraid they would have done it. However, as yet he had no inclination to declare war against the duke, and was very loth he should hear of his secret negotiations with them.

CHAP. II.

After the defeat near Granson, the duke of Milan, Renè king of Sicily, the dutchess of Savoy, and others, abandon their alliance with the duke of Burgundy.

BUT let us now take a view of the sudden alteration of affairs since this defeat, how the courage of the duke, and the temper of his allies, were altered, and with what prudence and judgment our king managed his affairs; for it may serve as a fair example to such young princes as are violent in their enterprises, without

any foresight, without any experience, or without consulting such persons as are capable of advising them: the first step the duke of Burgundy made, was to dispatch the lord de Contay to the king, with many submissive and friendly expressions, contrary both to his temper and custom. See here what a reformation one hour's ill success had made in him! He entreated the king not to break the truce, excused himself as handsomely as he could, for not having met his majesty at Auxerre according to the agreement between them, and assured the king that in a little time he would attend him there, or at any other place that his majesty should be pleased to name. The king received him very kindly, and promised to comply with his demands, for he thought it not convenient to do otherwise at that juncture of time; his majesty was sensible of the loyalty and affection of the duke's subjects towards their prince, by whose generous assistance he would quickly be recruited; and therefore he had a mind to see the end of the war, without giving any occasion to either party of making a peace. But how kindly soever the lord de Contay was entertained by the king, the people treated him with nothing but libels, and lampoons; and the ballads that were sung in the streets were made to extol the courage of the conquerors, and to laugh at the folly of the conquered.

As soon as Galeas, who was duke of Milan at that time, had received an account of this defeat, he was extremely pleased, notwithstanding his alliance with the duke, which indeed was only the effect of fear, upon account of the great favour and interest which the duke of Burgundy had in Italy. The duke of Milan immediately sent a citizen of Milan to the king, a person of no promising aspect, who, by the mediation of others was directed to me, and brought me letters from his master. I gave the king an account of his arrival, and his majesty commanded me to receive his instructions, for he was not yet reconcil'd to the duke of Milan, for having forsaken his alliance, and made a new one with the duke of Burgundy, though he and the king had married two sisters. The design of his embassy was, to signify to the king that his master the duke of Milan, was informed that the king and the duke of Burgundy had agreed upon an interview, in order to a final peace and alliance between them, which he conceived would be much to the prejudice of the duke his master, and urged several arguments, but of no great force, against it: but at last, in the conclusion of his speech, he told the king that if he would oblige himself to make no such truce, nor enter into any such treaty with the duke of Burgundy, that the duke of Mi-

lan, his master, would pay him immediately a hundred thousand ducats. After the king had heard the substance of his embassy, he ordered him to be brought into his presence, and there being nobody there but myself, his majesty spoke thus to him in short —"Here is monsieur d'Argenton, who has told me so and so; pray tell your master I will have none of his money, my yearly revenue is thrice as much as his; and for war or peace, I will act as I please: however, if he repents his having left me, to enter into a league with the duke of Burgundy, I am content our old alliance shall be renewed and confirmed." The ambassador returned the king most humble thanks; concluded by his answer that he was no covetous prince, and entreated his majesty that he would cause the said alliance to be published in the same form as before, for he was sufficiently empowered to oblige his master to do the same. The king consented, and after dinner it was proclaimed, and an ambassador immediately dispatched from the king to Milan, to see it published there, which was performed with great pomp and solemnity. This was one of the duke of Burgundy's first strokes of misfortune; and this was the first great man that abandoned his interest, who but three weeks before had sent a magnificent and solemn embassy to him, to desire his alliance.

Renè king of Sicily had a design to make the duke of Burgundy his heir, and put Provence into his hands, and accordingly the present lord de Chateau-Guyon and several others of the duke of Burgundy's officers, were sent with 20,000 crowns into Piedmont to raise soldiers to take possession of Provence. But upon the news of this defeat, they had much ado to escape themselves, but the count de Bresse seized upon their money. The dutchess of Savoy had received information of it also, and sent immediately to the king of Sicily to extenuate the loss, and strengthen him in his alliance. But the messengers, who were natives of Provence, were apprehended, and by that means the treaty between the king of Sicily and the duke of Burgundy was discovered. The king our master immediately sent a good body of troops towards Provence, and dispatched ambassadors to the king of Sicily to invite him to come to him, and to assure him he should be heartily welcome; otherwise his majesty should be obliged to provide for his own safety by force of arms. The king of Sicily was at last persuaded, made a visit to the king at Lyons, and was received with great honour and civility. I happened to be present at his arrival, and after their first compliments of salutation, John Cossè, seneschal of Provence, a person of honour, and of a noble

family in the kingdom of Naples, addressed himself to the king in the following manner—"Be not surprised, Sir, if the king my master and your uncle, has offered to make the duke of Burgundy his heir; for it was the advice of his counsel, and particularly mine, upon this ground, that notwithstanding you were his nephew, and sister's son, yet you had injuriously taken from him the castles of Bar and Angers, and used him unhandsomely in all his other affairs: we therefore promoted this treaty with the duke of Burgundy, that your majesty being informed of it, might thereby be the better inclined to do us justice, and be put in mind of the near affinity between my master and yourself. But we never intended to bring that treaty to a conclusion."

The king was extremely well pleased with his speech; his majesty thought there was a great deal of wisdom in it, and he knew it was true, for monsieur Cossè was the person that managed the whole affair. In a few days after, all their differences were adjusted; the king of Sicily and all his retinue were largely presented with money; the king was entertained among the ladies, treated in every respect like himself, a perfect reconciliation was made between them, and no mention of the duke of Burgundy, for not only king Renè, but all his allies, had abandoned him; and this was another misfortune occasioned by his defeat. The dutchess of Savoy, who for a long time had been suspected of being her brother's enemy, sent a private messenger, called the lord de Montaigny, whose instructions were to apply himself to me; the design of his secret negotiation was, to endeavour her reconciliation, and to represent the reasons which had induced her to abandon the interest of her brother my master, which, as he pretended, was, and with great appearance of reason, her jealousy of the king. However, to speak impartially, she was a lady of great wisdom and cunning, and not unworthy of being my master's sister.—She was unwilling to proceed to an open rupture with the duke of Burgundy, but would wait and lie upon the catch, as her brother did, to see what would be the event of the duke's enterprises. The king treated her more favourably than usual, and ordered me to dispatch her envoy with all expedition; to give her good encouragement, and to invite her into France. Behold another of the duke of Burgundy's confederates falling off from him, and under-hand endeavouring to abandon his alliance. In Germany they began universally to declare against the duke; and several towns of the empire, as Nuremberg, Francfort, and others, joined in a confederacy with these new and old allies of Switzerland a-

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gainst him, so that whatever mischief could be done to him, was looked upon as pardonable.

The poor Swiss were mightily enriched by the plunder of the field; at first they did not understand the value of the treasure they were masters of, especially the common soldiers. One of the richest and most magnificent tents in the world was cut into a hundred pieces. There were some of them that sold several dishes and plates of silver for about two sols of our money, supposing them to be pewter. His great diamond, perhaps the largest and finest jewel in Europe, with a large oriental pearl fixed to it, was taken up, viewed, put up again into the case, thrown under a waggon, taken up again by the same soldier, and after all offered to a priest for a florin, who bought it, and sent it to the chief magistrate of that country, who returned him three franks as a sufficient reward. They took also three very rich jewels called the Three Brothers, another large ruby called la Hotte, and another called the Ball of Flanders, which were the fairest and richest in the world; besides a prodigious quantity of other moveables, which has since taught them what fine things may be purchased for money; for their victories, the esteem the king had of their service afterwards, and the presents he made them, have enriched them prodigiously. The king made every one of their ambassadors that was sent in the first embassy to his majesty, very considerable presents in plate or money, by which means he pacified them for not openly declaring, and entering into an alliance with them, and they returned with their purses well filled, and their persons clothed in silk, besides a promise of a pension of forty thousand florins of the Rhine, which was paid afterwards, (but his majesty was resolved to see the event of a second battle first), 20,000 to the towns, and 20,000 to the governors of them. Nor should I tell an untruth, in saying, that from the battle of Granson to the death of our master, their towns and their magistrates received of his majesty above a million of florins, and by the towns I mean only four, Bern, Lucern, Friburg, Zurich, and their cantons upon the mountains. Schweitz also is another of their cantons, and though but a small village, yet I have seen an ambassador of that village, who, though he made but a mean and ordinary figure by his dress, yet have talked with as much judgment and boldness as any of his brethren. The other cantons are called Glaris, Soleure, and Underwalden.

CHAP. III.

Of the duke of Burgundy's second defeat by the Swiss, near the town of Morat.

BUT to return to the duke of Burgundy's affairs: he assembled what forces he was able to raise in his dominions, and in three weeks time the greatest part of those that were dispersed in the late battle, came to him again. His quarters were at Losanna in Savoy, where you, my lord of Vienna, was pleased to attend him with your counsels in an illness, which melancholy and vexation for the dishonour he had sustained, had occasioned; and truly I am of opinion, that from the very day of his defeat, his understanding failed him, and he never managed his affairs so prudently as before. The account I give you of his recruits, and the great army he had assembled again, I received from the prince of Tarento, who in my presence made the same relation to the king. This prince of Tarento came to the duke's court about a year before, with a very splendid equipage, flattering himself with the hopes of marrying his daughter, heiress of Flanders: and indeed he appeared to be a prince by the gracefulness of his person, and the splendour of his appearance, for his father, the king of Naples, had spared no cost to recommend and set him off. Yet the duke of Burgundy did but amuse him as he did all the rest of the princes that made any proposals of that nature, for at the same time he was in treaty with the dutchess of Savoy, for her son, besides others elsewhere. The prince of Tarento, called Don Frederic of Arragon, and his council, growing sensible, and by degrees weary of his delays, sent an herald, who was a cunning person, to our king, to desire his majesty to grant the prince a passport to return safely through his dominions into his own country, for his father had sent for him: the king immediately granted it, and the more willingly, because he believed it would redound to the duke of Burgundy's dishonour, and would be a means of lessening his interest abroad. However, before the return of the messenger, the confederates had taken the field, and lay encamped not far from the duke of Burgundy. The prince took his leave of the duke the night before the battle, in obedience to his father's command, which he might do without any stain to his honour, having in the first engagement given such signal proofs of his valour and intrepidity. There are some, my lord of Vienna, who affirm, that the prince left the army by your lordship's coun-

sel and advice, and it is highly probable; for I heard him say, upon his arrival at court, to the duke of Ascoly, called the count Julio, and to several others, that your lordship transmitted an account into Italy of all that happened both in the first and second battle, several days before they were fought.

At the prince's departure, the confederates, as I said before, had encamped near the duke of Burgundy, with a design to give him battle, and raise the siege of Morat, a small town near Bern, belonging to the count de Romont. The confederate towns, as I was informed by those who were present in that action, might be about thirty-one thousand foot, all choice troops, and well armed; that is to say, eleven thousand pike-men, ten thousand halberdiers, and ten thousand fire arms, besides a body of four thousand horse. The confederate forces were not all arrived; so that only those mentioned before were in the engagement, and they were more than was necessary. The duke of Lorrain arrived at their camp also, and though his reinforcement was but small, yet his coming was of great advantage to himself, for the duke of Burgundy was in possession of his whole dukedom. Nor was it to his prejudice that our court began to grow weary of him, though I believe he was never sensible of it himself. But when a great person has lost all, and is forced to depend upon other princes, those that support and maintain him soon grow weary of the expense. The king gave him a small sum of money to bear the expense of his journey, and sent a strong party with him through the dutchy of Lorrain, to conduct him safely into Germany, and then they were ordered to return. The duke of Lorrain had not only lost that country, but also the country of Vaudemont, and most part of Barrois, the rest being secured by the king, or else all had been gone, and, which was worse, all his subjects had sworn allegiance to the duke of Burgundy, and that voluntarily, without any compulsion, even to his domestics; so that his condition seemed past recovery. However, in such cases God always remains judge and arbitrator, and reserves the determination of such affairs to his own pleasure and providential goodness.

When the duke of Lorrain had passed through his own dominions, after several days march, he arrived at the camp of the confederates not many hours before the engagement: though the reinforcement with which he joined the army was inconsiderable in respect of their number, yet his arrival was much to his honour and advantage, for otherwise his affairs would have been in a desperate condition. Just as he arrived, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, and advancing to engage; for the allies had

lain three days strongly encamped at a small distance from the duke of Burgundy, whose army, after some small resistance, was entirely defeated, nor did he escape so well as in the first engagement; for the Swiss not having then a body of horse, he lost not above seven men at arms; but at this battle of Morat they had four thousand good horse, who pursued them a great way, and cut off a considerable number of them. Besides, their whole body of infantry was engaged with the duke's foot, which were very numerous, for besides his own subjects, and a considerable body of the English, which were in his pay, he had several reinforcements out of Piedmont and Milan, as I said before. And when the prince of Tarento was with the king, he told me he had never seen a finer army in his life; for as they marched over a bridge he caused them to be numbered, and they amounted to 23,000 men in pay, besides those that belonged to the train of artillery, and followed the camp. To me it seems a very great number, yet there are some who make it much greater, and upon very slight grounds will multiply it prodigiously. The lord de Contay arrived at our court not long after the battle, and owned in my presence that the duke of Burgundy lost in that battle eight thousand of his standing forces, besides those that followed the camp; and by the best information I could get, I presume that the number of the slain in all might amount to near eighteen thousand men, which is not at all improbable, if we consider the great bodies of horse that the respective princes of Germany had there, and the vast number of those that were slain in the duke's camp before Morat. The duke fled himself as far as Burgundy, the most melancholy and disconsolate person in the world, and not without reason; he stopped at a place called la Riviere, where he rallied, and raised what forces he could to recruit the army. The Swiss pursued only that night, and then gave over the chase, without following him any farther. [June 22].

CHAP. IV.

Of the duke of Burgundy's seizing upon the dutchess of Savoy, and of her being delivered by our king, and sent back into her own country.

THIS defeat drove the duke of Burgundy almost to despair, for by what he had observed since his first loss at Granson, he perceived all his friends and allies were resolved to abandon him, and

his defeat at Granson was not above three months before. In this terrible apprehension, by the advice of some people, he caused the dutchess of Savoy and one of her sons to be apprehended, and brought into Burgundy by force; which son is at this time duke of Savoy. Her eldest son at that time was conveyed away by some of the servants belonging to that family, for those who committed this act of violence, did it in fear, and were obliged to use more haste than was convenient. That which moved the duke to this exploit, was a suspicion lest she should retire to the king her brother, though, as he pretended, all this misfortune happened to him for his too great affection to the house of Savoy. The duke ordered her to be conducted to the castle of Rouvre near Dijon, and placed some small guard about her, but not so strict, but that whoever had a mind might have the liberty of visiting her. Among the rest the lord de Chateau-Guyon, and the marquis de Rotelin came to wait on her highness, between whom and two of her daughters the duke had treated of a marriage, though at that time there was neither of them concluded, but since, they have been both. Her eldest son Philibert, at that time duke of Savoy, was conveyed to Chamberry by those who contrived his escape, at which place he found the bishop of Geneva, who was a son of the house of Savoy, but a voluptuous man, and governed wholly by a Commander of Rhodes. With this bishop, and his governor the Commander of Rhodes, the king managed affairs so artfully, that the duke of Savoy and a younger brother of his called the Protonotary, with the castles of Chamberry and Montmelian were delivered into his majesty's hands; and he had another castle in his possession before, in which there were all the jewels and plate belonging to the dutchess.

As soon as the dutchess found what liberty she enjoyed upon her arrival at Rouvre, that she was attended with her whole train of maids of honour, and served at large, as I said before; observing the duke of Burgundy wholly intent upon raising of men, and her guards not to retain that dread and awe of their master as formerly, she resolved to send to her brother the king, to propose a peace, and beg his assistance; yet she would have been unwilling to have put herself into his power, had she been in any other place but where she was, for there had been great quarrels between them of a long standing. The dutchess sent a gentleman of Piedmont named Riverol, who was steward of her house, and had instructions to apply himself to me. As soon as I had received his message, and communicated it to the king, his majesty ordered him to be introduced into his presence, and after he had

given him audience, he told him, that he would not abandon his sister in this extremity of affairs, notwithstanding the differences that had been between them; and if she would enter into an alliance with him, he would send the governor of Champagne, whose name was Charles d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont, to fetch her. Monsieur Riverol took his leave of the king, and posted with all speed to the dutchess with the news. The dutchess was overjoyed to hear it; yet she sent another agent to the king, to desire his majesty would give his word and honour that she should have the liberty of returning into Savoy whenever she pleased, and that he would restore to her, not only the duke her son, and his brother, but the castles and places which he had siezed upon, and defend and maintain her authority in Savoy, and then she would renounce all other alliances, and keep herself entirely in his interest. The king promised to grant all she desired, and immediately dispatched an express to the lord de Chaumont to go and relieve her, which was well attempted, and as well performed; for the lord de Chaumont, with a strong detachment, went to Rouvre, without the least disorder or damage to the country through which he marched, and brought away the dutchess of Savoy and her whole train to the next garrison belonging to the king. When the king dispatched this last message to the dutchess of Savoy, his majesty had left Lyons, where he had stayed full six months, on purpose to defeat and countermine the designs of the duke of Burgundy, without violating the truce. And if we seriously consider the posture of the duke's affairs, and his ambitious temper, we shall find the king was a greater enemy to him, in not opposing him, in letting him pursue those rash and extravagant enterprises, and creating him new enemies under-hand, than if he had declared open war against him, and committed the greatest ravages imaginable; for upon such a declaration the duke would have abandoned those rash enterprises and designs, which were the occasion of all the misfortunes which happened to him afterwards.

The king having left Lyons, continued his journey directly to Roanne, from whence he came down the river Loire to Tours. Upon his arrival there, his majesty received the welcome news of his sister's safe deliverance out of the castle of Rouvre; and being extremely pleased at it, sent an express immediately to the lord de Chaumont to bring her to him, and ordered a sum of money to be remitted to defray the expense of her journey. When the king was informed of her approach, his majesty ordered several persons of quality to meet and compliment her; and going himself as far as the gate of Plessis-du-Parc, received her with

abundance of tenderness and civility, and saluted her thus—"Madam of Burgundy, you are heartily welcome." She knew by his countenance that he was in a merry humour, and replied very prudently—"That she was no Burgundian, but a true French woman, and ready to obey him in whatever he would command." The king conducted her to her apartment, entertained her with a great deal of freedom and openness, and yet he had a great mind to be rid of her; and she being a cunning lady, and understanding his temper perfectly well, was more desirous to be gone than he was to have her go. The management of this whole affair was committed to me, and the king ordered me to supply her with money during her stay at court, to provide for her return, to furnish her wardrobe, and to draw up the form of the alliance for the time to come. The king used his utmost endeavours to break off the matches that I mentioned before, but she excused it, and pretended that the affections of her daughters were so far engaged, that it would be impossible to divert them; and when the king found that, he pressed it no further.

After the dutchess had been at du Plessis about seven or eight days, the king and her highness entered into a solemn and mutual oath of amity for the future, and instruments to that purpose were interchangeably delivered; after which she took her leave, and the king ordered her to be safely conducted into her own country; and her children, castles, jewels, and whatever belonged to her besides, were punctually restored to her. Both were extremely pleased to be rid of one another upon such handsome terms; yet, ever after, they continued very good friends, as a brother and sister ought to do.

CHAP. V.

The duke of Burgundy's solitary manner of living for some weeks at la Riviere, and of the duke of Lorrain's retaking Nanci in the mean time.

BUT to continue the design of writing these memoirs, we are obliged to return to the duke of Burgundy; who, after his defeat at Morat, in the year 1476, fled to a town called la Riviere, at the entrance into Burgundy, where he lay six weeks, under pretence of raising men to recruit his army; but he proceeded very slowly in that affair, and instead of being active and vigorous, he lived like an hermit, and all his actions seemed rather the effect of

sullenness and obstinacy, than any thing else, as will appear by what follows.

His concern and distraction for his first defeat at Granson was so great, and made so deep an impression on his spirits, that it threw him into a violent and dangerous fit of sickness; for whereas before, his choler and natural heat was so great, that he rank no wine, only in a morning he took a little ptisan sweetened with conserve of roses, to refresh himself; this sudden melancholy had so altered his constitution, he was now forced to drink the strongest wine that could be got without any water at all; and, to reduce the blood to his heart, his physicians were obliged to apply cupping glasses to his side. But this, my lord of Vienna, you know better than I; for your lordship attended on him during the whole course of his illness, and spared no pains that might contribute to his recovery; and it was by your persuasion that the duke was prevailed upon to cut his beard, which was of a prodigious length. In my opinion, his understanding was never so perfect, nor his senses so sedate and composed, after this fit of sickness, as before; so violent are the passions of persons unacquainted with adversity, who never seek the true remedy for their misfortunes, especially princes who are naturally haughty: for in such cases our best method is to have recourse to God, to reflect on the many vile transgressions by which we have offended his divine goodness, to humble ourselves before him, and to make an acknowledgment of our faults. For the event of all human affairs is in his power, and at his disposal alone; he determines as it seems best to his heavenly wisdom, and who dares question the justness of his dispensations, or impute any error to him! The second remedy is, to unbosom ourselves freely to some intimate friends; not to keep our sorrows concealed, but to expatiate on every circumstance of them, without being ashamed or reserved; for this mitigates the rigour of our misfortunes, revives the heart, and restores the usual vigour and activity to our dejected spirits. There is another remedy also, and that is, labour and exercise; for, as we are but men, those sorrows are to be dissipated with great pains and application both in public and private; which is a much better course than what the duke took, to hide himself, and retire from all manner of conversation; for by that means he grew so terrible to his own servants, that none of them durst venture to come near him to give him either counsel or comfort, but suffered him to go on in that melancholy state of life, fearing lest their advising him to the contrary might have turned to their destruction.

During these six weeks, or thereabouts, that he lay at la Riviere with very few troops, (nor was it to be wondered at after the loss of two such great battles as you have heard before), many declared themselves openly against him, his friends were grown cold, his subjects defeated and rebellious, and began, as is usual, to contemn their master, on account of his misfortunes. He lost several little towns in Lorrain, as Vaudemont, Espinal, and others. All the neighbouring states began to make preparations to invade him, and the vilest and most insignificant of them, were the most forward in doing him a mischief. The duke of Lorrain, upon this report, assembled a small body of forces and besieged Nanci; the small towns about it were most of them in his possession already; but the duke of Burgundy was master of Pont-a-Mousson, about four leagues off. Among those that were besieged in Nanci, there was one of the house of Croy, called the lord de Beures, a good officer, and a person of honour, whose forces were made up out of several countries. There was also an Englishman called Cohin, a brave soldier, though of no great birth, whom, among the rest of the officers belonging to the garrison of Guynes, by my recommendation the duke of Burgundy entertained in his service. This Cohin had the command of about three hundred English in the town; who, though they were not pressed either by approaches or batteries, began to be uneasy at the duke's slowness in marching to their relief; and indeed he was highly to blame, for the quarters where he lay was at too great a distance from Lorrain, and he could do them no service there; and certainly it would have been an act of greater prudence to have defended what was left, than to have meditated revenge for what he had lost: but his perverseness, following no counsel but his own, always turned to his own disadvantage; for notwithstanding that he was daily pressed to relieve the place, yet he continued, without any necessity, at la Riviere full six weeks; whereas, if he had but assembled the few forces he was still master of, he might easily have raised the siege of Nanci; for the duke of Lorrain's forces were not numerous, and the country of Lorrain being still in the duke of Burgundy's possession, he had free communication between that and his other territories, as Luxemburg and the rest, into Burgundy; so that if his intellects had been as right, and his judgment as sound, as they were formerly, without all dispute he would have marched with greater expedition to their relief.

Whilst the garrison of Nanci lay in continual expectation of being relieved, it unluckily happened that the abovementioned captain Cohin, who commanded the English, was killed by a can-

non ball, whose death was a vast prejudice to the duke of Burgundy's concerns; for a prince very often is preserved from great inconveniences by the management of one single person; and provided he has wisdom and valour, his extraction is not always material: and in this particular I knew no man more careful than our master, for certainly no prince was more careful of losing his men than his majesty. Upon the death of this Cohin, the English under his command began to mutiny, and despair of relief. They were not sensible of the duke of Lorrain's weakness, and that the duke of Burgundy had many ways of reinforcing his army; besides, the English not having been abroad for a long time, had but little experience in foreign wars, and were wholly strangers in the business of a siege. In short, they mutinied for a composition, and plainly told the governor, monsieur de Beures, that if he would not consent to a capitulation, they would make one without him. Though Beures was an excellent officer, yet he wanted that courage and resolution that is absolutely necessary in a governor of a place. He remonstrated, entreated, and begged of them to have a little patience; whereas, in my opinion, if he had hectored, and carried matters with an air of authority and resolution, he had succeeded better; but God had ordered it otherwise: for had they held out but three days longer, the duke of Burgundy had certainly raised the siege; but, in short, the governor complied with the English, and the town was surrendered, upon condition of saving their goods and sparing their persons.

The next, or at furthest the second day, after the surrender, the duke appeared with a very good army, considering his condition, for several of his own subjects had marched up through the province of Luxemburg to join him. The duke of Lorrain and he faced one another, but no action of importance happened between them, the duke of Lorrain being too weak to attempt any thing. The duke of Burgundy, in his old obstinate way, was resolved to besiege Nanci again, though it had been much wiser in him not to have undertaken it at that time; but when God is pleased to change the success of princes, he infuses such obstinate inclinations into them. Had the duke of Burgundy been persuaded to have garrisoned the little places about the town, as he was advised, he would quickly have reduced it to great straits, and have forced it to have surrendered in a short time; for it was but ill provided with provisions, and the multitude in the town would have presently distressed it, and then he might have had time to recruit his army, and put them into quarters of refreshment; but he took quite another course.

CHAP. VI.

Of the count de Campobasso's great treachery, of his preventing the duke of Burgundy from hearing a gentleman who would have made great discoveries before his execution, and of the duke's rejecting the information that was sent him by the king.

WHILST the duke of Burgundy pushed on the siege of Nanci, so unfortunately for himself, his subjects, and several others, who were not at all concerned in his quarrel, many of his own party began to enter into a conspiracy against him; and new enemies, as you have heard, surrounded, and invaded him on all sides. Among the rest there was the count de Campobasso of the kingdom of Naples, and banished from thence for espousing the interest of the house of Anjou, and whom, after the death of Nicholas duke of Calabria, the duke of Burgundy had entertained in his service, with several others of the duke of Calabria's servants. This count was very poor, both in money and lands; at his first coming to him, the duke of Burgundy gave him forty thousand ducats in ready money to raise his regiment in Italy, which was to consist of four hundred lancers, and to be commanded and paid by himself. From that very moment, as I said before, he began to form designs against his master, and continued to carry on those secret practices to the time of which I am now speaking; for, finding his power declining every day, and his affairs in confusion, he began to practice under-hand with the duke of Lorrain, and such of the king's officers in Champagne as were not far from the duke of Burgundy's army. His first villanous proposal to the duke of Lorrain was to delay the siege of Nanci, in not taking care to provide a sufficient quantity of provisions and ammunition, so that the army could not carry it on, for want of necessaries; and indeed it was no hard matter for him to contrive it so, for he was the chief commander in the army, and a person that had the greatest influence upon the duke his master: with our officers he dealt more freely, and promised to take or kill the duke of Burgundy, provided he might be continued in the command of his four hundred lancers, upon the same footing as he did then; have twenty thousand crowns paid him down, and be advanced to some honour in France besides.

Whilst he was driving his bargains after this manner, several of the duke of Lorrain's officers attempted to throw themselves into the town; some of them got in, but others were taken, and

among the rest one Cifron who had managed the whole affair between Campobasso and the duke of Lorrain. The duke of Burgundy immediately commanded this Cifron to be hanged, affirming that when a prince had once invested a town, and erected batteries to play upon it, if any endeavour to reinforce and strengthen the garrison, they ought to be looked upon as criminals, and to suffer death by the law of arms. However, this way was not practised in our wars, which in other respects were much more cruel than in Italy or Spain, where that custom was used; but right or wrong, this gentleman must die by the duke of Burgundy's express order. The gentleman finding that his death was inevitable, sent to acquaint the duke, that if he pleased but to admit him into his presence, he would make a discovery of something that nearly concerned his person. Some gentlemen who heard his proposals, brought the news of it to the duke, at a time when either by accident the count de Campobasso was with him, or else he was there on purpose, having intelligence that Cifron was taken, and fearing he would discover all he knew; and he knew the whole intrigue from one end to the other, and that was the secret he would have discovered to the duke. The duke answered those that brought him this message, that it was only an artifice to gain time, and that if he had any thing to discover he might do it to them. The count de Campobasso highly applauded this answer, there being only himself, who was the chief commander in the army, and a secretary that was writing, there present. The prisoner sent word again, he would discover it to nobody but the duke himself: upon which the duke ordered him to be carried to execution immediately, and his orders were obeyed: as he was going to the place of execution, he called out to several, and desired they would intercede with the duke to save his life, and he would discover a secret that was of greater importance to him than the best province in his dominions: several of his acquaintance had compassion for him, and went to desire the duke, that at their requests he would vouchsafe to admit him into his presence; but this treacherous count stood at the duke's chamber door, refused them entrance, and told them—"The duke commands that he be immediately executed,"—and sent messengers on purpose to hasten the provost, so that this poor Cifron was hanged, to the unspeakable prejudice of the duke of Burgundy, for whom it had been much better to have treated this unfortunate gentleman with more humanity, and heard what he had to say; for then perhaps he might have been alive to this day, and his

house in a more flourishing condition, considering what occurrences have happened since in this kingdom.

But we have reason to believe that God had otherwise ordained it as a punishment for his late infidelity to the count de St. Paul, constable of France, the relation of which you have heard elsewhere in these memoirs, how he seized upon his person contrary to his solemn promise and engagement, delivered him to the king to be put to death, and sent all his letters and contracts to serve as an evidence against him at his trial; and though the duke had a just reason to bear a mortal hatred against the count, and to prosecute him, even to death, yet he should have done it without breaking his faith; nor can all the reasons that the most subtle casuist can produce in this case, extenuate the crime, or cover the dishonour that will always be a stain and a blot in the duke's character, for notwithstanding the safeconduct and protection that he granted the count, he yet seized upon him afterwards, and sold him, for covetousness not only of the town of St. Quintin, his inheritance, and moveables, but of the taking of Nanci too, the first time of his besieging it, which might otherwise have been prevented, or at least interrupted; for, after many excuses and dissimulations, he delivered up the constable, for fear lest the king's army in Champagne should give him any interruption, his majesty having threatened it by his ambassadors, unless he would perform his articles, by which, the first that took the constable was obliged to deliver him up within eight days, or to see him executed himself. But the duke had deferred it for several days longer than was agreed upon between them, and the fear of being called to an account for that, and being interrupted in the siege of Nanci, prevailed with him to deliver up the constable as you have heard. And it is worthy of our observation, that, as in his first siege before Nanci he was guilty of that dishonourable action against the constable, in his second, he ordered Cifron to be hanged, and he would not hear him, as a person whose understanding was infatuated, and his ears stopped to his own ruin, and in the same place he was deceived and betrayed himself by the very person in whom he had reposed so great a confidence, and not altogether unjustly, if we reflect upon what is said before, both of the constable and Nanci. But the determination of such events depends only upon God, and I have given my opinion only to illustrate my proposition, that a good prince ought never to consent to such a base and ignominious action, what plausible reasons soever may be urged in vindication of it; for it often hap-

pens that those who give their advice in such an affair do it either out of flattery, or fear of contradicting their prince, though when the thing is done they are heartily sorry for it, as knowing how liable they are to be punished in this world and the next; however, such counsellors as these are better far off, than about any prince that is perverse and obstinate.

Thus you have seen how God, the sole governor of human affairs, raised up the count de Campobasso to be the instrument of his revenge in the case of the constable, for an action committed by the duke of Burgundy in the same place, and after the same manner, but with more circumstances of cruelty; for as the constable was delivered up to be executed, by means of the safeconduct and his confidence in the duke of Burgundy, so was the duke betrayed by the very person in whom he confided more than in any other in his army, though he had entertained him in his service when he was old, poor, and friendless; had given him an annual payment of a hundred thousand ducats, which went constantly through his hands, to his soldiers, besides other posts of great advantage. And when he first began his conspiracy in his journey into Italy, he gave him forty thousand ducats before-hand to raise his regiment, and yet in that very journey he could not forbear, but, in order to carry on his hellish designs, he made overtures in two several places, first to a physician at Lyons called Simon de Pavia, next with another person in Savoy, as you have already heard; and at his return with his regiment, being quartered in certain small towns in the county of Marle in Lannois, he fell to his old practices, and offered to deliver them all up, or, if that were not sufficient, if the king would but face his master, and pretend to give him battle, when they were drawn up, and ready to engage, upon a signal to be agreed on between the king and him, he would come over to him and join his majesty's army with the troops under his command, but the king was not pleased with this last overture by any means. He offered likewise the first time his master lay in the field, either to take him prisoner or kill him, as he was reviewing his army; and indeed he might easily have done it: for the duke's custom was, as soon as he was alighted from his horse, at the place where his army was to encamp, to pull off the rest of his armour, and with his cuirass only to mount upon a little pacer, and attended only by eight or ten archers on foot, to ride about the army, and see how strongly it was enclosed, so that with a small party of horse the count might have performed this execrable action without much difficulty. The king observing the restless malice of this man to his master,

and that he was conspiring against him even during the time of the truce between them, and being not well informed of these offers, he resolved upon a singular piece of friendship and generosity to the duke of Burgundy, and sent him in writing by the lord de Contay, whom I have so often mentioned in these memoirs, the whole progress of the count's conspiracy; I was present at the delivery of the letters, and am sure the lord de Contay acquitted himself faithfully to his master; but the duke would give no credit to that information, but only said, that if there was any truth in it, the king would never have discovered it. This was long before the duke's arrival before Nanci, and I verily believe he never took any notice of it to the count, for he continued his old practices afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

The duke of Lorrain with a powerful army of Germans takes the field, and encamps at St. Nicholas, whilst the duke of Burgundy lay before Nanci; and the king of Portugal, who was in France at that time, pays a visit to the duke in his camp before that town.

BUT now to proceed in our principal design. You must know that the duke of Burgundy besieged Nanci in the depth of winter, with a small army, which was ill provided and ill paid. Several of his general officers had entered into a conspiracy against him, and there was a general mutiny among the common soldiers, who laughed at and despised all his enterprises, which, as I have observed at large before, is the common fate in times of adversity; but nobody practised against his person and dominions except the count de Campobasso, for his subjects were all loyal. The duke of Burgundy being in this miserable condition, the duke of Lorrain treated with the old and new allies, which I have mentioned before, for a supply of troops to enable him to give the duke battle, and raise the siege of Nanci. They all readily consented, and every town furnished him with a sufficient quota of troops, so that now his only want was money for their subsistence. The king by his ambassadors in Switzerland encouraged him extremely in this enterprise, and remitted him 400,000 franks to pay his Germans: the lord de Craon, the king's lieutenant in Champagne, was quartered in Barrois with a body of seven or eight hundred lancers and Frank-archers, commanded by experienced officers. The duke of Lorrain, by the king's favour and

assistance of his money, assembled a good body of Germans, both horse and foot; for besides the troops that were in his own pay, they furnished him with some at their own expense. He had also several French volunteers, and the king's army, as you have already heard, was quartered in Barrois, not with a design to commit any act of hostility, but only to wait the success of a battle, which was every day expected, for the duke of Lorrain was marched with his Germans to St. Nicholas, not far from Nanci.

The king of Portugal had been in France nine months, or thereabouts; for our king being then in an alliance with him against the king of Castile, the king of Portugal flattered himself with the hopes of our king's assisting him with a powerful army to make war upon his adversary on that side towards Biscay and Navarre, for he had several towns in Castile, and upon the frontiers of Portugal, and some upon our borders, as the castle of Burgos, and others; so that I am of opinion if our king had assisted him, as he was sometimes inclined to do, the king of Portugal might have succeeded in his designs; but by degrees the king's mind changed, and the king of Portugal was amused with fair words, and fed with hopes for almost a twelvemonth together.

In the mean time the king of Portugal's affairs in Castile began to decline. When he came into France he left almost all the nobility of Castile in his interest, but his long stay in France tiring their patience, they began to grow weary, and made their peace with Ferdinand and Isabella, who now enjoy the regal dignity. The king of France indeed had promised to assist him, but he excused himself afterwards on account of the war in Lorrain, pretending that if the duke of Burgundy prevailed, he would in all probability invade his dominions. The king of Portugal, who was a good prince, but of no great penetration, took a fancy to make a visit to the duke of Burgundy, who was his cousin-german, and to try whether his good offices could effect a pacification between the king and the duke, supposing that when this obstacle was removed, the king would certainly assist him; for he was ashamed to return into Portugal or Castile, having been so unsuccessful in his solicitations at our court, especially after such a false step as he had made in coming in person after so imprudent a manner, and contrary to the opinion of the greater part of his council. With this design the king of Portugal began his journey towards the latter end of winter, and being arrived at the duke of Burgundy's camp before Nanci, he began to discourse with him about what the king had told him in relation to a peace: but he found it was no easy matter to accommodate matters between them;

their demands ran so high, and therefore he staid there but two days, before he took his leave of his cousin and returned to Paris. The duke of Burgundy pressed him to stay, and command the body of troops that were to be detached to defend the pass at Pont-a-Mousson, which is near Nanci, for he had received intelligence that the German army was posted at St. Nicholas. The king of Portugal excused himself, by saying he was neither armed nor provided for such an enterprise, and upon which he returned to Paris, where he had resided so long already. At last the king of Portugal grew jealous of the king, and fancied his majesty had a design to seize on him, and deliver him up to his enemy the king of Castile. Upon the strength of this imagination he put himself into a disguise, and with two more in his company resolved to go to Rome and put himself into some religious house; but he was taken in that disguise by a Norman called Robinet le Beuf, at which our king was extremely concerned, and being ashamed of what had passed, ordered several ships to be equipped on the coast of Normandy, and gave the command of them to monsieur George Leger, with orders to conduct him safe into Portugal, which he performed accordingly.

The occasion of his war against the king of Castile was in favour of his sister's daughter, which sister was wife to Don Henry, late king of Castile, and had a beautiful daughter still living, but unmarried, in Portugal. Queen Isabella, who was sister to the said king Henry, disputed the young lady's right of succession to the crown of Castile, pretending she was illegitimate, and born in adultery. Several others were of the same opinion, objecting a certain impotence in king Henry, and proving it by arguments which, for certain reasons, I shall here omit. However it was, and though the young lady was born in wedlock, and under the veil of marriage, yet the crown of Castile was enjoyed by queen Isabella of Castile, and her husband the present king of Arragon and Sicily. The king of Portugal was very ambitious of making a match between his niece and our king Charles VIII. that is now reigning; and, indeed, that was the great design of his journey into France, which turned so much to his disadvantage, for not long after his return into Portugal he died. Wherefore, as I have already observed in the beginning of these memoirs, it highly concerns a prince to be very careful in the choice of such persons as are fitly qualified to be sent in an embassy to foreign courts; for if those ambassadors that came to our king from the king of Portugal upon the abovementioned proposal, at which I was present by deputation from our king, had been so wise as they ought, they

would have informed themselves better of our affairs before they had advised their master to a journey which was so disadvantageous and dishonourable to him.

CHAP. VIII.

The duke of Burgundy, by rejecting the counsel of several of his officers, was defeated and slain in a battle between him and the duke of Lorrain, not far from Nanci.

I COULD willingly have omitted this relation of the king of Portugal's affairs, had it not been to shew, that one prince ought not rashly to put himself into the power of another, nor go in person to solicit his own supplies. But to proceed in my history, the king of Portugal had not left the duke of Burgundy's camp above a day, before the duke of Lorrain and his army broke up from St. Nicholas, and advanced towards the duke of Burgundy, with a resolution to give him battle. The count de Campobasso joined them that very day, and to crown his villany, carried off with him about eight score men at arms, grieving at nothing but that he could do his master no further mischief. The garrison of Nanci had intelligence of his design, which in some measure encouraged them to hold out; besides, another person had got over the works, and assured them of relief, otherwise they were just upon surrendering, and would have capitulated in a little time, had it not been for the treachery of this count; but God had determined to finish this affair himself.

The duke of Burgundy having intelligence of the approach of the duke of Lorrain's army, called a kind of council, contrary to his custom, for generally he followed his own will, and consulted with none of his officers. It was the opinion of most of them that his best way would be to retire to Pont-a-Mousson, which was not far off, and dispose his army in the towns about Nanci, affirming, that as soon as the Germans had thrown a supply of men and provisions into Nanci, they would march off again, and the duke of Lorrain being in great want of money, it would be a great while before he would be able to assemble such an army again, and that their supplies of provisions were not so great, but before the winter was over, they would be in the same straits as now; and that in the mean time he might raise more forces, and recruit himself; for I have been told by those who ought to know best, that the duke of Burgundy's whole army consisted of scarcely four

thousand men, and of that number not above twelve hundred were in a condition to fight; money he did not want; for in the castle of Luxemburg, which was not far off, there was in ready cash 450,000 crowns, which would have raised men enough. But God was not so merciful to him as to permit him to follow this wise counsel, or discern the vast multitude of enemies which on every side surrounded him. Therefore he chose the worst, followed the advice of rash and inconsiderate counsellors, and was resolved to try his fortune, and engage the enemy with his weak and shattered army, notwithstanding the duke of Lorrain was numerous, and the king's army not far off.

As soon as the count de Campobasso arrived in the duke of Lorrain's army, word was sent him to leave the camp immediately, for they would not entertain, nor have any communication with such traitors; upon which message he retired with his party to Condé, a castle and pass not far off, where he fortified himself with carts and other things as well as he could, in hopes, that if the duke of Burgundy was routed, he might have an opportunity of coming in for a share of the plunder, as he did afterwards. Nor was this practice with the duke of Lorrain the most execrable action that Campobasso was guilty of; but before he left the army, he conspired with several other officers, finding it was impracticable to attempt any thing against the duke of Burgundy's person, to leave him just as they came to charge; for at that time he supposed it would put the duke into the greatest terror and consternation, and if he fled he was sure he could not escape alive, for he had ordered thirteen or fourteen sure men, some to run as soon as the Germans came up to charge them, and others to watch the duke of Burgundy, and kill him in the rout, which was well enough contrived; I myself have seen two or three of those who were employed to kill the duke. Having thus settled his conspiracy at home, he went over to the duke of Lorrain upon the approach of the German army; but finding they would not entertain him, he retired to Condé, as I said before.

The German army marched forward, and with them a considerable body of our French horse, whom the king had given leave to be present at that action. Several parties lay in ambush not far off, that if the duke of Burgundy was routed, they might surprise some person of quality, or take some considerable booty. By this, every one may see into what a deplorable condition this poor duke had brought himself, by his contempt of good counsel. Both armies being joined, the duke of Burgundy's forces having been twice beaten before, and in consequence weak and dispirited,

and ill provided besides, were quickly broken, and entirely defeated. Many saved themselves, and got off; the rest were either taken or killed; and among them the duke of Burgundy himself was killed on the spot. Not being in the battle myself, I will say nothing of the manner, but I was told by some, that they saw him knocked down among the crowd of those that fled; but being prisoners themselves, they were not in a condition to assist him; yet, whilst they were in sight he was not killed, but a great body of men coming that way afterwards, they killed and stripped him in the throng, not knowing who he was: this battle was fought on the fifth of January 1476, being Twelfth-Eve.

CHAP. IX.

A digression concerning the virtues of the duke of Burgundy, and the time of the prosperity of his house.

I SAW a seal-ring of the duke of Burgundy's, since his death, at Milan, with his arms very curiously engraved upon a sardonyx, which I have seen him often wear in a riband at his breast, which was sold at Milan for two ducats, and had been stolen from him by a rascal that waited on him in his chamber. I have often seen the duke dressed and undressed in great state and formality, and attended by very great persons; but at his death all this pomp and magnificence ceased, and his family was involved in the same ruin with himself, as you have heard before, and very likely as a punishment for his having delivered up the constable not long before out of a base and avaricious principle: but God forgive him. I have known him a powerful and honourable prince, in as great esteem, and as much courted by his neighbours, when his affairs were in a prosperous condition, as any prince in Europe, and perhaps more; and I cannot conceive what should provoke God almighty's displeasure so highly against him, unless it was his self-love and arrogance, in appropriating all the success of his enterprises, and all the renown he ever acquired, to his own wisdom and conduct, without attributing any thing to God; yet, to speak the truth, he was master of several good qualities: no prince ever had a greater ambition to entertain young noblemen than he, or was more careful of their education. His presents and bounty were never profuse or extravagant, because he gave to many, and had a mind every body should taste of it. No prince was ever more easy of access to his servants and subjects. Whilst I was

in his service he was never cruel, but a little before his death he took up that humour, which was an infallible sign of the shortness of his life. He was very splendid and curious in his dress, and in every thing else, and, indeed, a little too much so. He paid great honours to all ambassadors and foreigners, and entertained them nobly. His ambitious desire of fame was insatiable, and it was that which induced him to be eternally in wars, more than any other motive. He ambitiously desired to imitate the old kings and heroes of antiquity, whose actions still shine in history, and are so much talked of in the world, and his courage was equal to that of any prince of his time.

But all his designs and imaginations were vain and extravagant, and turned afterwards to his own dishonour and confusion; for it is the conquerors, and not the conquered, that purchase to themselves renown. I cannot easily determine towards whom God almighty shewed his anger most, whether towards him who died suddenly without pain or sickness in the field of battle, or towards his subjects, who never enjoyed peace after his death, but were continually involved in wars, against which they were not able to maintain themselves, upon account of the civil dissentions, and cruel animosities that arose among them; and that which was the most insupportable, was, that the very people to whom they were now obliged for their defence and preservation, were the Germans, who were strangers, and not long since their professed enemies. In short, after the duke's death, there was not a neighbouring state that wished them to prosper, not even Germany, which at that time defended them.

And, by the management of their affairs, their understanding seemed to be as much infatuated as their master's, for they rejected all good counsel, and pursued such methods as directly tended to their destruction; and they are still in such a condition, that though they have at present some little relaxation from their sorrows, yet it is with greater danger of a relapse, and it is well if it turns not in the end to their utter ruin.

I am partly of their opinion who maintain, that God gives princes, as he in his wisdom thinks fit, to punish or chastise the subjects; and he disposes the affection of subjects to their princes, as he has determined to raise or depress them. Just so it has pleased him to deal with the house of Burgundy; for after a long series of riches and prosperity, and six-and-twenty years peace under three illustrious princes, predecessors to this Charles, all of them excellent persons, and of great prudence and discretion, it pleased God to send this duke Charles, who involved them in bloody wars, as well

in winter as in summer, to their great affliction and expense; in which, most of their richest and stoutest men were either killed or utterly undone. Their misfortunes began at the siege of Nuz, and so continued for three or four battles successively, to the very hour of his death; and after such a manner, that at the last the whole strength of their country was destroyed, and all those who had any zeal or affection for the house of Burgundy, and had power to attempt defending the state and dignity of that family, were either killed or taken prisoners: so that in a manner their losses were at least equal to, if they did not overbalance their former prosperity. For as I have seen these princes heretofore puissant, rich, and honourable, so it fared the same with their subjects; for I think, I have seen and known the greatest part of Europe, yet I never knew any province, or country, though perhaps of a larger extent, so abounding in money, so extravagantly fine in furniture for their houses, so sumptuous in their buildings, so profuse in their expenses, so luxurious in their feasts and entertainments, and so prodigal in all respects, as the subjects of these princes, in my time; and if any think, by the extravagance of my description, I have enlarged too much, others, who lived in my time, will think I have rather said too little. But it has pleased God, at one blow, to subvert and ruin this powerful and illustrious family, which maintained and bred up so many brave men, and had acquired such mighty honour and renown far and near, by so many victories and successful enterprises, as none of all its neighbouring states could pretend to boast of. A hundred and twenty years it continued in a flourishing condition, and maintained its grandeur by the particular grace and mercy of God; all its neighbours having, in the mean time, been involved in troubles and commotions, and all of them applying to it for succour or protection, to wit, France, England, and Spain, as you have seen by experience of our master the king of France, who, in his minority, and the reign of Charles VII. his father, retired to this court, where his majesty lived six years together, and was nobly entertained all that time by duke Philip the Good. Out of England I saw there also two of king Edward's brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the last of whom was since called king Richard the third; and of the house of Lancaster, the whole family, or very near, with all their party. But in short, as I have seen this family in all respects the most flourishing and celebrated of any in Christendom, so I have known it in a short space of time quite ruined, and turned upside down, and left the most desolate and miserable of any house in Europe, in relation to both prince and subjects. Such changes and revolutions of

states and kingdoms God, in his providence, has wrought before we were born, and will do again, when we are in our graves, for this is a certain maxim, that the prosperity or adversity of princes is wholly at his disposal.

CHAP. X.

The king of France receives intelligence of the duke of Burgundy's last defeat, and the management of his affairs after the duke's death.

BUT to proceed in my history. The king having settled posts in all parts of his kingdom, which before he never had done, it was not long ere his majesty received the news of the duke of Burgundy's defeat, and was in hourly expectation of the particulars of that action, for he had letters of advice before, importing, that the German army was advancing towards the duke of Burgundy's, and that a battle was expected between them; upon which several persons waited earnestly for the news, in order to carry it first to the king; for his custom was, to give liberally to any person who brought him the first tidings of any news of importance, and to remember the messenger besides. His majesty also took great delight in talking of it before it arrived, and would say, "I will give so much to any man who brings me such and such news." The lord du Bouchage and I being together, happened to receive the news of the battle at Morat, and we went with it both of us to the king, who gave each of us two hundred marks of silver. The lord du Lude, who lay without the town of du Plessis, had the first news of the arrival of the post, with the letters concerning the battle of Nanci; he commanded the courier to deliver him the packet, and being a great favourite of the king's, he durst not refuse him: by break of day the next morning the lord du Lude knocked at the door next to the king's chamber, which on being opened, he delivered in the packet from the lord de Craon and other officers; but none of the first letters gave any certainty of the duke's death, they only imported that he was seen to run away, and that it was supposed he had made his escape. The king was at first so transported with joy at the news, that he scarcely knew how to behave himself: however, his majesty was still in some perplexity; on one hand he was afraid that if the duke should be taken prisoner by the Germans, by the power of his money, of which he had great store, he would make some composition with them. On the other, he was fearful lest he might have made his escape, though his ar-

my was defeated. A third thing that gave him a little uneasiness was, to resolve, whether he should seize upon his towns in Burgundy or not, which he judged not very difficult to do, since most of the brave men of that country were either slain or taken prisoners in those three battles; and as to this last affair, he came to this resolution, which I presume few were acquainted with but myself, that, if the duke were alive and well, he would command the army which lay ready in Champagne and Barrois, to march immediately into Burgundy, and seize upon the whole country, whilst it was under that terror and consternation; and when he was in possession of it, he would inform the duke, that the seizure he had made was only to preserve it for him, and secure it against the Germans, because it was held in sovereignty of the crown of France, and therefore he was unwilling it should fall into their hands; and whatever he had taken should be faithfully restored: and, truly, I am of opinion his majesty would have done it without any manner of scruple, though several people, who are ignorant of the motives that induced the king to it, will not easily believe it. But this resolution was altered as soon as he was certain of the duke of Burgundy's death.

Upon receiving the abovementioned first packet, which gave no account of his death, his majesty immediately sent to Tours to summon all his commanders and other great lords to attend him. Upon their arrival at court he communicated his letters to them. They all pretended great joy, but to such as more narrowly observed their behaviour, it was easy to be discerned that most of them did but force it, and, notwithstanding all their outward dissimulation, had been better pleased if the duke of Burgundy had been successful. The reason of which might be because the king was, before this defeat, fearful and jealous of the duke of Burgundy's power, and now if he should find himself clear and secure from his enemies, they were afraid they should be reduced, or at least their offices and pensions retrenched; for there were several present who had been engaged against him with his brother the duke of Guienne, in the confederacy called the Public Good. After his majesty had discoursed with them for some time, he went to mass, and then ordered the cloth to be laid in his chamber, and made them all dine with him, there being present his chancellor, and some other lords of his council. The king's discourse at dinner was about that affair, and I well remember that myself and others took particular notice of their eating, but to speak the truth, whether for joy or sorrow I cannot tell, there was not one of them all that half filled his belly, and certainly it could not be modesty

or bashfulness before the king, for there was not one amongst them but had had the honour of dining with his majesty several times before.

As soon as the king rose from the table he retired, and distributed to some persons certain lands belonging to the duke of Burgundy, provided he was dead. He dispatched the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, and myself, into those parts, with full power to receive the homage of all such as were willing to submit and become his subjects. He ordered us immediately away, and gave us commission to open all his letters and packets which we should meet with by the way, that thereby we might be informed whether the duke was dead or alive, and manage ourselves accordingly. We departed with all speed, though it was the severest weather I ever felt in my life. We had not rode above half a day before we met a courier, and commanding him to deliver his letters, we understood by them that the duke of Burgundy was slain, and his body found among the dead, and known by an Italian page that attended him, and by one monsieur Louppe, a Portuguese, who was his physician, and who assured the lord de Craon that it was his master, and the lord de Craon notified the same to the king.

CHAP. XI.

The king of France seizes upon Abbeville after the death of the duke of Burgundy, and the answer he received from the inhabitants of Arras.

UPON information of this news we rode directly to the suburbs of Abbeville, and were the first that brought it into those parts. We found the inhabitants of the town in treaty with the lord de Torcy, for whom they had a great affection for a long time. The soldiers and officers for the duke of Burgundy negotiated with us by the means of a messenger which we had sent to them before; and in confidence of success they dismissed four hundred lancers that were then quartered in the town. The citizens, laying hold of this opportunity, opened the gates to the lord de Torey, to the great prejudice and disadvantage of the captains and officers of the garrison, for there were seven or eight of them to whom, by virtue of the king's authority, we had promised money and pensions for life; but they never enjoyed the benefit of that promise, because the town was not surrendered by them. Abbeville was one of the towns that Charles VII. delivered up upon the treaty at Arras in

the year 1435, which towns were to return to the crown of France upon default of issue male; so that their admitting us so easily ought not to be wondered at so much.

From thence we marched to Dourlans, and sent a summons to Arras, the chief town in Artois, and formerly belonging to the patrimony of the earls of Flanders, which, for want of heirs male, always descended to the daughters. The lords de Ravestein and des Cordes, who were in the town of Arras, offered to enter into a treaty with us at mount St. Eloy, and to bring some of the chief citizens with them. It was concluded that I and some others, on the king's behalf, should meet them, but the admiral refused to go himself, because he presumed they would not consent to grant our demands. I had not been long at the place of appointment before the two abovementioned lords Ravestein and des Cordes arrived there, attended by several persons of quality, and certain commissioners on the part of the city, one of which was their pensionary, named monsieur John de la Vaquerie, whom they appointed to be their speaker, and who, since that time, was made first president of the parliament of Paris. We demanded in the king's name to have the gates immediataly opened, and to be received into the town, for both that and the whole country belonged to the king by right of confiscation; and if they refused to obey this summons, they would be in danger of being besieged, and compelled to do it by force, since their duke was defeated, and his dominions utterly incapable of protecting and defending them, on account of their irrecoverable losses in the three late battles. The lords returned answer by their speaker monsieur John de la Vaquerie, that the county of Artois belonged to the lady of Burgundy, daughter of duke Charles, and descended to her in a right line from Margaret countess of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Nevers, and Rhethel, who was married to Philip I. duke of Burgundy, son of king John of France, and brother of Charles V. wherefore they humbly entreated the king that he would observe and continue the truce that was between him and the late duke of Burgundy her father. Our conference was but short, for we expected what answer we should receive; but the chief design of my going thither was to have a private conference with some persons that were there, to try if I could bring them over to the king's interest; I made overtures to some of them, who were afterwards very faithful, and did his majesty signal service. We found the whole country in a very great consternation, and not without cause, for in eight days time they were scarcely able to raise so many men at arms, and of other soldiers, there were not in the whole country

above fifteen hundred, reckoning horse and foot together, that had escaped from the battle in which the duke of Burgundy was slain, and they were quartered about Namur and Hainault. Their former haughty language was much altered now, and they spoke with more submission and humility than formerly; not that I would upbraid them with arrogance in times past, but to speak impartially, in my time they thought themselves so powerful, that they spoke neither of nor to the king with the same respect that they have done since; and if people were wise, they would always use such moderate language in the days of prosperity, that in time of adversity they need not be forced to change it.

I returned to the admiral to give him an account of our conference, and there I was informed that the king was coming towards us, who, upon the news of the duke's death, immediately set out, having dispatched several letters in his own and his officers' names, to send after him what forces they could presently assemble, with which he did not question but to reduce the provinces I have mentioned before to his obedience.

CHAP. XII.

A digression, not altogether foreign to my principal design, concerning the king's joy for being delivered from several of his enemies, and of the error his majesty committed in the reduction of the duke of Burgundy's countries.

THE king was transported to see himself rid of all those whom he mortally hated, and were his chief enemies; of some of them he had been personally revenged, as the constable, the duke of Nemours, and several others. His brother the duke of Guienne was dead, and his majesty came to the succession of the dutchy peaceably. The whole house of Anjou was extinct, as Renè king of Sicily, John and Nicholas dukes of Calabria, and since them their cousin the count du Main, afterwards made count of Provence; the count d'Armaignac was killed at Lestore, and of all of them the king had got their estates and moveables. But the house of Burgundy being greater and more powerful than the rest, having maintained war with Charles VII. our master's father, for two-and-thirty years together, without any cessation, by the assistance of the English; and having his dominions bordering upon the king's, and his subjects always inclinable to invade his majesty's kingdom, the king had some reason to be more than ordinarily

pleased at the death of that duke, and the destruction of his family; and indeed he triumphed more in his ruin than in that of all the rest of his enemies, foreseeing, as he thought, that nobody for the future, either of his own subjects, or his neighbours, would be able to oppose him, or disturb the tranquillity of his reign. He was at peace with England, as you have heard, and made it his business to continue so: yet, though he was freed in this manner from all his apprehensions, God did not permit him to take such courses in the management of his affairs as were most proper to promote his own interest and designs. And certainly God almighty has shewn, and does still shew, that his determination is to punish that family severely, not only in the person of the duke, but in their subjects and estates; for all the wars in which they have since been involved, might easily have been prevented if the king our master had but taken right measures. For if he had acted prudently, instead of pretending to conquer them, he should rather have endeavoured to annex all those large territories to the crown of France, to which he had no just title, by some treaty of marriage, or to have gained the hearts and affections of the people, and so have brought them over to his interest, which he might without any great difficulty have effected, considering how their late afflictions had impoverished and dejected them. If he had acted after that manner, he had not only prevented their ruin and destruction, but extended and strengthened his own kingdom, and made them all happy in a firm and glorious peace. He might by this means have eased his own country of their intolerable grievances, and especially of the marches and countermarches of his troops, which are commanded continually up and down from one end of the kingdom to the other, and sometimes upon a very slight occasion. In the duke of Burgundy's lifetime the king often talked with me about this affair, and told me what he would do if he should outlive the duke, and his discourse at that time was very rational and wise: he told me he would propose a match between his son, our present king, and the duke of Burgundy's daughter, who was since dutchess of Austria, and if she should not consent to that, in respect that the dauphin was too young, he would then endeavour to marry her to some young prince in his kingdom, by which means he might keep her and her subjects in amity, and obtain, without war, what he pretended to lay claim to, and this was his resolution not above a week before he heard of the duke of Burgundy's death; but the very day he received the news, his mind began to change, and this wise counsel was laid aside, and especially when the admiral and I were dispatched into

those provinces: however, he spoke little of what he intended to do, only to some few that were about him he promised several of the duke's lordships and possessions.

CHAP. XIII.

The delivery of Han, Bohain, St. Quintin, and Peronne, to the king, and of his sending his barber, monsieur Oliver, to treat with the citizens of Ghent.

AS the king was upon his road towards us, his majesty received from all parts the welcome news of the delivering up the castles of Han and Bohain, and that the inhabitants of St. Quintin had secured that town for him themselves, and opened their gates to their neighbour the lord de Moüy. He was certain of Peronne, which was commanded by the lord William de Bische, and by the overtures that we and several other persons had made him, he was in great hopes that the lord des Cordes would strike in with his interest. To Ghent he sent his barber, monsieur Oliver, born in a small village not far off, and other agents he sent to other places, with great expectations from all of them; and most of them promised him very fair, but performed nothing. Upon the king's approach near Peronne, I went to wait on his majesty, and at the same time the lord de Bische and others came to him about the surrender of the town, with which he was extremely pleased. The king staid there that day, and I dined with him, according to the usual custom, for it was his humour to have seven or eight always with him at the table, and sometimes more. After dinner he withdrew, and seemed not to be at all pleased with the admiral's negotiation and mine; he told us he had sent his barber, monsieur Oliver, to Ghent, and he doubted not but he would persuade that town to submit to his obedience; and Robinet Dodenfort to Saint Omers, who had great interest there; and those his majesty extolled as fit persons to manage such an affair, to receive the keys of great towns, and to put a garrison of his troops into them. He mentioned others whom he had employed in the same negotiation in other places; and with this he upbraided me by the lord du Lude and others. It was contrary to my duty to argue or expostulate with him; only I told his majesty, I had great reason to fear that monsieur Oliver and the rest which he had named, would not be able to reduce those towns to his obedience so easily as he proposed.

That which occasioned the king to speak to me after this manner was, that he had changed his mind, and the success which crowned the beginning of his affairs, flattered him with the hopes of a speedy surrender of all the towns in the duke of Burgundy's territories; and his majesty was advised by some persons, who found his inclinations leaned that way, to root out that family quite, and make a distribution of their territories. Upon which he began to dispose of them first in his imagination, and by little and little to declare openly for whom he designed them. Namur and Hainault, which bordered upon the frontiers of his kingdom, he designed for such and such; Brabant and Holland, being larger and at a greater distance, he intended for certain princes of Germany, who by that means would be obliged to espouse his interest, and to assist him in all his enterprises. He was pleased to impart all his designs to me, because I had formerly recommended the method of gentleness and amity, and his majesty was desirous that I should be thoroughly informed of all the reasons that induced him to the contrary, and endeavoured to convince me that his design was far more advantageous for the interest of his kingdom, in respect of the great troubles it had formerly suffered on the account of the exorbitant power of that house, and the vast extent of their territories. And certainly, in respect to this world, there was great probability in what he said; but as to matter of conscience, I thought it quite otherwise. However, the king's policy and penetration were such, that neither I nor any of his council could see so far into his affairs as himself; for without dispute he was one of the wisest and most cunning princes of his age; but the hearts of kings being in the hands of God almighty alone, he disposes them in such important affairs as is most proper for the events which he in his heavenly wisdom has determined to succeed. For certainly had it been his divine appointment that our king should have continued in the resolution which he had taken to himself before the duke of Burgundy's death, the effusion of so much blood, which was spilt in the wars, had been prevented, and all the calamities that afterwards ensued would never have happened. But we were not worthy on either side to receive the blessing of so lasting and honourable a peace as was prepared to our hands; and that was the true cause of this great oversight that our king was guilty of, and not any defect in his judgment or understanding, as I said before, for he was a prince of consummate wisdom and penetration. I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, to shew how necessary it is at the beginning of any action of importance, to debate and deliberate seriously on its consequences,

that all the ways of effecting it being maturely considered, the most proper may be chosen at last, but especially that the whole affair be recommended to God, and that in our prayers he be solemnly entreated to direct us in our election, for from him all events proceed, as is evident, both by scripture and experience. My design is not to upbraid or reflect the least upon the king, when I say he was mistaken in this business, for perhaps others of greater judgment than myself, were, and still are, of his opinion; however, this affair was not debated either with us, or any where else. Historians commonly write nothing but what redounds to the praise and honour of those princes whose actions they transmit to posterity, and they omit, and are often unacquainted with, such occurrences as are absolutely necessary to the illustration of the truth; but as for my part, I am resolved to speak nothing but what I can prove to be downright matter of fact, either upon my own knowledge, or the testimony of such persons whose veracity and honour are unquestionable, without the least regard to the praises of any man; for it is not to be thought there is any prince so wise, but he must sometimes err, and if he lives long, often; and so it will be found perpetually, if one may be allowed to speak the truth. The greatest senates, and the greatest governments in the world, have erred, and do and will err, as is known by experience.

The king having refreshed himself for some time in a village near Peronne, resolved the next morning to make his entry into that town, which, as I said before, was surrendered to him. As all things were ready for his departure, the king took me aside, and dispatched me for Poictou and the frontiers of Bretagne, whispering me in the ear, that if monsieur Oliver was disappointed in his design, and the lord des Cordes did not come in to him, he was resolved to destroy with fire and sword all that part of Artois which borders upon the Lis, and is called la Levee, and afterwards retire to Touraine. I recommended some persons who by my means were already come over to his party, upon promise of pensions and other employments from him; he sat down their names in writing, and honourably performed the promise he had made with them; and so I took my leave of him for that time. As I was just taking horse, the lord du Lude happened to be by; he was a person in some things very acceptable to the king, but he was too much addicted to covetousness, would not scruple to abuse or delude any man, and being easy and credulous, he was often imposed on himself. He had been educated with the king in his youth, and knew very well how to humour his majesty; he said to me in a jesting manner (though the counsel was solid enough)—"How

now, monsieur, are you leaving the court, when you should make your fortune or never? do not you see what great things fall daily into the king's hands, which will enable him to advance and recompense his favourites? as for my part I expect to be governor of Flanders, and to be made up of nothing but gold." He laughed all the while he was speaking to me, but I had no such inclination, for I was afraid it had come from the king; I replied—"That I should be very glad of any good fortune that befel him, and hoped the king would not forget me."

Not above half an hour before my departure, a person of some quality came to me out of Hainault, and brought me news from several to whom I had written to persuade them to enter into the king's service; the gentleman and I am nearly related; but he is still living, and therefore I shall not mention his name, nor the names of any of the rest. He immediately made some offers to surrender up all the chief towns and fortresses in Hainault; I presently waited on the king and acquainted him with this overture; his majesty ordered the gentleman to be admitted to his presence, but told me, that neither he, nor the rest that he came from, were the persons he had occasion to make use of. This, he did not like upon one account, and that, upon another, all their offers appeared to him inconsiderable, and he was of opinion he should gain greater advantages without their assistance; so I left him, and he ordered the gentleman to confer further with the lord du Lude. The gentleman highly resented it, and left the court immediately without any further treaty, for the lord du Lude and he would never have agreed. The gentleman had undertaken the journey in hopes of advancing himself to some considerable post, and raising his own fortune at once, and the first question that the lord du Lude asked him when he came in, was—What the towns would give him to intercede with the king in their behalf? On the other hand, I am of opinion, that the king's refusing to hearken to the overtures that were made him by these gentlemen, was God's own doings, for I have since known him reduced to that extremity of affairs, that he would have refused no honour or employment to have gained them over to his side: but, perhaps God would not suffer him to be happy in all places, for the reasons above mentioned; or else he did not think fit to permit him to usurp the country of Hainault, which is a member of the empire, both because his title was not just, and by reason of the antient oaths and alliances between the emperors and the kings of France, and he seemed afterwards to acknowledge as much; for when he had possessed himself of Cambray, Quesnoy, and Bouchain in Hainault, he de-

livered up Bouchain, and put Cambray into a condition of neutrality, as being an imperial town. It is true, I was not upon the place, but I was well informed of all passages, and could easily understand them by my acquaintance and education in both countries; and I have since been assured of all this from the mouths of those very persons who were chiefly employed in this affair.

CHAP. XIV.

Monsieur Oliver, the king's barber, not succeeding in his designs upon Ghent, found out a way to secure Tournay for the king.

[1477]. MONSIEUR Oliver, as you have already heard, was dispatched by the king's orders to Ghent with letters to the lady of Burgundy, duke Charles's daughter, and a full power, under-hand by the by, to make certain overtures to her, if she would put herself under the king's protection. This was not the main design of his errand, for he knew it would be a difficult thing to have a private conference with the young lady alone, and if he had one, it would be no less difficult to persuade her to do it: his chief business was to bring about some innovation in the city, to which it had been always inclinable, being kept in subjection under the dukes Philip and Charles, by their fears, for they had lost several of their privileges in their wars with duke Philip, and were forced to consent to their loss in the articles of peace; besides, another of their privileges was taken from them by duke Charles, and that was about the election of their magistrates, upon occasion of an offence they committed the first day of his entrance into their town as duke. These passages added much confidence to monsieur Oliver the barber, who, following his instructions, tampered with some persons whom he judged most tractable, and offered them that not only all their old privileges should be restored, but what new ones they pleased to demand should be added. These overtures were not made in their senate, nor publicly, but in private, as I said before, for he had a mind to try first what he could do with the young lady, but they guessed his design. After monsieur Oliver had been some days in Ghent, he was conducted to his audience in the best garb he could possibly procure. The lady of Burgundy was in her chair of state, the duke of Cleves on one hand, the bishop of Liege on the other, and several other persons of quality attending her; monsieur Oliver presented his credentials, and after the lady had read them, she bid him deliver his message; his

answer was, that his instructions were to deliver them only in private. They replied, that was a custom never practised among them, and could not be introduced now with a young lady that was fit for marriage. He persisted that by his orders he could communicate his business to nobody else; upon which they threatened to compel him by force, and put the poor barber into a terrible consternation. I fancy when he delivered the said letters he had not provided himself with an answer, for indeed, as you have heard, that business was but by the by; however it was, monsieur Oliver left the assembly without insisting any further on it. Some of the council had a very contemptible opinion of him, both in respect of the meanness of his profession, and the uncomeliness of his demeanor and language; but more especially the citizens of Ghent (because he was born in a pitiful village near that city) who put several affronts upon him, by which he thought it time to be gone, for he was informed that if he had staid a little longer, they would have thrown him into the river; and truly I am of opinion that would have been his destiny.

This great ambassador assumed the title of count de Meulant, which is a small town near Paris, of which he was the governor. When he had made his escape out of Ghent, he fled to Tournay, which town, though neutral, bore a great affection for the king, for it had formerly belonged to his predecessors, and paid him six thousand Parisian livres a-year; in all other respects it was free, entertaining all comers, and is a fair and a strong town, as every body in those countries knows very well. All the revenues of both their clergy and townsmen lie in Hainault and Flanders, for it borders upon these two countries. And upon that account, in the wars between Charles VII. and duke Philip of Burgundy, it paid constantly ten thousand livres per annum to the said duke, and I have known it give a great sum to duke Charles, but at this time, when monsieur Oliver came to them, it paid nothing, but enjoyed great quiet and repose.

Though the management of the affair which was committed to monsieur Oliver's discretion was beyond his capacity, yet certainly he was not so much to be blamed as those that employed him in it; for though his success was as might have been easily presaged, yet he gave demonstration both of his courage and conduct in what he did; for knowing that the town of Tournay lay conveniently, as I said, between those two provinces, to make inroads into either, if he could contrive to put a French garrison into it, to which the townsmen were always averse, having all along preserved their neutrality, and concerned themselves neither with

the one nor the other. He sent privately to monsieur de Moüy, whose son was bailiff of the town, but not resident there, to come to him at a certain hour with what forces he could draw out of St. Quintin, and whatever else he could assemble: monsieur de Moüy came to the gate at the appointed hour, where he found thirty or forty men, and monsieur Oliver at the head of them, who commanded the barrier to be opened, and partly for love, and partly for fear, they obeyed him. Monsieur de Moüy marched with his detachment into the town, with which the people were well enough satisfied, but the magistrates were not pleased with it, of which seven or eight were immediately sent to Paris, and never returned during our king's reign. As soon as these forces had made themselves masters of Tournay, a more considerable body was sent to reinforce the garrison, and many barbarous incursions were made into Hainault and Flanders, in which several fine houses and villages were plundered and burnt, more to the prejudice of the inhabitants of Tournay than of any body else, and in these cruelties they continued so long, till at last the Flemings rose up in arms, released the duke of Gueldres out of prison, where he had been confined by duke Charles, made him their captain, and invested Tournay; but they did not continue the siege long, for they retired suddenly in disorder and confusion, and the duke of Gueldres undertaking to secure the rear, and not being timely supported, was defeated, many of his men slain, and he among the rest, of which I shall give you a more particular account in another place. And thus far the king's affairs were crowned with success, and his enemies outreached by monsieur Oliver's management; and perhaps a man of greater penetration could not have managed them with so much success. But I have said enough already of so politic a prince employing so inconsiderable a person to manage so important an affair; and certainly God had infatuated his understanding at that time, for, as I said before, had he not looked upon every thing to be easily executed, and given too great a licence to his passion and revenge upon the duke of Burgundy's family, there is no question but all, or the greater part of their dominions, would have been this day under his power and subjection.

CHAP. XV.

Of the ambassadors which the lady of Burgundy, duke Charles's daughter, sent to the king, and of the delivering up Artois, Hesdin, Boulogne, and the city of Arras, to the king, by the assistance of the lord des Cordes.

THE king being in possession of Peronne, which was surrendered to him by the lord William de Bische, a person of obscure parentage, and born in Moulins-Engilbert, but enriched and advanced afterwards by Charles duke of Burgundy, who had given him the command of that town, because it was near a house called Clery, which that lord had purchased, and fortified very strongly; the king, I say, in this very town received an embassy from the lady of Burgundy, consisting of the principal persons of her court; in my opinion it was not prudently done to employ so many, and send them all together; but their terror and consternation was so great they knew not what they did. The chief of the ambassadors were one monsieur William Hugonet the chancellor, a wise and eminent man, and one that had gained a considerable fortune and vast reputation under duke Charles, and the lord d'Himbercourt, whom we have often mentioned in these memoirs, a person of that consummate prudence and dexterity in the management of great affairs, that I do not remember any man who exceeded him: there were also the lord de la Vere, a great man in Zealand, the lord de Gruthuse, and several other noblemen, besides ecclesiastics, and burgesses of great towns. Before they were admitted to an audience either public or private, the king tampered with them, and tried all manner of ways to seduce and bring them over to his party, both in general and particular; they all of them returned him very humble and respectful answers, as people under affliction; but those whose estates were remote, and out of danger of the king, refused to gratify him in any thing, unless a marriage were first concluded between the dauphin and the lady of Burgundy. The chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt having been long in authority, and desirous to continue it, and having their estates near the king's dominions, one in the dutchy of Burgundy, and the other in Picardy near Amiens, were inclined to accept of the king's offers, upon condition the said marriage proceeded, which they would endeavour to promote with all their power and interest; and when it was consummated, engage themselves entirely in his service. Though this was certainly the better method

for the king, yet he was mightily dissatisfied because they did not join themselves immediately to his party; but he dissembled it what he could, intending to make use of them in other affairs. The king held a correspondence with the lord des Cordes, who advised his majesty to press the ambassadors to send their orders to him as governor of Arras, to deliver that up which they called the city of Arras, between which and the town there were walls, ditches, and gates, which were formerly kept shut against the city, but now the case was altered, and the city shut out the town. After several arguments and difficulties that were started by the ambassadors, being at last convinced it would be for the best, and contribute much to the hastening of a peace, they consented, especially the chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt, and letters were immediately dispatched to the lord des Cordes to discharge him of his trust, and to deliver up the city to the king. As soon as the king had got possession of it, he threw up works before the gate of the town, and such other places as his majesty thought would be convenient; upon which the lord des Cordes marched with his garrison out of the town, and every man went whither, and took what side he liked best.

The lord des Cordes, looking upon himself to be free from the service of his mistress, by virtue of the discharge which the ambassadors had sent him, and at liberty to serve what prince he pleased, resolved to swear allegiance to the king, and enter into his service for the future, since his name and his arms were taken from a place on this side of the Somme, not far from Beauvois, for his name was Philip de Crevecœur, second brother to the lord de Crevecœur, and the territories which the house of Burgundy had possessed upon the Somme in the time of duke Philip and Charles, returned of course to the king upon the treaty of Arras in the year 1435, by which it was entailed upon the said duke, and his heirs male only, and duke Charles leaving only this daughter, by that means the lord des Cordes became the king's subject immediately, and had not been to blame, in putting himself, and all that belonged to him, into the king's service, had he not taken a new oath to be true to the young lady of Burgundy. I know there are various reports of this affair, and it is a matter of contest to this very day, and therefore I will leave such as are curious to inform themselves as well as they can; only this I can affirm, that he was educated, advanced, and put into places of great trust and power, by duke Charles; his mother had some share in the education of the young lady of Burgundy; and he was governor of Picardy, seneschal of Ponthieu, Captain of Crotoy, governor of Peronne, Mondidier, and

Royes, and captain of Boulogne and Hesdin for the duke when he died; and at this present he holds the same governments for the king, in the same manner and form as our master confirmed them.

After the king had added some new fortifications to the city of Arras, he marched to Hesdin, carrying the lord des Cordes with him, who had been the governor of it but three days before, and the garrison consisted of none but his own soldiers. At first, they pretended to keep it for the young princess, alleging that they were bound to do it, by their oath of allegiance, and fired their guns upon us for several days; but at last they were prevailed upon by their old master, for to speak plainly, there was a very good understanding between them, and the town was delivered to the king, who marched from thence to Boulogne, where his success was the same, though perhaps it did not surrender so soon. However, this had been a very dangerous way of proceeding, had those that held the towns for the young princess, been able to have assembled any forces in the country; and the king, in the relation he gave me of this affair since, expressed as much himself: for there were some in the town of Boulogne who perceived the juggle, endeavoured to have thrown a body of troops into it, and if they had succeeded in their design, they would have defended it in earnest. Whilst the king lay before Boulogne, which was five or six days, the townsmen of Arras finding they were abused, and enclosed on all sides with great numbers of soldiers, and abundance of artillery, laboured to procure forces, if possible, that might secure the town, to which purpose they wrote letters to Lisle and Douay; at Douay there were some few horse commanded by the lord de Vergy, and others, whom I have forgot, who had escaped from the battle of Nanci, and were returned thither. These gentlemen resolved to throw themselves into Arras, and in order to effect it, assembled a body of about two or three hundred horse, one with another, and about five or six hundred foot. The inhabitants of Douay, having at that time more courage than wit, forced this party to march at noon-day in spite of their teeth, and all that could be urged to the contrary: which certainly was a great piece of folly and indiscretion, and the design prospered accordingly; for the country between that and Arras, was as plain as ones hand, and not above five leagues, so that if they had had but patience to have deferred their march till night, they had certainly effected their design. When they were in the midst of their march, those who were left in the city, to wit the lord du Lude, John de Fou, and the brigade of the marshal de Loheac, having intelligence of their motion, resolved to

sally out, and rather venture an engagement, than suffer them to get into the town, for they knew that if once this reinforcement got into the town, they should never be able to secure the city. Their enterprise was bold and dangerous, but they performed bravely, and their success was equal to their courage, for the whole party was defeated, most of them killed or taken prisoners, and the lord de Vergy was in the number of the latter.

The next day the king arrived there in person, and was highly pleased with their victory; he took the prisoners into his own custody, and caused several of the foot to be put to death, as a terror to the rest, which he knew were but few in those parts.—The lord de Vergy was kept prisoner a long time, who could not be induced to swear allegiance to the king, though he was kept in irons, and confined very closely; at length, at the importunity of his mother, after he had been a prisoner in that miserable condition a year or more, he submitted, and I think he acted very prudently, for the king restored all his own lands, and all that he had any pretensions to, gave him a revenue of above 10,000 livres a-year, and other considerable employments besides. Those few that escaped in this action, got into the town. The king caused his artillery, of which he had a very fine and large train, to be brought, with which he fired briskly upon the town; and the walls and fortifications being very weak, and scarce any soldiers in garrison, his batteries did the town considerable damage, and put the inhabitants into a terrible consternation. The lord des Cordes had a party in the town, and upon the delivering up the city, it was impossible to think of defending the town any longer: upon this consideration they capitulated, and surrendered upon terms, but their articles were not performed, of which the lord de Lude was partly the cause, for they put several citizens and other persons of quality to death in the presence of the lord du Lude, and monsieur William de Cerisay, which was much to their private advantage, for the lord du Lude has told me himself, he got at that time 20,000 crowns, besides rich furniture and furs, and the poor town was fined 60,000 crowns more to the king, which was too great an imposition; but I suppose they were remitted, for they of Cambray lending them 40,000 of it, that being repaid punctually at the time, I presume all of them were restored or remitted.

CHAP. XVI.

The citizens of Ghent having usurped an authority over their princess, upon the death of the duke of Burgundy her father, sent their ambassadors to the king in the name of the three estates of their country.

DURING the siege of Arras, the princess of Burgundy was at Ghent, in the power of a rash and inconsiderate people, which proved much to her disadvantage, but greatly advanced the king's interest, for there is no losing without somebody's being the gainer. As soon as the Gantois were informed of the death of duke Charles, they thought themselves fairly delivered from their slavery, and seizing upon their magistrates, who were in all twenty-six, they put most of them to death under pretence of revenging the death of a person whom the day before the magistrates had caused to be beheaded; not but that the person deserved it, if they had had power to have done it: but the duke being dead, who gave them their power, their authority of course expired with him, and was to be exercised no longer. They also put to death several substantial citizens besides, and others who had been friends, or favourers of the duke's interest, of which number there were some in my time, who in my presence used their utmost endeavours to dissuade duke Charles from destroying a great part of Ghent, which the duke had otherwise done.—These tumultuous citizens forced the young princess to restore and confirm their ancient privileges which duke Philip took away in the peace of Ghent, and also those that duke Charles deprived them of afterwards. They made no other use of their privileges, but to nose and confront their prince, and their chief inclination was to encroach upon and weaken him. During the minority of their princes, and before they are fit to manage affairs of state, they are extremely fond of them, but when once they are in possession of their government, they hate them as mortally. Thus it happened to this young princess, whom they kept very carefully, and loved very tenderly, till her father's death, and till she came to the government. Had not the citizens of Ghent preferred their own seditious designs before the public interest, it may be easily presumed they would have bethought themselves of defending their country, and put a strong garrison immediately into Arras, and perhaps into Peronne, upon the death of their master, but their minds were so intoxicated, they could think of nothing

but contriving tumults and innovations at home. However, as the king lay before Arras, ambassadors came to him in the name of the three estates of the provinces belonging to the said princess, for there were certain deputies of the three estates at Ghent, but the citizens having the young princess in their power, carried matters as they pleased. The king admitted them to an audience; and among other things they told his majesty that the overtures which they made tended to a peace, and proceeded from the sincere inclination and desire of the princess, who was resolved to be entirely guided by the advice and consent of the three estates of her country; and they desired that the king would grant a cessation of arms as well in Burgundy, as Artois; that a day might be appointed, on which they might meet to treat about an accommodation, and that in the mean time all hostility might cease on both sides.

The king now thought he had entirely gained his point, and supposed his affairs would have taken a much better turn than they did. He had certain information, that a great part of their best soldiers were killed or dispersed, and several that were remaining, had revolted from the princess, and in particular the lord des Cordes, for whom his majesty had a great esteem, and not without reason, for he would not have been able to have got that in a long time, which, as you have heard, he got in a few days by holding correspondence with him. Upon this account he did not much regard the demands of the ambassadors; besides, he was informed, and was sensible of it himself, that the Gantois were a people of so turbulent and seditious a temper, that they would so trouble and confound the affairs of that state, that no orders or direction could be given for the carrying on the war against him; for no man of parts, or any that had borne any authority under their former princes, was consulted in any thing, but rather persecuted, and in danger of being killed. But their hatred was more than ordinary against the Burgundians, for the great power they had exercised in former times. Besides, it was not unknown to the king, whose foresight in state affairs was as great as any man's in his kingdom, what the custom of the Gantois had been in all ages, how desirous they are to lessen the power of their princes, and still keep them poor, provided it brings no inconvenience upon themselves; for these reasons, the king resolved to foment and encourage the divisions which were amongst them already, for the persons with whom he was now about to deal with were brutes, and townsmen, and such as had not the least acquaintance or knowledge in the tricks and juggle

of state affairs. Our king knew well enough how to take advantage of their ignorance, and did whatever was proper to advance his own interest, and destroy his enemies.

The king took hold of that expression of the ambassadors, where they said—"That the young princess was resolved to do nothing without the advice and approbotion of the three estates of her country;" and told them that they were misinformed, not only of her resolutions, but of other people's, for he was assured she intended to manage her affairs by particular persons, who had no inclination to peace, and that what they poposed he knew would be disowned by the princess. The ambassadors were extremely concerned at this, and, as persons not used to manage such important affairs, replied with some warmth, that they were certain of what they said, and, if it were necessary, would produce their instructions. It was answered, that if the king pleased, letters were to be produced under such a hand as they would not dispute, importing that the princess would not commit the administration of her affairs to any more than four persons; they persisted, and assured the contrary. Upon which the king caused a letter to be produced, which the chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt brought to him while he was at Peronne, part of it written by the hand of the young princess, part by the dutchess dowager of Burgundy, widow of duke Charles, and sister to the king of England, and part by the hand of monsieur de Ravestein, brother to the duke of Cleves, and nearly related to the said lady. Though this letter was under three several hands, yet it ran only in the name of the young princess, and was contrived so, to give it greater reputation. The contents of the letter were to recommend the chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt, and their whole negotiation to the king, to let him know that her intention was to have her affairs wholly governed by four persons only, to wit, the dutchess dowager her mother-in-law, the lord de Ravestein, the chancellor, and the lord d'Himbercourt, and to desire the king that what affairs soever he should be pleased to communicate to her, might pass through their hands, and be addressed to nobody else.

When the Gantois and the rest of the ambassadors had seen this letter, they were highly incensed, and the king's commissioners knew how to improve and take advantage of their passion; the result of all was, the letter was given into their hands, and they were dispatched without any other material answer, nor did they indeed desire any other, for their thoughts were wholly fixed upon their domestic troubles, and which way they might order things there, that they had no leisure to think of any thing so foreign as

the loss of Arras, though that, in my opinion, ought to have concerned them more nearly; but they were citizens, as I observed before, and unacquainted with affairs of that nature. They returned immediately to Ghent, where they found the young princess, and with her the duke of Cleves, her near kinsman by the mother's side. He was very old, and had been educated in the duke of Burgundy's court, and for a long time had enjoyed a pension of 6000 florins, so that he as often waited on the princess to receive his annual allowance, as out of affection to pay his respects to her, as being her near relation. The bishop of Liege, and several other great persons, were with her at the same time, soliciting their particular affairs. The bishop of Liege's business was to get off a tribute of 30,000 florins, or thereabouts, which they were to pay to duke Charles by agreement between them after the wars, which I have mentioned before; all which wars having been undertaken in the behalf and quarrel of the said bishop, there was no necessity that he, whose interest doubtless it was to have the Liegeois poor and humble, should have solicited that affair for them; for though his country was rich and capacious, he had nothing but some little demesnes of his own, and his ecclesiastical revenue to maintain him. This bishop, who was brother to the two dukes of Bourbon, John II. and Peter II. being a man wholly addicted to pleasure and a luxurious way of living, and scarcely distinguishing good from bad of himself, took into his councils monsieur William de la Marck, a fine gentleman and a brave soldier, but of a cruel and malicious temper, and one who favoured the citizens of Liege, and had been always an enemy to the duke of Burgundy's family, and to the bishop himself. The princess of Burgundy gave this de la Marck 15,000 florins, partly on the bishop's account, and partly to oblige him to espouse her interest; but it was not long before he openly declared both against her and his master the bishop, and, by the assistance of our king, would have made his own son bishop of Liege; after which, he fought with, defeated, and with his own hands slew the bishop in battle, and ordered his body to be thrown into the river, where it was found three days after. The duke of Cleves was there soliciting a marriage between his son and the young princess, which he thought might be convenient in several respects; and, truly, I think it might have succeeded, had the young gentleman been as grateful in his person to the young princess and her ministers, as he was in his recommendations, for he was of her own family, held his dutchy of it, and had been educated in it; but perhaps the experience and character they had received of him did him no service.

CHAP. XVII.

The people of Ghent, upon the return of their ambassadors, put the chancellor Hugonet and the lord d'Himbercourt to death, against their princess's consent; after which they, in conjunction with some other Flemish troops, were defeated before Tournay, and the duke of Gueldres, who commanded them, was slain.

AS soon as the commissioners were returned to Ghent, a council was called, the princess of Burgundy placed in her chair of state, and her favourites attending her, to receive their report. They began with their instructions from her highness, and insisted chiefly upon what they thought would serve their own turns best. They told her, that as they were giving his majesty an account of her highness's resolution to be wholly advised and directed by the counsel of the Three Estates, the king made answer, that he was positively assured of the contrary, and offered to shew her letters to that purpose. The princess was extremely surprised, and presuming the letter had not been seen, strenuously denied it; upon which the person that spoke, being pensionary either of Ghent or Brussels, put his hand into his bosom, produced the letter publicly, and delivered it to the board; by which he shewed himself to be no person of honour or good breeding; for a lady of her rank and quality ought not to have been treated after such a rude and disrespectful manner; for granting she had committed an error, she was not to be vilified or confronted with it in a public assembly. It is not to be supposed but she was strangely confounded, for she professed the contrary to every body. There were present at the same time, the dutchess dowager, the lord de Ravestein, and the lord d'Himbercourt.

The duke of Cleves and others had been hitherto entertained and amused with hopes of the marriage; but upon this discovery all of them were highly incensed, and the seeds of dissension and discord which had been spread up and down, began now to break out and discover themselves. The duke of Cleves had all along taken the lord d'Himbercourt to be his friend, and believed him willing to consent to his marriage with the princess; but this letter convinced him to the contrary, and made him entirely become his enemy. The bishop of Liege had a quarrel to him before, for what he had done against the town, where the lord d'Himbercourt was governor; and William de la Marck was his adversary as well as he. The young count de St. Paul, son to the constable, mor-

tally hated both him and the chancellor, upon account of their having delivered his father into the king's hands, as you have already been informed. The Gantois had a pique against them, not that they had ever injured them in the least, but for the great authority which they had borne; and certainly they were as deserving of the power they exercised, as any ministers of state that ever had the administration of affairs in their time, having always discharged their trust faithfully and honestly, as good servants ought to do to their masters.

In short, the letter having been shewn in the morning, the very same night the chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt were arrested by the people of Ghent; they were informed of their design, but had no power to attempt making their escape, as it happens to several in the like case. I question not but the duke of Cleves and their other enemies, whom I mentioned before, were active and instrumental in seizing them. With them they also secured monsieur William de Clugny, bishop of Terrouen, who died afterwards bishop of Poictiers, and put them all three together into custody. The people of Ghent, contrary to their old method of revenge, proceeded legally, as they pretended, against them, and appointed lawyers to interrogate and charge them; one of which was of the house of la Marck, a mortal enemy to the lord d'Himbercourt. Their first question was, why they had commanded the lord des Cordes to deliver up Arras; but that they did not much insist on, though indeed they had committed no other action that was criminal; for the citizens were not in the least concerned to see their prince divested of such a town, nor were their prudence and penetration so great as to foresee the ill consequences that would attend the loss of so important a place. They insisted more particularly on two points; the one was, for certain bribes which was urged they had lately taken in a certain cause between a private person and the city of Ghent, upon the account of which the chancellor had given judgment for the city; but to that particular of bribery they made a good defence, by alleging that their cause was good, and their judgment was fair and just; and as for money, they had never demanded it, nor ordered it to be demanded, but the townsmen had offered it of their own accord, and they had accepted it. The second article of their charge was, that during their authority with their late master, duke Charles, they had acted many things contrary to the privileges and statutes of the said town, and whoever did so was to die by their charter. But this charge was of no force or validity against them, for they being neither subjects nor natives of their city, were not bound by their privileges; and

.f duke Charles or his father had infringed or encroached upon their said privileges, it was their own act and deed, and they had consented to it by articles of agreement that were drawn up between them, after several wars and dissentions, and the rest which were confirmed to them, which indeed were greater than was necessary for their advantage, were still preserved inviolably, without the least innovation. Notwithstanding the defence of these two worthy persons to the two articles that were brought against them, (for the chief one, which I mentioned before, was not insisted on), they were both condemned to death by the magistrates of the city, who at that time were assembled in their town-hall, for infringement of their privileges, and receiving bribes after judgment was given. The two lords were astonished at their sentence, and not without reason, for being in their hands, there was no possibility of escaping: however, they thought fit to appeal to the king of France in his court of the parliament of Paris, hoping at least it would defer the execution for some time, and in the mean while give their friends an opportunity of exerting their power and interest to save their lives. Before sentence was passed they put them on the rack, contrary to all law and justice. In six days time their whole process was finished, and when sentence was given, they allowed them but three hours for confession, and the settlement of their temporal affairs; upon expiration of which they were brought upon the scaffold, which was erected in the market-place.

As soon as the princess of Burgundy, since dutchess of Austria, had received the news of their condemnation, she came herself in person to the town-hall to beg their lives; but finding she could not prevail, she ran into the market-place, where the mob had got together in arms, and the two prisoners upon the scaffold. The young princess was in mourning, her head dressed carelessly, on purpose to move pity and compassion, and in this posture, with tears in her eyes, and her hair dishevelled, she begged and entreated the people to have pity upon her two servants, and to restore them to her again. A great part of the mob were touched with compassion, and would fain have complied with her request, and were willing they should be saved; but others violently opposed it, and they were at push of pike one with another: at last those who were for the execution being the stronger party, called out to the executioners to do their office, and immediately both their heads were struck off, and the poor princess returned to her palace very sad and disconsolate for the loss of two persons in whom she chiefly confided.

After the Gantois had committed this horrid piece of villany, they removed from about the princess the lord de Ravestein and the dutchess dowager, duke Charles's widow, because both of them had signed the letter which the chancellor and the lord d'Himbercourt had delivered to the king, as you have heard; so that the citizens had now the sole authority and management of the poor young princess, and well may she be called poor, not only in respect of her great loss of the several towns which had been taken from her, which were irrecoverable by force, by reason of the great power and strength of the king, who was now in possession of them; yet, however, by favour, friendship, or composition, they might possibly have been restored; but in consideration that she was in the power of the mortal and inveterate enemies of her family, which was her great misfortune, though their actions in the main proceeded rather from folly than cunning, the generality of them being stupid and heavy mechanics, who have the sole power and administration of affairs among them, persons of no experience in politics, and no knowledge in the government of a state. Their cunning consists chiefly in two points; one is, always to desire and endeavour to weaken and retrench the power of their prince; the other is, that when they have been guilty of the least false step, and find themselves not able to defend it, never any people seek peace with so much humility and submission as they do, or give more liberally to purchase it; for this I will say of them, never any people knew better how to make their applications, and where to place their bribes, than the Gantois.

After the Gantois had taken the government of the young princess into their hands, caused her two favourites to be beheaded, and removed such persons from the court as they thought obnoxious to them, they began to assume the power of placing and displacing the officers, both civil and military, and plundered and banished all such as had served the house of Burgundy in any remarkable way, without any respect to their merit or behaviour; and their malice being more particularly aimed at the Burgundians, they banished them all, as if they had laboured and studied as much to force them into the king's service, as his majesty did to debauch them; who used all the ways of fair words, great presents, and large promises, besides the terror of his forces, which were very numerous in their country, to gain them over to his interest. To begin their authority with a piece of novelty, they released the duke of Gueldres out of prison, as we have hinted before, who had been committed by duke Charles, and endured a long confinement for the reasons above mentioned. The towns of Bruges,

Ghent, and Ipres, having assembled an army among themselves, made the duke of Gueldres general of it, and sent him with orders to burn and demolish the suburbs of Tournay; but that enterprise proved little to his advantage; it had been better for him and themselves too, if they had only sent a body of two hundred men to have reinforced the garrison of Arras, or ten thousand franks to have paid those troops that were there already, provided they had arrived in time, than ten such armies, though it consisted of twelve or fourteen thousand men well paid; because all they could hope for by this expedition, was only to burn a few pitiful houses of no importance to the king, as paying him no tax; but their knowledge in state affairs was not so deep. The duke of Gueldres having invested Tournay, ordered part of the suburbs to be set on fire. There were in the town about three or four hundred men at arms, who sallied out and fell upon their rear. The duke of Gueldres, being a valiant prince, thought to secure it himself, and give the rest opportunity to retreat; but not being vigorously sustained, he was knocked off his horse, and himself with a good number of his men slain, though in the action there were not many of the king's soldiers engaged; this was but a party, and therefore the rest of the Flemish army retreated. The princess of Burgundy, by report, was very well pleased with their misfortune, and so were all those who had any kindness for her; for she was credibly informed, that the Gantois had resolved to force her to a marriage with the duke of Gueldres, being assured that by fair means they could never have prevailed with her for the reasons above mentioned.

CHAP. XVIII.

A digression serving to demonstrate that wars and divisions are permitted by God for the punishment of arbitrary princes and wicked people, with several arguments and instances which happened in the author's time, chiefly intended for the instruction of princes.

I CANNOT imagine why God has preserved this city so long, which has occasioned so much mischief, but no good, either to the public, or the country wherein it is seated, and much less to the prince. Bruges indeed is a place of trade, and of great resort for foreigners of all nations, in which more commodities and effects are disposed of than in any other town in Europe, so that to have had that destroyed, would have been an irreparable loss; but it seems to me, that God has not made any created being

in this world, neither man, nor beast, nor any thing else, but he has set up some other thing in opposition to it, to keep it within its just bounds of fear and humility. In this respect Ghent is admirably well situated, for certainly the countries round about it are the most luxurious, the most splendid, and the most profuse, of any countries in Christendom; yet they are catholics, and to outward appearance the worship of God is religiously observed. But it is not the house of Burgundy alone that has a thorn in its sides; France has England as a check, England has Scotland, and Spain Portugal, I will not say Grenada, for they are Moors, and enemies to Christianity, though otherwise Grenada has given the kingdom of Castile much trouble to this very day. The princes of Italy, who generally have no other title to their territories but what they vainly derive from heaven, (and of that we can only divine), ruling their subjects with cruelty, violence, and oppression, in respect to their taxes, are curbed and kept in awe by the commonwealths and free states in the several counties of Italy, as Venice, Florence, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, Lucca, and others, which are in a great many respects diametrically opposite, they to the princes, and the princes to them, keeping a watchful eye over one another, that neither of them may grow too powerful for his neighbour. But to come to particulars in relation to the state of Italy:—The house of Arragon has that of Anjou to curb it; the house of Sforza, which usurped upon the Visconti in the dutchy of Milan, the house of Orleans. The Venetians, as before, have the princes of Italy, but more especially the Florentines, still in opposition against them; and the Florentines the commonwealths of Sienna, Pisa, and Genoa. The Genoese are sufficiently plagued with their own bad government and treachery towards each other, not to mention their factions and parties, as the Forgosi, the Adorni, the Donati, and others; but this every body knows so well, that I shall insist no longer on it. In Germany you are well acquainted with the faction and animosity between the house of Austria and Bavaria, and of the house of Bavaria being subdivided within itself. The house of Austria again has the Swiss for its enemy, upon the account only of a small village called Schweitz, (not able to raise six hundred men), but now the whole country takes its denomination from it, which is increased in power and riches: that two of the best towns belonging to the house of Austria, are Zurich and Friburg, and both of them are in Switzerland; besides, they have won several memorable battles, and slain some of the dukes of Austria in the field. There are also several other factions and private animosities in Germany; the house of Cleves against the house of Gueldres,

and the dukes of Gueldres against the dukes of Juliers. The Easterlings, a remote people in the North, against the Danes; and to speak in general of all Germany, there are so many fortified places, and so many people in them ready and fit for all manner of mischief, as plundering, robbing, and killing, and encroaching upon their neighbours on every trivial occasion, that it is a wonder they do no more. A private person with only one servant to wait on him will have the confidence to defy a whole city, and declare war against a duke, that he may have a pretence to rob and plunder him, especially if he has but a castle, or any strong fort situated upon a rock, to retreat to, where he keeps perhaps twenty, perhaps thirty horsemen, to scour up and down the country, and plunder according to his directions. These kind of robbers are seldom punished by German princes, who employ them on all occasions; but the towns and free states punish them severely whenever they catch any of them within the limits of their jurisdiction, and often besiege and blow up their castles, for which purpose they have generally a certain number of forces in pay, who are always in readiness to defend them. So that these princes and towns in Germany are placed in this opposition and discord, to keep all of them to their duties, that no one state or prince may encroach upon its neighbour, which is absolutely necessary, not only in Germany, but all the world over, I speak only of Europe, for of the affairs of Asia and Africa I am not sufficiently informed, though I have heard they are not exempted from factions and wars, which are carried on with more fierceness and barbarity than ours; for I myself have known, that in some places they have sold one another to the Christians, as Portugal can witness, which has had, and still has, abundance of slaves of that nature. But this I think we have little reason to object against the Saracens, for there are some places in Christendom where Christians practise the same thing, but they are either under the Turkish dominions, or else bordering upon it, as in some parts of Greece.

It may seem therefore, that these factions and parties which reign every where, are necessary for the world, and that these contradictions and oppositions, which God has placed in all states, and almost in every private person, are as so many pricks and spurs to enforce them to be just; for my own part, it seems so to me, who am a person of but indifferent learning, and will not maintain any opinion that is not obvious to every one's capacity, and that chiefly upon account of the slothfulness of some princes, and the disingenuity of others, who have judgment and experience enough, but choose to pervert it; for a prince, or any man else, who has power

and authority where he resides, and has seen or read more than other people, must of necessity be greatly improved, or rendered worse by his conversation with men and books; for wicked men are the worse for their knowledge, but the good improve themselves extremely: however, it is probable that learning does more good than harm to the persons that are possessed of it, for, being conscious in themselves when they act contrary to their reason, it deters them from doing it, or at least from doing it so often as perhaps otherwise they would do; and though they be not really good, it makes them unwilling to appear bad, or be thought to do injustice to any one. Of this I have seen several instances among great persons, where learning has restrained them from putting in practice their mischievous intentions, and sometimes the prospect and dread of God's judgments, of which they have a greater idea than the ignorant, who have neither observed nor read any thing. This therefore I will venture to say, that those princes who do not know themselves, and for want of a right education, or perhaps through the defect of their constitution, are indiscreet and rash, cannot have the true knowledge how far God has extended the power and dominion which he has given them over their subjects, for they have neither read nor understand it themselves, nor conversed with any but fawning sycophants, who know nothing of the matter; and if they did, would be afraid to instruct and admonish them, for fear they should incur their royal displeasure: and if any bold-spirited courtier ventures to remonstrate the inconvenience or injustice of things, they are so far from being encouraged in it, that they are looked upon as fools, and many times their good intentions misinterpreted. It is therefore to be concluded, that neither natural reason, nor our own knowledge, nor the fear of God, nor the love to our neighbour, is always sufficient to restrain us from doing violence to one another, or to withhold us from retaining what we have got already, or to hinder us from usurping and ravishing from other people, by all the ways that are possible; for if great princes have once got possession of any towns or castles, though they belong in justice to their nearest relations or neighbours, all the reasons above mentioned will not prevail with them to restore them; and after they have published some artful manifesto, or specious pretence, for the keeping them, every body applauds their reasons, especially those who are about the court, and are ambitious of being in their favour. I am not speaking here of disputes between inferior persons, for there is still some superior person above them who does them justice, at least sometimes, if a man's cause be any thing good, his pockets

full, and he willing to part with his money, unless the court, that is, the prince under whom he lives, oppose him; so that in all probability God is as it were constrained to shew many signs, and to chastise us with many rods for our indolence and perverseness, or rather negligence; for the slothfulness and ignorance of princes is very dangerous and dreadful, because the happiness or misery of their subjects depend wholly upon them: wherefore, if a prince who is powerful, and has a standing army, by the strength of which he can raise money to pay them; or to be employed in a luxurious way of living, or in any thing that does not directly tend to the advancement of the common good, will not retrench his extravagancies himself; and those courtiers that are about him rather endeavour to flatter and applaud him in every thing he does, than to dissuade him from doing ill, for fear of his displeasure; who can apply any remedy in this case but God alone. God indeed does not converse with mankind after the same manner as he did of old, nor are there any prophets in being to declare his pleasure, but his word is sufficiently known, and clear enough to any that are willing to understand it; so that there will be no excuse left for ignorance, especially to those who have had time and capacity to have considered these matters. How then shall those great princes escape who keep their people in such subjection, that they raise what taxes they please by force, by which they compel them to obedience, and the least of their commands is with penalty of life? Some of them punish under pretence of justice, and have those about them who are always ready to comply, and make a capital crime of what in itself is very pardonable. If they want sufficient evidence to condemn a man, they have ways of multiplying interrogatories, and equivocating in the examinations of the parties and witnesses to detain the defendant, and destroy him with expenses, delaying his trial, and by that means giving encouragement for any that will bring a fresh information against him; if that will not do, and answers not their intentions, they have a shorter cut, by making the case as they please themselves, and giving out it was necessary he should be made an example. To others that are of higher quality, and depend upon the court, they object—You have disobeyed, contrary to the duty and allegiance you owe me: and upon that bare pretence and allegation they proceed, if they can, to seize upon their estates, and reduce them to extreme poverty and distress. If they have a neighbour that is of a martial temper, they will be sure not to disturb him; but if his kingdom is in a poor weak condition, he shall never be at rest: they object—He has assisted their enemies, or raised contributions in

their countries, or else they purchase quarrels to give them occasion to ruin them; if that will not do, they support their enemies under-hand against them, and supply them with troops. They think their own subjects live too long, though they have served their predecessors ever so faithfully, and displace them to make room for new creatures of their own. They molest and quarrel with the clergy upon the score of their benefices, not that they are really guilty, but to extort compositions for the enriching of some person recommended to them by such as are subservient to their looser pleasures, who sometimes have great influence upon them; they exhaust their nobility in preparations for war, which they undertake at their pleasure, without consulting their council, or such as they ought to advise with before they enter upon action, though they have employed both their persons and estates to enable them to undertake it. To the common people they leave little or nothing, though their towns be greater than they ought; nor do they take any care to restrain the licentiousness of their soldiers, who are quartered up and down the countries, without paying any thing, and commit all manner of insolencies, as every body knows; for not contented with the ordinary provisions of the farmer, who pays them their wages, they beat and abuse the poor country people, and force them to buy wine, and other nice dainties that are to be bought in the market on purpose for their eating; and if the good man's wife or daughter happens to be handsome, his wisest course is to keep them out of their sight; and yet where money is plenty, it would be no hard matter to prevent this disorder and confusion, by paying them every two months at furthest, which would obviate their pretence of want of pay, and leave them without excuse, and without any inconvenience to the prince, because they are paid punctually every year. I speak this in compassion to this kingdom, which certainly is more oppressed and harassed in quartering these men at arms, than any in all Europe; nor can any thing but the wisdom of their king redress their injuries. But in the neighbouring countries they have other ways of punishment.

But to proceed in my design. Is there any king or prince on earth who has power to raise one penny of money, (except on his demeans), without the consent of the poor subject who is to pay it, but by tyranny and violence? It may be objected, that there are some times in which the assembling of great councils cannot be attended, and that their debates would be too tedious. The preparations and beginnings of war are never so hasty, but they have time enough to consider of it; and when it is begun by the

consent and concurrence of the subject, the prince is always more strong and formidable to his enemy. If it is a defensive war, the storm is seen afar off, especially if it be an invasion, and then the subject cannot complain, or refuse any thing that is demanded. Nor can any thing happen so suddenly, but some persons may be called who may be able to declare the necessity of the war, which is much better than to do it arbitrarily and feignedly, with a design only to raise money. Money I am sensible is necessary at all times, to secure the frontiers in times of peace as well as war; but all is to be done with moderation, and depends much upon the wisdom of the prince; for if he be a good man he knows what God is, what the world is, what he ought to do, and what he ought to avoid. In my opinion, of all the countries in Europe where I was ever acquainted, the government is no where so well managed, the people no where less exposed to violence and oppression, nor their houses less liable to the desolations of war, than in England, for there the calamities fall only upon the authors.

Of all the kings in the world our's has the least reason to use this expression—"I can raise what money I please upon my subjects;" for that is a power neither he, nor any prince else has: and they do him no service, who publish it in order to make him appear greater, for they make him but more terrible and odious to his neighbours, who would never wish to live under his government. But if our king or his courtiers, who are desirous of augmenting his grandeur, do say thus—"My subjects are so good and loyal that they refuse me nothing I ask them; I am the most feared, best obeyed, and the best served by my subjects, of any prince in the world; my subjects are the most patient under injury and affliction, and most forgetful of all past sufferings." This in my judgment is more honourable, and I am sure it is true, than to say—"I do what I will; I have authority for it, and I will keep it." King Charles V. used no such expression; nor indeed did I ever hear it from any king, but I have heard it from their ministers, who thought they had done him great service thereby; but they mistook the interest of their master, or spoke it to shew their devotion to his humour; if otherwise, they did not know what they said. As an instance and experiment of the affections of the French to their prince, we need look no further than our own times. At the meeting of the three estates at Tours upon the death of our master of glorious memory Lewis XI. who died in 1483, that convention in that juncture might be thought dangerous; and some there were, but neither considerable for their

quality or virtue, who said then, and have often repeated it since, that it was a diminution to the king's prerogative, and no less than treason against him, to talk of assembling the states; but it is such as these who commit that crime against God, the king, and their country; and those who use these expressions are such as are in authority or reputation without desert, and wholly unfit for any thing but flattery; whispering lies and stories into the ears of their masters, which make them afraid of these assemblies, lest they should take notice of them and their manners, and call them to an account for their villanous practices. This kingdom was at that time accounted very low by all people, having endured for twenty years together and upwards, such taxes as exceeded all precedent, by above three millions of franks *per annum*. For Charles VII. never in any one year raised above 1,800,000 franks, and his son Lewis XI. the very year of his death raised 4,700,000 franks, besides what was raised for the artillery and ammunition; and certainly it was a sad thing to see, or consider the poverty of the people. Yet one thing was very commendable in our master, he hoarded up none, but employed all in building citadels, castles, or fortifications for defence of his kingdom; which he performed with more judgment and expense than any of his predecessors. He was likewise very liberal to the church, and in some respects more than was necessary, for he robbed the poor to give it to the rich. But in this world nobody can arrive to perfection.

And yet in this weak and impoverished kingdom, upon the death of our king was there any sedition among the people against the prince who succeeded? Did either nobility or commons take arms to oppose him? Was there any body else which they desired to place on the throne? Did they endeavour either to deprive, or so much as to restrain him in his authority, that he should not have the power of a king? Certainly not: and indeed how could they have effected it? Some were so conceited as to say yes: but his subjects acted quite contrary, for all the nobility, gentry, commons, and citizens, obeyed his summons, made their personal appearance before him, recognised his power, and swore allegiance to him. The nobility and gentry delivered in their petitions humbly upon their knees, and a council of twelve were appointed to take them into consideration, and according to the advice of that council, the king, being then but thirteen years old, did either grant or refuse them. In this assembly of the states, the king and council being present, some remonstrances were made for the good of the kingdom, but it was done with all pos-

sible submission and deference to the good will both of the king and council. Whatever was desired, they granted; and whatever was made appear by calculation to be necessary for the king's expense, they complied with without the least contradiction; the sum recommended was two millions and a half of franks, enough in all conscience, and rather too much, unless some new occasion of a further expense happened: but lest that should not be sufficient, the estates entreated that at the end of two years they might be convened again, and they would supply him further; for rather than he should want, they would furnish him as he pleased himself. If he were invaded or any way affronted, they would be ready with their lives as well as fortunes to vindicate him, and refuse nothing that he should command. Is it to such obedient subjects as these that the king is to insist upon his prerogative, and take at his pleasure what they are so ready to give! Would it not be more just both towards God and the world to raise money this way, than by violence and force? Nor is there any prince who can raise money any other way, unless it be by tyranny, and contrary to the laws of the church; but many of them are so stupid as not to know how they are to demean themselves in this case. On the other side, there are people in the world who affront and provoke their princes, neither obeying their commands, nor supplying their wants, but mutinying, repining at, and contemning their authority, in doing which they act at once both against their allegiance and duty.

When I say kings and princes, I mean themselves, or their deputies; when subjects, I mean such as are magistrates, and bear any rule or authority under them.

The greatest mischiefs proceed from the greatest powers, for those who are weak are patiently contented. When I speak of great powers, I mean women as well as men, for sometimes they are in authority, either by the over fondness of their husbands, or for the administration of their own proper affairs, or when any territory accrues by the wife. If I should treat of the inferior states and conditions of human life, I should be too tedious, and therefore I shall confine myself to the greater, since by those the power and justice of God are more visibly seen; for let a million of calamities befal a poor man, they are imputed to his poverty or imprudence, and nobody concerns themselves if he breaks his neck, or be drowned; it was because he had nobody with him, they cry, and will not give themselves any further trouble about it. But when an accident happens to any great city, it is otherwise; yet neither is that so much spoken of as what happens

to princes. The reason therefore why the power of God is more conspicuous against princes and great men, is, because the poor, and such as are in distress, have enough to punish them besides, whenever they offend; and sometimes they are chastised when they are innocent; either as a terror to other people, or for the forfeiture of their estates, and perhaps by the folly of the judge. But if the offenders are great, as princes, princesses, governors or counsellors of any rebellious town or state, let their exorbitance be ever so enormous—Who will dare to inquire into their faults? Who will inform against them? Who will question them? Who will punish them? I speak of the bad, not the good, but of these there are but few to be met with: and what are the motives that induce great persons to commit these enormities, and many more, (which for brevity's sake I have not mentioned), without the least regard to, or consideration of God's divine power and justice?—In men of learning it is want of faith, in ignorant persons, want of knowledge and faith both; but principally of faith, from whence, in my opinion, all the mischiefs that are incident to mankind do spring: I mean the mischiefs of those who complain of being injured and oppressed by such as are powerful and strong; for whether a man be rich or poor, if he puts his trust in God, and be convinced that the pains of hell are really such as they are represented to us in scripture; if he is conscious of any injury he has done to his neighbour, or that his grandfather or father came wrongfully by any thing that he now enjoys, let it be what it will, from a crown to a cottage, and his conscience suggests to him that he shall not be saved without exact restitution; it is not to be supposed that either prince or princess, great or small, man or woman, ecclesiastic or layman, or in short, any person of what condition soever, would be so void of all reason and understanding as to detain any thing from his subject or neighbour; condemn any innocent person to death, keep him in prison, or impoverish one to enrich another; or do any thing dishonourable to his parents and relations, to gratify himself in his pleasures with women, or otherwise: certainly none could be so weak, at least none will believe they could; for if their faith be firm, and they believe what God and the church have commanded under pain of damnation, that is, that our life is but short, and the pains of hell eternal and without intermission, they would never act as they do. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the want of faith is the source of all mischiefs and villany. But to illustrate it by an example—When a king or prince happens to be taken prisoner by his enemies in the day of battle, and is apprehensive of continuing

so all the days of his life, is there any thing so dear to him in the world that he would not give to purchase his liberty? He will part with any thing, not only of his own, but of his subjects too, for his redemption; as you may remember of king John of France, taken prisoner by Edward prince of Wales at the battle of Poictiers, on the 19th of September 1356. This king John paid three millions of Franks, gave away all Aquitaine, at least all that he held there, besides other territories and towns, to the quantity of a third part of his dominions; by which means he so impoverished the kingdom, that for a long time after, the current coin of it was nothing but bits of leather with a silver nail in the middle of them; all which was given by king John and his son Charles, surnamed the wise, for the ransom of his father; though the English would not have put him to death if they had refused it, but only have made his confinement more severe: or if they had put him to death, the pains of the execution would not have been any way equal to the torments of hell. Why then did he part with what he did, to the ruin and impoverishing both of his children and subjects; but because he believed what he saw, and imagined there was no other way of obtaining his liberty? But perhaps when he committed that sin which brought down this judgment upon himself, his children, and subjects, he had no steadfast belief that the doing of it was against God's will and commandments. Now, though king John gave all these territories and towns to his enemies to redeem himself from a short and temporary captivity, yet there is not one, or at least very few princes, who, having any town or province that belongs to their neighbours, in their possession, will restore it upon consideration of God's justice, or the torments of hell.

I asked the question before—Who would inform against great persons? Who would accuse them to the judge? and—Where would they find a judge to punish them? The information that will be brought against them shall be the cries and clamours of the people whom they have so many ways injured and oppressed, without the least pity or compassion; and the mournful complaints of widows and orphans, whose parents and husbands they have unjustly put to death, to their utter ruin and destruction; and, in short, the lamentations of all those whom they have tortured or persecuted either in their persons or estates. These, with their sighs, their tears, and their groans, shall draw up an information against them, and present it to our Saviour, the true judge of the world, who perhaps will not defer their punishment till the next world, but do them justice in this; which punishment, as I

said before, proceeds from want of confidence, and a firm belief in God's commandments.

It must be acknowledged therefore, that God is forced to shew tokens and examples that they and the rest of the world may be convinced, that the enormity of their actions, and the weakness of their faith, have drawn those heavy judgments upon them, and may understand that it is God who exercises his power and his justice to punish them, because their offences are above any other cognizance but his. But the judgments of God, at first, do seldom produce any amendment, how great, or how lasting soever they be. However, they never light upon any prince, minister of state, or magistrate, but the consequences are very dangerous for the subjects. When I speak of misfortunes, I mean only such as are detrimental to the subject; for if a prince tumbles from his horse, breaks his leg, or falls into a violent fever, he is cured again, and it makes him wiser for the future. I call them misfortunes when God is so highly provoked that he can endure no longer, but will manifest his divine justice and power; and then his method is first to infatuate their understanding, which is a great punishment where it is inflicted, then he visits their family, and suffers murmurs and dissentions to arise; then the prince is himself so far abandoned and given over by God, that in the height of his indignation and folly, he shuns and despises the counsel and conversation of wise men, and makes choice of none but irrational fiery upstarts for his new favourites, without either merit, virtue, or estate, and such as will flatter and comply with whatever he says. If he proposes to raise one penny, they cry two; if the prince threatens a man, they advise him to hang him, and so in every thing else; spurring him still on to make himself feared, and behaving themselves in the mean time proudly and insolently, in hopes to strike an awe and terror into the people, as if authority was their inheritance. Those whom such princes, by the advice of such evil counsellors, have turned out of their posts and employments, having served in them a long time, and contracted friendship and acquaintance in their dominions, are very much disgusted, and all their relations and well-wishers in their behalf; and perhaps they are pressed so far as to stand upon their defence, or else enter into the service of some neighbouring prince, who possibly may be at enmity with him that discarded them; by which means the dissatisfaction within may give opportunity to the animosity without, and bring in a foreign army amongst them. Is there any war so mortal as betwéen friends that are provoked? Is any persecution so cruel? Foreign enemies are easily repelled when a nation is entire and

unanimous at home, because they want intelligence and correspondence. Do you imagine an imprudent prince, surrounded with such silly politicians, can foresee the calamaties that are remote, when he cannot discern his domestic divisions; nor comprehend which way they should hurt him; nor conceive they proceed from God? His table is as well served, he sleeps as well as ever in his bed, his stables and his wardrobe are the same, and the pomp and splendour of his court is much increased; for he advances mean persons, divides among them the spoils and estates of those whom he has banished, and lavishes away abundance of his own to make them more rich and illustrious. But when he thinks least of it, God will raise him up an enemy whom perhaps he never heard of: then melancholy thoughts will arise, and suspicions of those whom he has offended, and he will be afraid even of his very friends, yet will not make God his refuge, but have recourse to arms.

Have we not seen in our own days such examples among our neighbours? Have we not seen king Edward IV. of England, the head of the house of York, supplant the house of Lancaster, under which his father and he lived a long time, though he had actually sworn allegiance to Henry VI. who was of the Lancastrian line, yet afterwards this Edward keep king Henry a prisoner a long time in the Tower of London, the metropolis of that kingdom, and afterwards put him to death?

Have we not seen the earl of Warwick, the chief manager of all king Edward's affairs, (after having put all his adversaries to death, and particularly the dukes of Somerset), at length turn rebel to his master king Edward, dethrone him, marry his daughter to the prince of Wales, son to king Henry VI. endeavour to restore the house of Lancaster; return with it into England; engaged, defeated, and slain in battle, himself, his brothers, and relations, besides several others of the nobility of England, who not long before had vanquished, and almost extirpated their adversaries?—Afterwards the times changed, and their children revenged the destruction of their parents. It is not to be imagined that such judgments proceed from any thing but the Divine justice. But, as I observed before, England has this peculiar grace, that neither the country, nor the people, nor the houses, are wasted, destroyed, or demolished; but the calamities and misfortunes of the war fall only upon the soldiers, and especially the nobility, of whom they are more than ordinarily jealous; for nothing is perfect in this world.

As soon as king Edward had settled the affairs of his kingdom,

he received of our master 50,000 crowns a-year constantly paid him in the Tower of London, and was grown as rich as his ambition could desire; on a sudden he died, and, as was supposed, of melancholy for our present king's marriage with madam Margaret the duke of Austria's daughter, his distemper seizing him upon the news of it, for then he found himself outwitted as to his own daughter, to whom he had given the title of Dauphiness. Upon this marriage the pension, which he called tribute, was stopped; though indeed it was neither the one nor the other, as I have declared before. King Edward left his wife two sons, one called the prince of Wales, and the other the duke of York, and two daughters. The duke of Gloucester, king Edward's brother, took upon him the protectorship of his nephew the prince of Wales, who was then about ten years old, swore allegiance to him as his sovereign, and brought him to London pretending to crown him; but his design was only to wheedle the duke of York out of the sanctuary where he was at that time with his mother, who had conceived some jealousy of his intentions. In short, the conclusion was this—By the assistance of the bishop of Bath, (who had been formerly one of king Edward's council, but falling afterwards into disgrace, had been removed from court, made prisoner, and paid a round sum for his ransom), he executed his designs, as you shall hear by and by.

This bishop discovered to the duke of Gloucester, that his brother king Edward, having been formerly in love with a beautiful young lady, promised her marriage, upon condition he might lie with her; the lady consented, and, as the bishop affirmed, he married them when nobody was present but they two and himself. His fortune depending upon the court, he did not discover it, and persuaded the lady likewise to conceal it, which she did, and it remained a secret to that very day. After this, king Edward fell in love with, and married the daughter of an English gentleman called the lord Rivers; this lady was a widow, and had two sons. The bishop having, as I said before, discovered this mystery to the duke of Gloucester, he gave his assistance in the execution of the barbarous designs of the duke of Gloucester, who murdered his two nephews, and made himself king by the name of Richard III. He caused the two daughters to be declared illegitimate in parliament, took their coats of arms from them, and put all his brother's creatures to death, at least all he could get into his power. But his cruel reign did not last long, for being at the height of his pride, in greater pomp and authority than any king of England for an hundred years before, when

he had beheaded the duke of Buckingham, and assembled a numerous army under his command; God Almighty raised him up an enemy that destroyed him, and that was the earl of Richmond, a person of no power, and one who had been a long time prisoner in Bretagne, and now king of England, and of the house of Lancaster, though, as I am informed, not next heir to the crown. The earl of Richmond told me not long before his departure from this kingdom, that from the time he was five years old, he had been always a fugitive or a prisoner; he had endured an imprisonment of fifteen years or thereabouts in Bretagne, by the command of the late duke Francis, into whose hands he fell by extremity of weather, as he was escaping out of France with his uncle the earl of Pembroke. I was at duke Francis's court at the time when they were seized; the duke treated them very handsomely for prisoners, and at king Edward's death supplied the earl of Richmond liberally both with men and ships; and having intelligence with the duke of Buckingham, who died for it afterwards, he sent him to land his forces in England; but meeting with foul weather, he was driven into Dieppe, and from thence went back into Bretagne. Being returned into Bretagne, he was afraid, having five hundred English in his train, of becoming burdensome to the duke, and thereby induce him to make some agreement with king Richard, much to his prejudice and disadvantage; for he had some intimation that there were secret practices on foot to that purpose: upon this, he and his whole retinue went away privately without taking their leave of the duke. Not long after, our king paid for the passage of three or four thousand men, gave him and his companions a considerable sum of money, furnished him with a large train of artillery, and sent him out of Normandy to land in some part of Wales, where he was born.—King Richard marched immediately to fight him; but an English gentleman called the lord Stanley having married the earl's mother, joined him with 26,000 men; they came to a battle, and the success was, king Richard was slain; and the earl of Richmond crowned king of England in the field of battle, with the crown that king Richard had brought along with him. Will you say this is fortune! Certainly it is the just judgment of God. But to make it the more evident, it was not long after the murder of his nephews, as you have heard: but he lost his wife, some say he made away with her too; he had but one son, and he died presently after. This would have come in more properly when I shall speak of king Edward's death, for he was alive at the time of the occurrences of this chapter, yet I thought it not unseason-

able here, as being pertinent to my discourse. In like manner it is not many years since we have seen as strange revolutions in Spain, upon the death of the late king Henry of that kingdom, who was married to the king of Portugal's sister, who died last, and by her had a beautiful daughter; yet that daughter was not suffered to succeed, but was deprived of the crown under pretence of illegitimacy. But this business did not pass without controversy and bloodshed; for the king of Portugal, assisted by several of the nobility of Castile, took part with his neice, but king Henry's sister carried the kingdom in spite of all their opposition, and enjoys it to this very day, having married the son of John king of Arragon; so that this judgment and decree was made in heaven, where many of the same nature are undoubtedly made. You have seen likewise not many years since, the king of Scotland in arms and fighting with his son, who was not above thirteen or fourteen years of age. The son and his party won the battle, and the king was killed upon the spot. This king was accused of the death of his brother and sister, and several other persons of quality. You see also the dutchy of Gueldres out of the right line, and you have heard of the late duke's unnatural usage of his father. I could instance in several cases of the like nature, that might easily be known to be divine chastisements, which are the sources of war, and from whence proceed mortality and famine; and all for want of faith. It must therefore be acknowledged, considering the wickedness of mankind, and especially of great persons; who neither know themselves, nor believe there is a God, that there is a necessity that every prince or great lord should have an adversary to restrain and keep him in fear; or else there would be no living under them, or near them.

END OF BOOK V.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The delivering up the dutchy of Burgundy to the king.

BUT to return to my history, and the continuation of these memoirs, which at your lordship's request, my good lord archbishop of Vienna, I first began. Whilst the king was busy in subduing the towns and places above mentioned in the marches of Picardy, his army in Burgundy, was, to all outward appearance, commanded by the prince of Orange, who is still living, a subject and native of the province of Burgundy, but lately disgusted, and a second time become an enemy to duke Charles, so that the king employed this prince of Orange as a person who had great interest both in the dutchy and county of Burgundy, and was well beloved, and nobly born; but the lord de Craon was the king's lieutenant, and had really the command of the army, for the king's greatest confidence was reposed in him, and not without reason; for he was a person of great wisdom and penetration, and faithful to his master, but a little too much given to avarice. When the lord de Craon drew near Burgundy, he sent the prince of Orange and others before to Dijon, to reason the case with them, and demand their obedience to the king. The commissioners managed their affairs so dexterously, especially by the prince of Orange's assistance, that not only Dijon and all the rest of the towns in the dutchy, but several also in the county of Burgundy revolted, only Aussone and some few other castles remained firm and steadfast to the young princess, duke Charles's daughter. The prince of Orange was promised a large revenue, besides all the towns in the county of Burgundy, which were formerly in the possession of his grandfather the prince of Orange, but now in dispute, by reason of a claim to them, put in by his uncles the lords of Chateau Guyon. The prince of Orange com-

plained, that Charles duke of Burgundy had been partial to the lords in their claim, which having been solemnly argued before him, the duke, in the midst of the whole court, gave judgment against him, much to the prejudice of the prince, at least as he pretended; upon which the prince deserted the duke's service, and went over to the king. But notwithstanding all the fair promises above mentioned, when the lord de Craon was in possession of all the towns and castles, and other places that the prince pretended to in right of his grandfather, he would deliver none of them to the prince, for all the solicitation he could make. The king was sensible of the injury that was done the prince of Orange, and wrote to the lord de Craon about it, who kept the whole country in awe, but his majesty did not believe that the prince had either courage or interest enough to stir them up to a rebellion, as he did afterwards, at least a great part; but I shall leave that for the present, and discourse of something more material in this place.

CHAP. II.

Of the king of France's wheedling the English after the duke of Burgundy's death, for fear they should have interrupted him in the conquest of the territories belonging to the said duke.

THEY, who shall give themselves the trouble of reading these memoirs hereafter, and have a better knowledge of the affairs of this kingdom and its neighbouring states, than perhaps I have, may wonder, that since the duke of Burgundy's death to this time, which is little less than a year, I have not mentioned a word of the English, nor of their suffering the king to seize upon those towns which were near them, as Arras, Boulogne, Hesdin, besides several castles, and lie so many days before St. Omers; the reason of it was, because in cunning and artifice our king was much superior to king Edward, who was indeed a brave prince, had won eight or nine battles in England, in which he had been always present himself, and fought constantly on foot, which redounded much to his honour; but these were at several times, and depended not much upon his understanding; for upon the success of one battle he was absolute master of course, till another rebellion or commotion disturbed him. In England, when any disputes arise, and proceed to a war, the controversy is generally decided in eight or ten days, and one party or other gains

the victory; but with us on this side of the water, affairs are managed quite otherwise, our expeditions are to be carried on another way. The king was obliged to keep a watchful eye upon his neighbours, as well as the rest of his kingdom, and particularly upon the king of England above all, who was to be satisfied at any rate, and cajoled and amused with ambassadors, promises, and presents, lest he should attempt something that might interrupt his designs; for our master was sensible, that both the nobility, commons, and clergy of England, were always ready to enter upon a war with France, being incited thereunto not only upon the account of an old title, but the desire of gain; for it pleased God to permit their predecessors to obtain several memorable battles in this nation, and to continue in the possession of Normandy and Guienne, for the space of 350 years, before Charles the VII. gave them the first blow; during which time they have carried over a considerable booty into England, not only in plunder which they had taken in the several towns, but in the richness and quality of their prisoners; who were many of them great princes and lords, that paid them vast ransoms for their liberty, so that every Englishman since thought to do the same thing, and return home laden with spoils. But this was not to be looked for in our king's days, for he would never venture the whole kingdom upon the doubtful issue of a battle, nor do any thing so rashly as to dismount himself, and all his nobility to fight the English on foot, as was done at the battle of Agincourt: and if he had been reduced to that extremity, he would certainly have managed his affairs with more prudence and caution, as may be presumed from the manner of his conduct when king Edward was in France. The king found himself under an absolute necessity to caress and wheedle the king of England, and the rest of his neighbours, whom he perceived inclinable to peace in hopes of his money; and therefore his pension of fifty thousand crowns was punctually paid at London, and allowed it to be called Tribute by the English. Besides this pension, he was obliged to pay seventy-five thousand crowns to king Edward before his departure from France, and this the English called a fine for that kingdom: he also distributed sixteen thousand more among the king of England's officers that were about his person; particularly to the chancellor, the master of the rolls who is now chancellor, the high chamberlain the lord Hastings, a man of honour and prudence, and of great authority with his master, and he deserved it, upon the account of the faithful service he had done him; Sir Thomas Montgomery, the lord Howard, who afterwards

espoused king Richard's interest, and was created duke of Norfolk; the lord Cheney, master of the horse; Mr. Chalanger, and a marquis, who was the queen of England's son by her first husband. Besides these great presents, he was also very generous to ambassadors, and whomsoever was sent to him from the English court, though their messages were ever so harsh and displeasing; so by this means he dispatched them always with such fair words and large presents, that most of them went away very well satisfied; and though they were certainly assured, at least some of them, that what he did was only to gain time to effect and carry on his designs, yet their private interest prevailed with them to wink at it, though highly to the detriment and disadvantage of the public affairs.

To all those persons of quality above mentioned, the king gave considerable presents, besides their pensions. To the lord Howard, besides his pension, he gave, to my certain knowledge, in less than two years time, in money and plate, above 24,000 crowns; to the lord Hastings, who was king Edward's chamberlain, he gave at one time above 100 marks in plate; and all the acquittances of every Englishman of quality, except the lord Hastings, are still to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris. This lord Hastings was at that time high chamberlain of England, an office of great reputation, and executed singly by one man. It was with great difficulty and solicitation that he was made one of the king's pensioners: at the time when I was in the duke of Burgundy's service, I had brought him over to his interest, and he allowed him a pension of a thousand crowns a-year. Upon my telling our king what I had done, he employed me to try what I could do to bring him over to his interest, for he had been his particular enemy in the duke of Burgundy's time, was since a favourer of the young princess of Burgundy, and was once like to have prevailed with the king of England to cross the seas once more to assist the princess. I began our amity by letters; the king allowed him a pension of 2000 crowns per annum, which was double to what had been paid him by the duke, and sent one of the stewards of his house, called Peter Cleret, with it; giving him express orders to take his receipt, that hereafter it might appear upon record, that the lord chamberlain, chancellor, admiral, master of the horse, and several other great lords of England, were at the same time pensioners to the king of France. This Peter Cleret was a cunning man, was privately admitted to the lord Chamberlain at his house in London, and having delivered his compliments from the king, presented his two thousand crowns in gold, for to foreign

lords of great quality the king never gave any thing else. The chamberlain having received the gold, Peter Cleret desired his lordship would be pleased to give him a receipt for it; the lord chamberlain scrupling to do it, he repeated his request, and entreated him that he would give him only three lines under his hand directed to the king his master, lest his majesty should think he had embezzled it himself, for he was of a very suspicious temper. The lord chamberlain seeing he persisted, (though his demand was but reasonable) replied—"Monsieur Cleret, what you desire is not unreasonable, but this present proceeds from your master's generosity, not any request of mine; if you have a mind I should receive it, you may put it into my sleeve, but neither letter nor acquittance you are like to have of me; for to be free with you, monsieur Peter, it shall never be said of me, that the high chamberlain of England was pensioner to the king of France, nor shall my hand be ever produced in his chamber of accounts." Cleret urged the matter no further, but left the money, and returned his answer to the king, who was highly displeased at Cleret's not bringing his receipt, but he commended and valued the lord chamberlain above all the king of England's ministers ever after, paid him his pension constantly, and never asked for his receipt.

In this posture were affairs between the king of England and our master: however, the king of England was earnestly solicited to assist the young princess, and the king sent several embassies to our master, to press him either for a peace, or a cessation of arms: for some of the privy council, and the parliament, (which is of the same nature as our convention of the three estates, composed of several persons of wisdom and penetration, who came out of the country, and were not pensioners of France as the rest), pressed hard that the king of England would interpose vigorously for the princess of Burgundy; urging, that we did but dissemble with them, and amuse them with hopes of this marriage, as it very plainly appeared; for at the treaty at Piquigny the kings had mutually sworn, that within the space of a year the king of England's daughter should be sent for, and delivered into the hands of the ambassador of the king of France; and that though the king of France had permitted her to be styled Dauphiness, yet the time was elapsed, and no lady was sent for. But all the arguments they made use of could not prevail with king Edward, and for several reasons. King Edward was a voluptuous prince, wholly addicted to his pleasures and ease; and having been, in his former expeditions, reduced to great straits and necessities, he had no mind to involve himself in a new war on this side the wa-

ter: the fifty thousand crowns being also punctually paid him in the Tower, softened his heart, and hindered him from concerning himself in that affair. Besides, his ambassadors were always bribed, entertained so nobly, and left the French court so well satisfied, that no exceptions could be taken; though the king's answers were always uncertain, in order to gain time; assuring them still, that in a few days he would send a considerable embassy of his own, which would satisfy their master in every point.

As soon as the king of England's ambassadors were returned, about three weeks or a month after, sometimes more, sometimes less, which in such cases is a great matter, the king our master would send his; but always new persons, and such as had not been employed in any overture with the English before, to the end, that if any thing had been promised by their predecessors, but not afterwards performed, they might pretend ignorance, and not be obliged to give them an answer. The ambassadors who were sent into England used their utmost endeavours to possess king Edward of the good inclinations of the king of France, and they managed that affair so cunningly, that he sat still, and never endeavoured to give the least assistance to the princess of Burgundy: for, indeed, both the king and queen of England were so ambitious of the match with their daughter, that, upon that account, not to mention several others, the king was willing to wink at these proceedings, and take no notice of the remonstrance that was made him by several of his privy council, and the commons assembled in parliament, who represented to him how prejudicial it would be to the interest of the whole nation. Besides, the queen herself was afraid the marriage should be broken off, which began already to be laughed at in England, especially by such as were desirous of war. But, to clear up this matter a little more, the king our master never designed to consummate this marriage, by reason of the disproportion in their years; for the young lady, who is now queen of England, was much older than the dauphin, who is now king of France. So that a month or two was spent in sending ambassadors from one court to the other, and such artifices and amusements were made use of purely to gain time, and hinder the English from an opportunity of declaring war against him: for certainly, had it not been in hopes of this marriage, the king of England would never so tamely have suffered our king to have taken so many towns, as it were, under his nose, without endeavouring to have defended them; and had he appeared at first for the young princess of Burgundy, our king being so fearful of bringing any thing to a hazard, would not have encroached so far

upon the dominions of the house of Burgundy, nor have weakened it so much. My design in writing of these transactions, is to shew the method and conduct of all human affairs, by the reading of which, such persons as are employed in the negotiation of great matters, may be instructed how to manage their administrations; for though their judgment may be great, yet a little advertisement sometimes does no harm. This I have been assured of, that if the princess of Burgundy would have been persuaded to have married earl Rivers, the queen of England's brother, they would have furnished her with a considerable number of troops; but that marriage was looked upon to be very unequal, for he was but an earl of a slender estate, and she the greatest fortune of her time. Many overtures and bargains were made between the kings of England and France; among the rest the king of France offered, that if he would join with him, and come over in person, and invade the low countries, which belonged to the princess of Burgundy, his majesty would consent that the king of England should have all Flanders for his share, and hold it without homage, and the province of Brabant besides, in which the king of France would engage to reduce four of the chief towns at his own expense, and deliver them up to the king of England. Besides, he proffered, to lessen his charge in the war, to pay ten thousand of the king of England's troops for four months together; to provide him a large train of artillery, horses, and carriages to convey them, upon condition the king of England would invade Flanders, whilst he made war upon them in another place. The king of England's answer was, that the towns in Flanders were large, and not easy to be kept when they were taken, and Brabant was the same; besides, the English had no great inclination to undertake that war, upon account of the commerce that was betwixt them; but since the king was so generously inclined, as to allow him a share in his conquests, he desired he would give such places as he had conquered already in Picardy, as Boulogne, and others; upon surrendering up of which he would be ready to declare on his side, and, if he would engage to pay it, send an army to his assistance. This was a wise and politic answer.

CHAP. III.

Conclusion of the marriage between the princess of Burgundy, and Maximilian then Duke of Austria, and since emperor.

AFTER this manner, as I said before, transactions were managed between the two kings, our's designing nothing but to gain time, by which means the princess of Burgundy's affairs began visibly to decay; for of those few soldiers that remained after her father's death, several revolted from her to the king, especially after the lord des Cordes had quitted her service, and carried several others along with him. Some were forced to leave her, because their estates or abodes lay very near, or were within the towns which had declared for the king; others, in hopes of preferment; for in that respect no prince was so noble and generous to his servants as he. Several commotions and parties discovered themselves daily in the great towns, and particularly in Ghent, of which his majesty was still jealous, as you have already heard. Several husbands were proposed to her, and every body was of opinion there was a necessity of her marrying, to defend those territories that she had left, or, by marrying the Dauphin, to recover what she had lost, and settle all in a general peace. Several were entirely for this match, and herself as earnest for it as any body, especially before the letters presented by the lord d'Himbercourt and the chancellor to the king were betrayed to the ambassadors from Ghent. Some opposed that, and urged the disproportion of their age, the dauphin being but nine years old, and besides engaged to the king of England's daughter; and these were mighty friends to the duke of Cleves. Others recommended Maximilian the emperor's son, and at present king of the Romans. The princess herself had conceived an extreme hatred against the king ever since he discovered and delivered the letters; for she looked upon him as the occasion of the death of her two principal ministers of state, and of the dishonour and surprise that was put upon her when the letters were delivered to her publicly in the council, as you have heard before. Besides, it was that which gave the Gantois a pretence and confidence to banish so many of her servants, to remove her mother-in-law and the lord de Ravestein from about her, and put her maids of honour into such a consternation, that not one of them durst open a letter without first shewing it to the Gantois, nor speak any thing to their mistress, but in their hearing. This disgust made the princess carry herself very shy and strange to the Bishop of Liege, who was of

the house of Bourbon, and a great promoter of this match with the dauphin, which certainly would have been very honourable and advantageous for the princess, had it not been for the extreme youth of the dauphin; but the bishop was very indifferent in the matter, removed to Liege, and that affair was laid wholly aside. Without dispute it must have been a very difficult matter to have managed that negotiation to the satisfaction of both parties; and I am of opinion, whoever had undertaken it, would have gained but little credit by it in the end. However, as I have been informed, a council was held about it, at which madam Hallewin, first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess, was present, who being asked her opinion about the dauphin, replied—"That there was more need of a man than a boy; that her mistress was capable of bearing a child, which was what her dominions wanted more than any thing else? Some condemned the lady for answering so abruptly, others commended her, alleging, that what she spoke was purely in relation to that marriage, and the necessity of her lady's dominions; so that now the only talk was, who should be the person. I am verily persuaded, that if the king had been inclined to have had her marry the count d'Angoulesme, who is now living, she would have consented to it, so desirous was she to continue her alliance with France; but God thought fit to appoint her another husband, for reasons unknown perhaps to us, unless it might be, that it might occasion great wars and confusions on both sides, which could not possibly have happened had she married the count d'Angoulesme; but by this match the provinces of Flanders and Brabant sustained great miseries and afflictions. The duke of Cleves was at the same time in Ghent with the princess, making friends, and trying all arts which he thought might contribute to the marriage between the princess and his son, but she had no inclination to that; for the humour of the young gentleman neither pleased her nor any person about her court. At last a marriage was proposed between her and the emperor's son, the present king of the Romans, of which there had formerly been some overture between the emperor and duke Charles, and it was concluded between them. The emperor had in his custody a letter written by the young lady, at her father's command, under her own hand, and a diamond ring of considerable value. The design of the letter was to acquaint his imperial majesty, that in obedience to her father's commands, she promised to accomplish the marriage with his son the duke of Austria, in the same form and manner as her father the duke of Burgundy should think fit to prescribe.

The emperor sent ambassadors to the princess, who was at Ghent; but upon their arrival at Brussels, orders were sent to them to stop there, and commissioners should be sent thither to receive and answer their demands. This was only a contrivance of the duke of Cleves, who was extremely unwilling they should come to Ghent, and endeavoured to send them back again dissatisfied; but the ambassadors went on, for they had intelligence in the princess's court, or at least the duchess dowager had, who was removed from the princess, as you have heard before, upon occasion of the letter. This old lady, as I have been since informed, advised them to proceed in their journey notwithstanding these letters; gave them instructions how they were to behave themselves upon their arrival at Ghent; and assured them that the young princess and the greatest part of her court were willing enough of the match. Upon this information the ambassadors advanced, and taking no notice of the orders which they had received, went directly for Ghent, at which the duke of Cleves was highly offended; but he knew nothing as yet of the inclination of the court ladies. It was resolved that the princess should give them audience, and after they had delivered their embassy, let them know that they were very welcome, that she would acquaint her council with their desires, and order them to return her answer; and that the princess should not concern herself any further about it. The ambassadors being admitted to a public audience presented their credentials, and then delivered their embassy; which was only to let her highness know, that the marriage had been concluded formerly between the emperor and her father, and that by her own consent and approbation, as appeared by the letter under her own hand, which they produced, and the diamond ring which had been sent as a pledge of the said marriage; upon which they insisted that the young princess would consummate the marriage according to the engagement both of her father and herself, and then they conjured her to declare before the whole assembly, whether she wrote the letter or not, and whether she designed to make good her promise? The young princess, without any consideration, replied, that she wrote the letter, and sent the ring in obedience to her father's commands, and freely owned the contents of it. The ambassadors expressed their humble acknowledgments, and returned very joyful to their lodgings. The duke of Cleves was extremely dissatisfied with her answer, as being contrary to what was agreed on in council, and upbraided the young princess as having acted very indiscreetly in this affair. To which she replied, that it was

not in her power to do any otherwise, since it was a thing agreed on long before, and she could not deny it. Having taken her answer into consideration, and finding that several about the princess were of the same opinion, he resolved to give over his solicitation; and in a few days retired into his own country. After this manner was the marriage concluded; and duke Maximilian came to Cologne, where several of the princess's servants went to attend him, and carry him money, with which, as I have been told, he was but slenderly furnished; for his father was the nearest and most covetous prince or person of his time. The duke of Austria was conducted to Ghent with about seven or eight hundred horse in his retinue, where the marriage was consummated, which at first sight brought no great advantage to the subjects of the young princess; for instead of supporting her, she was forced to supply him with money. His armies were neither strong enough, nor in a condition to face the king's; besides the humour of the house of Austria was not so pleasing to the subjects of the house of Burgundy, who had been bred up under rich princes that had good offices and employments to dispose of; whose palaces were sumptuous, whose tables were nicely served, whose dress was magnificent, and whose liveries were noble and splendid: but the Germans are of a quite contrary temper, boorish in their conversation, and nasty in their way of living.

It seems to me, and that after mature consideration with myself, that upon good and solid advice, and not without the particular assistance of God, that law was made in France, whereby women are excluded, and no daughter suffered to inherit the crown; to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign nation or prince, which the French would hardly endure, or indeed any other nation; for there is no sovereignty whatever but at length revolves upon the natives, as may be seen in France, where the English had the government for four hundred years together, and at this present have nothing left of all their conquests in this kingdom but Calais, and two trifling castles scarce worth the keeping; the rest they parted with, with much more ease than they conquered it, for they lost more in one day than they had gained in a year. The same thing is observable in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and other provinces, where the French had possession for many years together; of all which there is now no monument of their power remaining, but the sepulchres of their fathers. And if it were possible for them to admit a foreign prince, whose wisdom was great, and his retinue small, and well regulated, yet they could hardly be prevailed with to receive him with a great

train, or suffer that he should send for great numbers of his other subjects, upon pretence of making war upon his neighbours; because animosities will certainly arise among them, by reason of their diversity of humours, and the violences they will commit; for they cannot have so much love and affection for the country, as they who were born in it; especially if they aspire and aim at the offices or employments which belong more properly to the natives. So that it is very requisite for a wise prince, upon his coming into a foreign country, to adjust all differences of that nature, and if he is not master of this virtue, which proceeds more immediately from God than any thing else, the rest, though called virtues will be of no advantage to him: and if he reigns long, he and all his subjects will find themselves involved in troubles, especially when he comes to be superannuated, and his ministers to have no further hope of prolonging his life.

This marriage was performed with great pomp and solemnity, but their affairs were not in a much better posture; for they were both very young. Duke Maximilian was a person of no great knowledge or penetration in any thing, both in respect to his youth, and his being in a foreign country: besides, his education had been but indifferent, and not suitable to the management of great affairs; nor, if it had been better, he had not a sufficient body of troops ready to have attempted any thing considerable: so that his poor countries lay exposed to the insults of their neighbours, and were in great troubles, which have continued to this day, and are like to continue. For which reasons, as I said before, it is a great misfortune to any country to entertain a foreign sovereign; and God has been very merciful to France, in establishing that law against the inheritance of the daughter. A private or indifferent family may be much the better for it; but a great kingdom like ours will always find great inconveniences, and be much incommoded. A few days after the consummation of this marriage, if not at the very time of treaty, the whole country of Artois was lost. It will be sufficient for me to deliver the substance, and if I fail in terms, or the just computation of times, I hope the reader will excuse me. The king's affairs went on prosperously, without any manner of opposition, taking some town or other every day; only now and then some overture or proposition was made, but came to nothing; for both sides being high in their demands, the war could not but continue. Duke Maximilian and the young princess had a son the first year, and it was the arch-duke Philip, who is still living; the next year they had a daughter called Margaret, who at present is our

queen; the third they had another called Francis, after the name of Francis duke of Bretagne, who was his godfather; the fourth year the princess died of a fall from her horse, or a fever, but it is certain she fell, and some say she was breeding. Her death was a mighty loss to her subjects, for she was a person of great honour, affable and generous to all people, and more beloved and respected by her subjects than her husband, as being sovereign of their country; she was a tender and passionate lover of her husband, and of singular reputation for her modesty and virtue. This misfortune happened in the year 1482.

In Hainault the king was possessed of two towns, Quesnoy-le-Comte and Bouchain, both which he restored; at which several persons were highly astonished, as knowing his aversion to peace, and how desirous he was to take all and leave the house of Burgundy nothing; and my opinion is, if he could have done it handsomely, and destroyed, or divided his territories at his ease, he would not have failed to have done it. But as he told me afterwards himself, he surrendered those towns in Hainault for two reasons; the first was, because he thought a prince was more obliged to take care of the places of strength and importance in his own country, where he was annointed and crowned king, than such as were out of his dominions, as these were. The other was, because there had been solemn oaths and confederacies between the emperors and the kings of France not to invade or usurp upon one another; and these places belonging to the empire were restored in the year 1477. Upon the same account Cambray was likewise delivered up, or put into a state of neutrality, the king being contented to lose it; but the truth is, they received him at first upon those terms.

CHAP. IV.

King Lewis, by the management of Charles d'Amboise his lieutenant, recovers many towns in Burgunday that the prince of Orange had persuaded to revolt from him.

THOUGH the war was still carried on in Burgundy, yet the king could not accomplish his designs; because the prince of Orange, who had revolted from him, was chosen by the Burgundians to be their lieutenant; and underhand assisted by the Germans, but more for the sake of his money than out of love to Maximilian; for there was not a man in the whole country that espoused his

interest, at least during the time I speak of. These Germans were Swiss troops, and maintained the war upon their own score, not as soldiers in Maximilian's pay; for the Swiss are neither friends nor well-wishers to the house of Austria. The Burgundians had little assistance besides, because their pay was but bad; though no prince could better have supplied them than duke Sigismund of Austria, Maximilian's uncle, whose territories lay near, especially the county of Ferette, which he had sold not many years before, for 10,000 florins of the Rhine to Charles duke of Burgundy, and afterwards repossessed himself of it without returning the money; and as he took, so he keeps it by force. Sigismund was a person of no great penetration, nor very just and honourable in his dealings, and from such allies no great assistance is to be expected: he was of the number of those princes I mentioned before, who are above concerning themselves with their own affairs, and know nothing of them, but as their ministers of state are pleased to represent; and they are always rewarded for their indolence and supinity, in their old age, as Sigismund was here. During the wars, his ministers, who had the sole administration of affairs, engaged him on what side they pleased; and for the most part he entered into an alliance with the king of France against his own nephew, and would have given his territories, which were very large, to a foreign family, and disappointed his own relations, for though he had been twice married, he never had any issue; but at last, not above three months since, by the persuasion of another set of ministers, he conveyed all to his nephew Maximilian, at present king of the Romans, reserving only a pension of about a third part of the revenue, without any other authority or power; but as I have been informed, he has often repented of it since; and if it be not true, it is very probable. And such is the fate of princes who live so carelessly, and like beasts, and who certainly are highly to be condemned, upon account of the great charge and duty that God has laid upon them in this world. These errors and imprudent actions are not to be laid to the charge of weak and stupid princes, but of those who are indued with a sufficient share of sense and understanding, and yet squander away all their time in pleasure and impertinence; such princes have no reason to complain when any misfortune befals them. And on the other side, those who divide their time according to their age; sometimes in diversions, are much more to be commended; and those subjects are more happy who have such a prince to rule over them.

The war in Burgunday was carried on for some time, by the little assistance they received from the Germans; yet the king's forces were too powerful for them, for the Burgundians wanted money, and their garrisons were corrupted; the lord de Craon, who was the king's general in those parts, besieged Dole, the chief town in the county of Burgundy; which he presumed he should quickly make himself master of, upon account of the weakness of their garrison, but his confidence proved much to his disadvantage; for being surprised by a sudden sally, he lost some few of his men, and, to his eternal dishonour, a great part of his cannon; which so highly raised the king's displeasure against him, that, being vexed at this unfortunate action, he began to think of sending a new governor into the county of Burgundy, not only upon account of this misfortune, but for the great and excessive sums of money which he had exacted in those parts: however, before the general laid down the command of the army, he had engaged and defeated a party of Germans and Burgundians, in which action monsieur de Chateau Guyon, the greatest lord of Burgundy, was taken prisoner; and besides that, nothing of importance was done that day; I speak only by hearsay, and if we may believe report, the lord de Craon behaved himself with a great deal of valour and intrepidity in that engagement. As I was saying, the king, for the reasons above mentioned, resolved to put a new governor into the county of Burgundy; but not to meddle with the profits or advantages of the lord de Craon's places, only he deprived him of his guards, and left him but six men at arms and a dozen archers to attend him. The lord de Craon was grown very unwieldly, and retired well satisfied to his country seat, which was richly furnished, and where he lived in great ease and plenty. The king put into his post monsieur Charles d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont, a valiant, discreet, and diligent officer; who, upon his first advancement, endeavoured to persuade the Germans from assisting the Burgundians, and to get them to enter into the king's service, not that he valued their service, but to facilitate his conquest of the rest of that country. To this purpose the king sent to the Germans or Swiss, whom he stiled the Confederate Lords, and offered them very fair terms: first, a pension of 2,000 franks, to be paid to four of their chief towns, as Bern, Lucern, Zuric, and I suppose Friburg, with their three cantons (upon the mountains) Schweitz, which now gives name to the whole country, Soleure, and Underwalden; 20,000 franks per annum, to particular persons whose assistance he used in his negotiations; and to oblige them, he made himself one of

their burgesses and their principal ally, and desired it might be declared in writing; but they made some difficulty of consenting to that, because, from time immemorial, the duke of Savoy had been their principal ally; yet, at length they consented, and promised to furnish the king with a body of six thousand men, to be employed continually in his service, upon condition he should pay to each man four florins and a half in Dutch money every month, which was granted, and that number was continued in the king's service till his death. A poor prince could not have been able to have managed this affair, which turned so much to the king's advantage at that time; though I am of opinion, in the end it will be a prejudice to him, for they are now so used to money, which was a stranger to them before, especially gold, that it was like to have raised a civil war among them, which was the only thing that was capable of ruining, or doing them any mischief: for their country is so poor and mountainous, and the inhabitants of such a martial temper, that few or none of the neighbouring princes thought it worth their while to endeavour to conquer them. When these treaties were agreed on, and the Swiss in Burgundy had entered into the king's service, the Burgundian power was utterly broken and destroyed. To bring matters to a conclusion, the governor, monsieur de Chaumont, had performed several notable exploits; he beseiged Rochefort, a castle near Dole, commanded by monsieur Claude de Vaudray; having taken it by capitulation, he also beseiged Dole, where, as I said before, his predecessor had been repulsed, and took it by storm; the new revolted Swiss designed to have got in, and defended it, but a body of Frank archers getting in amongst them, not with any suspicion of their design, but desire of plunder, when they were entered, all of them fell to pillaging, and the town was burnt and destroyed. Not long after he besieged Aussone, a strong town, but he held intelligence with some of the garrison; and wrote to the king for some of the offices for them before his investing the town, which was readily granted. I was not upon the place myself, yet I was well informed, both by the report which was made to the king, and the letters which were sent to him, of which I had frequently a sight, being employed by the king to return answers to many of them. Aussone had but a small garrison in it, and the chief officers being in treaty with the governor, in five or six days the place was surrendered; so that there remained nothing in all Burgundy for the king to take possession of, but three or four castles upon the mountains, to wit, Jeu and others, and Bezançon, which is an imperial town, not at all, or very little subject to the county of Bur-

gundy; but being seated as it were in the middle of it, paid a sort of an obedience to the prince of that country. The governor took possession of the town, and the inhabitants having paid him the homage, which they were accustomed to do to the princes who had possession of Burgundy formerly, he immediately quitted it. After this expiditious manner was the whole province subdued; and the king followed the business very closely, as fearing the governor desired some place might still hold out in order to continue longer in his command, and not be removed into another country to serve him upon some other expedition; for Burgundy is a plentiful country, and he managed it as if it had been his own inheritance, so that he, as well as the lord de Craon, had feathered his nest there. This province for some time continued in peace, under his administration; but afterwards several towns rebelled, as Beaune, Samur, Verdun, and others, (I was then present, being sent by the king with the pensioners of his household; this was the first time the pensioners had ever any officer to command them, and since they have never been without), which towns were reduced by the wisdom and conduct of our general, and the indiscretion of the enemy. By this one may plainly see the vast difference there is between men, which proceeds from the grace of God, who gives wise ministers of state to that nation he designs to support, and to the prince that governs it wisdom to choose them; and has made, and does still make it appear, that in all things he will maintain our monarchy, not only in the person of our late virtuous master, but of this also, though he has sometimes suffered him to be in affliction. Those who lost these places the second time, were strong enough to have defended them, had they assembled their forces time enough, and thrown them into the town; but they gave the governor leisure to draw his troops together, which they ought not to have done; for having intelligence of his strength, and knowing the country was entirely in his interest, they ought to have thrown themselves into Beaune, which was a strong town, and more defensible than the rest. The very day the governor marched out into the field to invest a little town called Verdun; upon information of their weak condition, the Burgundians entered it, in their march to Beaune; they were in all, both horse and foot, six hundred choice man out of the country of Ferette, commanded by several old Burgundian officers, among whom Simon de Quingey was one; they halted when they should have got into Beaune, which if they had done, the place had been almost impregnable, but for want of good council, they staid a night too long, were besieged in Verdun, and taken by

storm; and after them Beaune was reduced, and all the rest of the revolters, the loss of which towns the Burgundians could never recover; I was at this time with the king's pensioners, as I said before, in Burgundy, from whence I was commanded by the king, upon an information he had received that I had favoured certain of the citizens of Dijon about the quartering of soldiers. This charge with other little suspicions, was the cause why he sent me away suddenly for Florence; I obeyed him, as I had reason to do, and upon the receipt of his letters, set out immediately for Italy.

The first alliance between the Swiss cantons, viz. those of Zuric, Bern, Soleure, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glarus, and France, under Charles VII. Anno 1453.

WE Charles VII. king of France, &c. do, in the first place promise by these presents for ourselves and successors, that there shall always be a lasting friendship and concord, between our subjects and successors, and the cantons of the old league of High Germany, and their successors: and that we will give no manner of assistance to any who shall make any attempts against them; nor receive, nor agree to receive into our kingdom, any who shall pretend to attack them.

2. That the subjects of the cantons, of what degree soever, may pass and return with their goods and attendants, armed or unarmed, a-foot or on horseback, through our kingdoms and territories, without any molestation by word or deed, provided that by this leave no damage or injury be done to our subjects, the princes of the blood, confederates, and allies. In confirmation of all which, we have affixed our seal to these presents.

This treaty was ratified by Lewis XI. in 1463. *And in* 1470, *a new alliance was made between that prince and the Swiss, against the duke of Burgundy, to this effect.*

WE Lewis, &c. shall in no time to come, either by ourselves or others, separately or conjointly, give any succour, aid, favour, or assistance, to the duke of Burgundy, against our most dear friends the cantons of the grand league, viz. Zuric, Bern, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, &c. so that they in general or particular may receive any detriment in body or goods, or any other way whatsoever; we also of the said league promise never directly nor indirectly to give any succour, favour, or assistance to the said duke of Burgundy, against the most serene lord the most Christian king;

so as that either he or his, in general or particular, might receive any detriment in body and goods, or any other way whatsoever, sincerely, and without all manner of fraud. At the same time our meaning is, that the alliances made long ago between the said king and us be preserved inviolable in all points, and in their perpetual force and vigour.—Given at Tours, Sept. 20, 1470, and the 10th of our reign.

A stricter alliance between Lewis XI. and the Swiss Cantons, 1474.

IN the first place—The king in all and every of his wars, and especially against the duke of Burgundy, and all others, is faithfully to aid, succour, and defend us at his own charge.

2. He shall, as long as he lives, be bound to pay us every year, in his city of Lyons, the sum of 20,000 franks, viz. 5000 every quarter, to be distributed equally between our parties: and if the king in his wars and armies has occasion for our help, and does require it, we shall then be obliged at his charge to supply him with such a number of troops armed as we shall think proper, and are able: that is, in case we be not engaged in a war of our own; and he shall pay every soldier four florins and a half of the Rhine a-month, allowing twelve months in the year.

3. The king, when he shall require our assistance, shall in one of the towns of Zuric, Bern, or Lucern, have a month's pay for every soldier that shall be raised for him, and two months pay in the city of Geneva, or some other place, as most commodious, and at the choice of the Cantons.

4. The three months pay shall commence from the day that our men shall quit their homes: they shall enjoy the same privileges as the king's own subjects. And at what time soever we shall require the said king to send us succours in our wars against the duke of Burgundy, and that by reason of his other wars he is engaged in he cannot do it, then, to the end we may be able to maintain our said wars, the said king shall, as long as we shall continue in arms, pay us in the city of Lyons the sum of 20,000 florins of the Rhine, per quarter, without prejudice, and over and above the sum above mentioned.

5. And when we shall make a peace or a truce with the duke of Burgundy, or any other enemy of the king or us, we shall be obliged particularly to include the said king therein; and he is to do the same by us in all his wars, against the duke of Burgundy and others.

6. Both the parties include their allies in this treaty.

7. At the instant that we are engaged in a war with the duke of Burgundy, the king shall sincerely and with all his might, levy war against the said duke, and do every thing as is usual in war both for his and our advantage, without fraud or deceit.

8. We will maintain this union and friendship inviolably, which is to last during the king's life. We have in the usual form delivered these presents to the king, who has done the same to us.—Done Jan. 10, 1474.

CHAP. V.

Of the Lord of Argenton's being sent to Florence during the wars in Burgundy, and his receiving homage of the duke of Milan, in the king's name, for the dutchy of Genoa.

THE design of my going into Italy was to adjust a difference between two illustrious families, very eminent in those days. One was the family of the Medicis, the other of the Pacis; which last, being supported by the Pope and Ferrand king of Naples, endeavoured to cut off Laurence de Medicis and all his adherents: they failed in their design upon Laurence de Medicis, but they slew his brother Julian in the great church in Florence, and with him one Feuguinet, a person of honour, and a partisan of the house of Medicis, who threw himself before Julian in hopes to have saved him. Laurence was much wounded, but made his retreat into the vestry of the church, whose doors were of copper, and given as a free gift by his father. A servant whom he had delivered out of prison but two days before, did him considerable service; and received several wounds which were aimed at Laurence. This assassination was committed at the time of high mass, and the moment appointed for execution was when the priest should begin the sanctus. But it fell out otherwise than was designed; for supposing all sure, some of the conspirators ran to the palace to kill the senators who were there, which senate consisted of about nine persons, has the whole administration of the affairs of that city, and is changed every three months; but being ill backed, and having run up stairs into the palace, some body pulled one of the doors after them; so that when they were got up, there were not above four or five, and those in such a terrible consternation, that they knew not what to say or do. The senators, and their servants that attended them, perceiving the

astonishment of the conspirators, looked out of the windows, saw all the town in confusion, and heard seignior James de Pacis, and his accomplices, crying out in the palace-yard, "Liberta, liberta, popolo, popolo," thinking by this means to have stirred up the people to have taken their parts, and joined with them in the insurrection; but they were mightily mistaken in their designs: for the mob kept themselves very quiet, upon which James de Pacis, and his adherents, despairing of success, betook themselves to flight. The governors and magistrates of the city, who were then in the palace, finding how matters went, immediately seized upon the five or six who were got up into the rooms with a design to have murdered them, and caused them to be hanged at the bars of the palace windows, among whom was the archbishop of Pisa. The senators finding the people unanimously declare for the house of Medicis, sent immediately to all the passes upon the road, to stop and apprehend all persons that were found flying, and to bring them before the senate. James de Pacis was presently apprehended, and with him an officer of the pope's, who had the command of a brigade under the count Hieronymo, who was privy to and concerned in the plot. Pacis and his accomplices were hanged up at the same windows by their brethren; but the pope's officer had the favour of being beheaded: several more were discovered in the town, and amongst them Francisco de Pacis, and all hanged immediately; so that in the whole there were about fourteen or fifteen persons of quality hanged, besides servants which were killed in the town.

Not long after this accident, I arrived at Florence, in quality of an agent for the king; having made no stay since I left Burgundy, unless it were two or three days with the dutchess of Savoy, the king's sister, who received me very graciously. From thence I proceeded to Milan, where I continued two or three days likewise, to solicit supplies for the said Florentines, with whom at that time the Milanois were in alliance. The Milanois granted them very freely, it being their own duty as well as the king's request, and sent them immediately a reinforcement of 300 men at arms, and afterwards a greater. In short the pope, immediately upon this tumult in Florence, excommunicated the Florentines; and caused his own army, in conjunction with that of the king of Naples, to march. The Neapolitan army was numerous, made a fine appearance, and had abundance of brave soldiers in it. They first besieged Castellane, not far from Senez, and took it, with several other places; so that it was a great hazard but the Florentines had been utterly ruined, for they had enjoyed a long peace, and were

not sensible of their danger. Laurence de Medicis, who was governor in that city, was but young, and managed by persons of his own years; yet his judgment was of great authority among them: they had but few good officers, and their army was but small. The pope's and king of Naples' army were commanded in chief by the duke of Urbin, a wise man, and a brave commander; with him there was likewise Robert d'Arimini, since a great man, Constantine de Pesaro, and several other officers, and two of the king's sons, that is, the duke of Calabria, and don Frederick, both of them still living, and many other persons of quality. They took all places which they besieged, but not with the same expedition which we do in France; for they were not well skilled in the art of taking and defending a town; but for encamping and supplying their army with provisions, and giving orders for all things necessary for a campaign, they understood that better than we. The king's inclination towards them was in some measure serviceable to them, but not so much as I could have wished; for I had no supplies of men to reinforce them, more than what were in my own retinue. I staid in Florence and its territories a whole year, was nobly treated at their expense all the while, and with more civility at last than at first: but being recalled by the king, I set out for Milan, where I received homage of John Galeas, duke of Milan, for the dutchy of Genoa, which homage was performed to my master by the duke's mother in her son's name; after which I returned to my master, who received me very graciously, and admitted me more freely to his affairs than ever before, permitting me to lie with him, though I was unworthy of that favour, and though he had several persons about his court more deserving of such a familiarity than myself. But he was so discreet, and so sagacious a prince, that no minister of his could possibly miscarry in any negotiation he was employed in, provided he acted directly according to his instructions.

CHAP. VI.

Of Philip de Comines' return out of Italy into France, and of the battle of Guinegate.

UPON my return from Italy, I found our king a little impaired and decayed in his health, and inclinable to be sickly; yet not so much as to neglect his affairs, which he managed himself, and was

still engaged in his wars in Picardy, upon which his heart was mightily set, and the enemy was no less fond of it, if they could have got it into their possession. The duke of Austria, at present king of the Romans, having that year the Flemings at his command, invested Terrouen, and the lord des Cordes, the king's lieutenant in Picardy, having assembled all the forces that were in that province, and the frontier towns, and joining them with 8000 Frank archers, marched to relieve it. Upon news of his approach, the duke of Austria raised the siege, and advancing to meet him, they came to an engagement at a place called Guinegate. The duke had 20,000 men or more out of the country of Flanders, besides some few Germans, and about 300 English, under the command of Sir Thomas Abrigan, who had been in the service of Charles duke of Burgundy. The king's cavalry were much more numerous than the duke's, broke them immediately, and drove them and their commander, the lord Philip de Ravestein, as far as Aire; upon which the duke joined them with his foot. In the king's army there were about 1100 men at arms, old soldiers, and of the standing forces: all that body of horse did not follow the chase, but the lord des Cordes, who commanded in chief, pursued, and Monsieur de Torcy with him; though they behaved themselves very bravely, yet it is not the duty of any officer that commands either the van or the rear, to follow the pursuit. Some retreated under pretence of defending their own towns; others fled downright, but the duke's foot kept their ground, though they were vigorously attacked, having with them on foot two hundred gentlemen, all good officers, and brave men, and among them the count de Romont, a son of the house of Savoy, the count de Nassau, and several others who are still living. The bravery and conduct of these gentlemen kept the whole body together, which was very much, after the defeat of their cavalry: the king's Frank archers fell a-plundering the duke's waggons, and all that attended them, as sutler's and others; which being observed, some of the duke's forces rallied, attacked, and cut off a great number of them. On the duke's side the slaughter was greater, and more prisoners were taken, but he remained master of the field of battle: and I am of opinion, that if he had marched back immediately to Terrouen, he had not met with the least opposition either there or at Arras: yet he durst not venture, which proved highly to his disadvantage; but in such cases, one knows not always what measures are best to be taken, and indeed he had some reason to fear. I speak of this battle only by hearsay, for I was not in it; but to continue my discourse, I thought it necessary to mention it. I was with the

king when he received the news of this defeat; his majesty was extremely concerned at it, for he had not been used to lose any thing, but had been successful in all his enterprises, as if every thing had succeeded according to his direction; though to speak truth, his judgment and penetration in state affairs contributed very much to his success: for he would never venture any thing, and always endeavoured to avoid a battle; nor was this fought by any positive orders from him. His armies were always so numerous, few princes were able to cope with him, and he had a larger train of artillery than any of his predecessors. His method was to assemble his troops on a sudden, and attack those places that were ill provided and slenderly fortified; into which he immediately put such a strong garrison, with a sufficient quantity of artillery, that it was almost impossible to retake them; besides, if the governor or any other officer in the town had a mind to betray it for money, he was sure to have the king for a chapman, and they need not be afraid to demand an extravagant sum; for let it be ever so exorbitant, his majesty would certainly give it, rather than venture a battle or undertake a siege. He was mightily alarmed at the first news of this battle, supposing he had lost all, and that they durst not tell him the truth; for he was sensible, had it been an absolute defeat, all that he had got from the house of Burgundy in those marches and elsewhere, would certainly have been in very great danger. However, as soon as he was informed of the whole truth, and found matters were not so bad as he at first imagined; he was better satisfied, and gave orders that for the future no battle should be fought without his knowledge and consent, and was reconciled to the lord des Cordes. From this very hour the king resolved to set a treaty of peace on foot, between him and the duke of Austria, but to manage the whole negotiation purely to his own advantage; and so to curb the duke with his own subjects, who he knew were as desirous as himself to have the wings of his authority clipped, that it should not be in his power for the future to disturb or incommode him. He was likewise very desirous to make some new regulations in the affairs of his own kingdom for the advantage of his subjects, particularly about delays and protraction in processes of law; to this purpose he determined to restrain the court of parliament, not by diminution of their number or authority; but they took cognizance of many things against his consent, which occasioned his hatred against them. He was also desirous of establishing in his kingdom one general custom as to weights and measures; and that all the laws should be written in French, and reduced into one code or abridgment, to prevent the

frauds and prevarications of the lawyers, which are greater there than in any other nation in Europe, as the nobility has often experienced to their cost. And doubtless, had God permitted him to live six or seven years longer in peace and health, he would have enacted several excellent laws, and done abundance of glorious things for the benefit and advantage of his subjects; and it was but reasonable he should do so, for, from the beginning of his reign to this time, he had oppressed and tyrannised over them more than all his predecessors. But no man's authority or remonstrance could persuade him, it must come of its own accord, as certainly it would, if God had not afflicted him with sickness: wherefore it is best to make use of our time, and do all the good that lies in our power, while we are in health, and our senses in perfect strength and vigour.

The peace which the king designed to make with the duke of Austria, his dutchess, and their dominions, was to be effected by the mediation of the Gantois, upon proposals of a match between the dauphin, who is now our king, and the daughter of the duke and dutchess, by which they should leave him the counties of Burgundy, Auxerrois, Masconnois, and Charolois; and in exchange the king would restore the province of Artois, retaining only the city of Arras in the same posture of defence it was in at that time of treaty; for the town was not considerable since the new fortifications, which were very strong, were added to the city. Before they fell into the king's hands, the town was much stronger than the city, with a large ditch, and thick walls between them; but now the city was in a much better posture of defence, and kept for the king by the bishop of the place, contrary to the practice of the dukes of Burgundy for above a hundred years together, for they always made whom they pleased bishop, and put in a governor besides: but the king, to shew his authority, proceeded in quite a different manner, caused the town walls to be demolished, and new ones to be raised about the city, which before, as I said, was weaker than the town, with great ditches betwixt them; so that in effect the king gave nothing in the treaty, for he that was master of the city could command the town when he pleased. There was not the least mention made of the dutchy of Burgundy, the county of Boulogne, the towns upon the Somme, or the chastellanies of Peronne, Royes, and Mondidier. The Gantois were extremely pleased with these proposals, behaved themselves very disrespectfully to the duke and dutchess of Austria; and some of the other great towns in Flanders and Brabant were as importunate and saucy as they, concurring in the opinion of the Gantois, and particularly

Brussels, which was grown prodigious rich, by reason that duke Philip and Charles for a long time had kept their courts there; and the duke and dutchess of Austria had their residence in it at that very time. But the long ease and pleasures that they had enjoyed under the above-mentioned princes, made them so far forget both God and their sovereign, that at last they pulled down misfortunes upon their heads, and occasioned their own ruin.

CHAP. VII.

Of king Lewis' being surprised with a distemper, that for some time took away the use both of his senses and tongue; of his recovery and relapse several times, and of his keeping himself in the castle at Plessis-les-Tours.

IN the year 1479, in the month of March, a truce was concluded between the two princes; though the king was very solicitous for a peace, especially in those places which I have mentioned, which would have proved very advantageous for his affairs. He began now to decline in his age, and to be subject to infirmity, and as he was sitting at dinner one day at Forges near Chinon, he was seized on a sudden with a fit that took away his speech. Those who were about him took him from the table, held him to the fire, shut up the windows, and though he endeavoured to get to them for the benefit of the air, yet imagining it for the best, they would not suffer him to stir. It was in March 1480, when this fit seized upon him after this manner, which deprived him of his speech, understanding, and memory. It was your fortune, my lord of Vienna, to be present at that time, and act the part of a physician; for having ordered him a clyster, and caused the windows to be opened to give him fresh air, he came a little to himself immediately, recovered his speech and his senses in some measure, and mounting on horseback he returned to Forges, for he was taken with this fit in a small village about a quarter of a league off, whither he went to hear mass. He was diligently attended, and made signs for every thing he wanted: among other things he desired the official of Tours to come and take his confession, and made signs that he should be sent for, for I was gone to Argenton about ten leagues off: upon my return, I found him at the table, and with him Monsieur Adam Fumée, physician to the late king Charles, and at present master of the requests, and one Monsieur Claude, another physician. He made signs that I should lie in his chamber; he

understood little that was said to him, and his words were not intelligible; but he felt no manner of pain. I waited on him above a month at the table, and in his chamber as one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, which I took for a great honour, and it gave me great reputation. At the end of two or three days, he began to recover his speech and his senses; he fancied nobody understood him so clearly as myself, and therefore would have me always to attend him. He confessed himself to the official in my presence, for otherwise he could not have understood what he had said: there was no great matter in his confession, for he had been at confession a few days before, because whenever the kings of France touch for the king's-evil, they confess themselves first, and he never missed touching once every week; and if other princes do not the same, I think they are highly to blame: for there are always great numbers of people to be touched. As soon as he was a little recovered, he began to inquire who they were who held him by force from going to the window; and having an account of their names, he banished them the court, took away their employments from some of them, and never saw them again. From some, as monsieur de Segre, Gilbert de Grassay, lord of Champeroux, he took away nothing, but banished them from his presence. Many wondered at his fancy, condemned his proceedings, and affirmed they had done what, in their opinion, they thought for the best, and that they were in the right; but the imaginations of princes are different, and all those who undertake to give an account of them have not judgment enough to distinguish them. He was jealous of nothing so much as the loss of his regal authority, which was then very great; and he would not suffer his commands to be disobeyed in the most trivial point. On the other hand, he remembered, that his father, king Charles, in the last fit of which he died, took a fancy that his courtiers had a mind to poison him, to make way for his son; and it made so deep an impression upon him, that he refused to eat, and by the advice of his physicians, and all the chief of his favourites, it was concluded he should be forced; and so after a great deliberation, they forced victuals down his throat, upon which violence he died. King Lewis having always condemned that way of proceeding, took it very heinously that they should use any violence with him, and yet he pretended to be more angry than he was; for the great matter that moved him was an apprehension that they would govern him in every thing else, and pretend he was unfit for the administration of public affairs, by reason of the imbecility of his senses.

After he had thus severely handled the persons above mention-

ed, he made an inquiry into what had been done in council, and the orders which had been made for ten or twelve days before he fell sick, of which the bishop of Alby, his brother, the governor of Burgundy, the marshal de Giè, and the lord du Lude, had the principal charge, and were most responsible, as being with him when he fell ill, and lodged under him in two little chambers. He would also see all letters and dispatches as they arrived, and couriers arrived every hour; they shewed him the originals, and I read them to him: he would pretend to understand them, take them into his own hand, and make as if he read them to himself, when, in truth, he did not understand one syllable of them: yet he would offer now and then at a word, and make signs what answers should be given; but little business was dispatched during his illness, the greatest part hanging in suspense till we could see what would be the event; for he was a prince that required all things to be done with the utmost nicety and exactness. This indisposition continued about a fortnight, at the end of which he recovered his speech and senses pretty well; but he remained very weak, and in great fear of a relapse, for naturally he was not apt to put confidence in his physicians. As soon as he was a little recovered, he released the cardinal Ballüe, out of the castle of Loches, where he had been a prisoner for fourteen years, though the pope and other princes had many times interceded for his enlargement, of which crime he was absolved afterwards by an express bull from his holiness, which the king had solemnly requested. When he was first seized with his illness, those who were about him gave him over for dead, and orders were given out for remitting an heavy tax, which, at the instigation of the lord des Cordes, his lieutenant in Picardy, he had lately laid upon his subjects, for the raising ten thousand foot as a standing force, and 2500 pioneers, which were to be called the Gens du Camp; to which he added 1500 of his old standing forces, who were to fight on foot upon occasion, among the rest; besides which, he caused a vast number of tents and pavilions to be made, and waggons to inclose all, in imitation of the duke of Burgundy; whose camp cost him 15,000 franks a-year. When it was ready, he went to review this body of new-raised forces, in a large plain near Pont del Arche, in Normandy. In this camp were the six thousand Swiss, I mentioned above, which was the greatest number of them we had ever before seen. From thence he returned to Tours, where he was taken with a new fit, lost his speech again, and for two hours together every body thought him dead, being laid upon a straw bed in a gallery, with several people about him: the lord du Bouchage and I de-

voutly recommended him to St. Claude, and all that were present concurred with our prayers; but immediately he recovered his speech, and walked up and down the house, but very weak and feeble; and this second fit took him 1481. He went into the country, as formerly, and particularly with me to Argenton, where he continued a month together, very ill; from thence he went to Tours, where he was also very sick, and undertook a voyage to St. Claude, to which we had recommended him, as you have already heard: at his departure from Tours, he sent me into Savoy, to oppose the lords de la Chambre, Miolans, and Bresse, though he was privately their friends, for their having seized upon the person of the lord de Lins, of Dauphinè, whom he had recommended to be governor to his nephew, duke Philebert. He sent a considerable body of troops after me, which I carried to Mascon, against monsieur de Bresse; however, he and I were agreed under-hand. Being informed that the lord de la Chambre was at the duke of Savoy's court, at Turin, in Piedmont, he gave me notice of it, and I caused our soldiers to retire; for he brought the duke of Savoy to Grenoble, where the marshal of Burgundy, the marquis de Rothelin, and myself, went to receive and compliment his highness. The king sent for me back to him, to Beaujeu, in Beaujolois: I was amazed to find him so weak, and wondered how he had strength enough to bear the fatigue of travelling so well as he did; but his great spirit carried him through all difficulties. At Beaujeu he received advice that the dutchess of Austria was dead of a fall from her horse: she had been set upon a hot-headed young pad, that threw her down against a piece of timber, and was the occasion of her death. Others said she died of a fever, not of her fall; but be it which it will, she lived not many days after, to the great detriment of her friends and subjects; for after her death they never had peace: the people of Ghent had a greater love and respect for her than her husband, as being their natural sovereign. This misfortune happened in the year 1482. The king told me of it with a great deal of joy and satisfaction; being extremely pleased that the two children were under the tuition of the Gantois, who, he knew, were inclined to any mischief that might weaken the power of the house of Burgundy; and now he thought this was the only time to attempt something, because the duke of Austria was young, his father still living, involved in war on every side, a stranger, and his forces very weak; and the covetous temper of the present emperor made him less beloved than the rest.

From that time the king began to solicit the Gantois, by his agent, the lord des Cordes, about the marriage of the dauphin with

the lady Margaret, the duke's daughter, who is at present our queen. The lord des Cordes applied himself in this affair to one William Rym, pensionary of the town, a cunning subtle man, and Coppenole, the town-clerk, who was an hosier, and a person of great reputation among the people, who, in the times of trouble, are soonest wrought upon by such. The king returned to Tours, and kept himself so close, that very few were admitted to see him; for he was grown jealous of all his courtiers, and afraid they would either depose, or deprive him of some part of his regal authority. He removed, from about him, all his old favourites, especially if they had any extraordinary familiarity with him; but he took nothing from them, only commanded them to their posts or country seats: but this lasted not long, for he died shortly after. He did many odd things, which made some believe his senses were a little impaired; but they knew not his humours. As to his jealousy, all princes are prone to it, especially those who are wise, have many enemies, and have oppressed many people, as our master had done: besides, he found he was not beloved by the nobility of the kingdom, nor many of the commons; for he had taxed them more than any of his predecessors, though he now had some thoughts of easing them, as I said before; but he should have begun sooner. King Charles VII. was the first prince who, by the assistance of several grave men, which had served him in the expulsion of the English out of Normandy and Guienne, gained that point of laying taxes upon the country at his pleasure, without the consent of the three estates of the kingdom; but then the occasions were great and indispensible to secure his new conquests, and to disperse such people as were burthensome to the kingdom: upon which the great lords of France consented to what the king did, on promise of certain pensions in lieu of what should be levied upon them. Had this king lived long, and those who were then of his council, without dispute he would have enlarged his dominions considerably; but considering what has already, and what is likely to follow upon it, he has laid a great load both upon his own, and the souls of his successors, and given his kingdom a wound which will bleed a long time; and that was by establishing a standing army, in imitation of the princes of Italy. King Charles, at his death, had taxes laid upon all things in his kingdom, amounting to 1,800,000 franks, with which he maintained about 1700 men at arms, to be constantly in pay, and in the nature of guards to preserve the peace, and secure the provinces in the kingdom; by which means there was no free quarter, nor riding up and down the country, which was a great ease to the peo-

ple. At the death of our master he had raised 4,700,000 franks; of men at arms, about four or five thousand foot for the camp, and above 25,000 standing forces; so that it is no wonder that he entertained such jealousies and fears of his subjects, and fancied he was not beloved by them: yet, as he was fearful in this case, he had confidence likewise in several who had been brought up, and received their preferments under him; of which he might have found many that would have died before they would have forsaken him in any thing. In the first place, nobody was admitted into Plessis-du-Parc, which was the place where he kept himself, but his domestic servants and his archers, which were four hundred, some of which kept constant guard at the gate, while others walked continually about, to prevent its being surprised. No lord, nor person of quality was permitted to lie in the castle, nor to enter with any of his retinue; nor, indeed, did any of them come in, but the lord de Beaujeu, the present duke of Bourbon, who was his son-in-law. Round about the castle of Plessis he caused a lattice, or iron gate to be set up, spikes of iron planted in the wall, and a kind of crows-feet, with several points, to be placed along the ditch, wherever there was a possibility for any person to enter; besides which, he caused four watch-houses to be made, all of thick iron, and full of holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which was very noble, and cost above 20,000 franks, in which he placed forty of his crossbow-men, who were to be upon guard night and day, with orders to let fly upon any man that offered to come near before the opening of the gate in the morning. He also persuaded himself that his subjects would be mighty fond of divesting him of his power, and taking the administration of affairs upon themselves, when they saw their opportunity; and, indeed, there were some persons about the court, that consulted together how they might get in, and dispatch those affairs which at present hung in suspense; but they durst not attempt it, and they acted wisely; for the king had provided against every thing. He often changed the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and all the rest of his servants, alleging that nothing was more delightful to nature than novelty. For conversation, he kept only one or two with him, and those of inferior condition, and of no great reputation; who, if they had been wise, might well think, as soon as he was dead, the best they could expect would be, to be turned out of all their employments; and so it happened. Those persons never acquainted him with any thing that was sent or written to him, unless it concerned the preservation of the state, and defence of the kingdom; for he concerned not himself for any thing, but to live quietly and peaceably with

all men. He gave his physician 10,000 crowns a month, and within the space of five months he received, of his majesty, above 54,000. He also promised large endowments to the church, but it was never made good; for they were thought to have had too much already.

Treaty between Lewis XI. of France, and Maximilian duke of Austria, as well for himself as his children, at Arras, Dec. 23, 1482.

1. THERE shall be a perpetual peace, union, and alliance, between the king, dauphin, and kingdom, their countries, territories, and subjects, on the one part; and duke Maximilian of Austria, duke Philip, and the lady Margaret of Austria, his children, their countries, territories, and subjects, on the other; laying aside all rancour and enmity towards one another, any or all manner of injuries, either in word or deed.

2. For the more firm establishing of the peace, a treaty of marriage is agreed to, between the dauphin, the king's son and heir apparent to the crown, and the lady Margaret of Austria, only daughter of the said duke, and of the late Mary of Burgundy, only daughter of duke Charles of Burgundy, to be solemnized when the said lady shall be of age fit for it.

3. As soon as the peace is proclaimed, the said lady shall forthwith be conducted to Arras, and be put into the hands of monsieur de Beaujeu, or another prince of the blood authorized by the king for that purpose; and the king shall take care to bring her up as his eldest daughter, the wife of the said dauphin.

4. Upon the delivery of the said lady, monsieur de Beaujeu, &c. shall swear solemnly, in the presence of the princes and lords who shall conduct her, in the king's name, that the dauphin, when she comes of age, shall take her in marriage, and proceed to the consummation of the same.

5. The like oath monsieur de Beaujeu shall take, in the name of the dauphin, being authorized thereunto by the king upon the account of his youth.

6. In consideration of this marriage, the duke of Austria, and the states of his country, agree in their own names, and in that of duke Philip, that the countries of Artois, Burgundy, the lands and seigniories of Masconnois, Auxerrois, Salms, Bar-sur-Seine, and de Noyers, shall be given in dower with her to the dauphin, to be enjoyed by them, their heirs by that marriage, whether male or female, for ever; but in failure thereof, to return to duke Philip and his heirs: and seeing these countries, and the greatest part of

the province of Artois, are at present in the king's possession; it is agreed they shall be the dowery and inheritance of the said lady, to be enjoyed by the dauphin, her intended husband, and her heirs. But in case those countries should come into any other hands than those of the dauphin, and the heirs of this marriage, the king, dauphin, and their successors, kings of France, may, in that case, retain the said counties of Artois and Burgundy, with the other seigniories, till the king's pretensions to Lisle, Douay, and Orchies are determined. And in case they are not adjudged to return to him, he and his successors shall pretend no right to them; but the earls and countesses of Flanders shall enjoy them as formerly. Moreover, as soon as the said lady shall arrive at Arras, she shall be there received and declared countess of Artois and Burgundy, and lady of the other territories.

7. From thenceforward the said county of Artois, except the castle and bailiwick of St. Omer, shall be governed according to its ancient rights and privileges, as well the cities as the open country, by and in the name of the dauphin, her future husband; and the domain and revenue, with the officers of justice and others, shall appertain to him.

8. The same thing shall be done in respect to the county of Burgundy and the other seigniories.

9. The king, at the request of the said duke and states, to restore Arras to its ancient government, under the administration of the dauphin, by appointing officers for that purpose; the king is content that the dauphin shall do so.

10. As to the town, castle, and bailiwick of St. Omer, which is in the province of Artois, it is comprehended with the said county of Artois, in the dower of the said lady Margaret, and so shall be forthwith delivered into the possession of the dauphin, upon the completing and consummating of the marriage with her.

11. The guarding and government of the said town, castle, and bailiwick, from henceforward is to be put into the hands of the inhabitants, in order to be given up to the dauphin, upon the consummation of his marriage; and they shall make solemn oath before the king or his commissioners, that, during the minority of the lady, they shall not deliver them up to the duke of Austria, duke Philip, or their agents.

12. The like oath shall be taken by them to the duke of Austria, that they shall not deliver them up to the king, dauphin, or their agents, during the minority, and till the consummation of the marriage.

13. For the better support of the town, the domain thereof, &c.

shall be applied towards it, during the minority; neither shall the town and bailiwick pay the tax, called the Ordinary Aid of Artois.

14. As to the appointing of officers, such as bailiff, &c. the duke, as father of the lady, shall have the nomination during the said time, and the dauphin, as her intended husband, the institution: but, if the said lady should happen to die before the consummation of the marriage, the inhabitants shall restore the town, with its appendices, to the duke of Austria, and duke Philip his Son, or successors.

15. The privileges of the town shall be maintained, and justice administered in the same manner as formerly; and the estates of the place shall take care to provide for the guard of it.

16. As to the neighbouring forts and castles, the lords of them shall oblige themselves not to injure, but to assist them in the defence of the same.

17. If a war should break out between the king and the duke, they shall not intermeddle, or receive a garrison from either.

18. It shall be free for the inhabitants of all conditions to go and traffic, or otherwise, into France, or the dominions of the duke of Austria, and other neighbouring kingdoms and countries.

19. Upon the surrendering of the town up to the dauphin, and the lady Margaret, upon the marriage, those princes shall make oath to maintain it, as a member of the county of Artois, and the county of Artois, in all its privileges, as their predecessors, the counts and countesses of Artois have done, without innovation in the government there.

20. The king consigns the provision made for the town by the late dutchess of Austria, and the duke her husband, for the discharge of the debts and rents due from it.

21. The king and the dauphin oblige themselves to pay the debts contracted by the dutchess, the duke of Burgundy her father, and their other predecessors, by mortgaging the revenues of the said county.

22. The yearly pensions assigned by the dutchess, duke Charles, &c. upon the domain of the said counties and seigniories of Burgundy and Artois, shall be continued.

23. In consideration of this lady's dowery, the king and dauphin renounce all claims and pretensions upon the dutchies, counties, goods, moveables, and immoveables whatsoever, remaining after the death of the dutchess, the lady's mother.

24. In case, upon the account of death, or otherwise, the said marriage should not be consummated, the dower, and the said counties and seigniories, shall be restored to the duke of Austria; but

at the same time with a salvo to the king's pretensions to the towns and castellanies of Lisle, Douay, and Orchies.

25. If after the consummation of the marriage, the dauphin should die, whether he leaves children or not by the said lady, she shall enjoy the counties of Artois and Burgundy as her portion, and withal 50,000 livres of Tournay yearly in dower, assigned to her in Champagne, Berry, and Touraine.

26. If she should happen to die before the dauphin, the children shall succeed in those territories that are her portion; and in case there are no children, they shall revert to the next heirs.

27. Neither the king nor dauphin shall during the minority of duke Philip pretend to have the government of the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, &c. but shall leave them in the condition they are.

28. If duke Philip should die under age, and the said lady become his heir, the king and dauphin shall agree that the government of the said countries shall continue upon the same footing.

29. In case duke Philip die without issue of his body, and that his dominions fall to his sister and her heirs, who shall also be heirs to the crown of France, the king and the dauphin shall engage that the said countries shall be maintained in all their ancient rights and privileges.

30. The king's sovereignty over the country of Flanders is acknowledged by the duke and the states; and duke Philip, when he comes of age, shall do homage for the same in the usual form.

31. The king confirms all the ancient and modern privileges of the three members of Flanders, and particularly the towns and corporations of the country of Flanders, the towns and chattellanies of Lisle, Douay, and St. Omer.

32. The inhabitants of Antwerp shall have also their privileges maintained.

33. Customs and tolls shall be paid as usual.

34. Margaret dutchess of Burgundy, widow of the late duke Charles, is comprehended in this treaty, and she shall have the full enjoyment of the lands of Chaussins and la Pierriere, upon the repaying of 20,000 crowns in gold to the country of Burgundy; and in case, by the death of the young duke, those countries should come into the hands of France, she shall be maintained fully in her dower, and find all kind assistance as a cousin and relation, from the king and dauphin.

35. A general act of indemnity is agreed to on both sides, in as ample manner as could be desired by offenders.

36. The subjects and adherents of both parties shall be reinstated in their dignities, benefices, fiefs, lands, seigniories, and other inheritances, rents, &c. without being called in question for any thing that happened during the war, and notwithstanding any declarations, confiscations, and arrests, to the contrary whatsoever.

37. If the inheritances of any persons who followed the fortune of the adverse party have been sold in court for the payment of their debts, they shall forthwith re-enter upon the peace, and pay their debts within a year after; if not, the order of court shall stand.

38. In case the debts were purely personal, for which the inheritance of the followers of the opposite party have been sold; the debtor shall return to his inheritance without making any compensation to the purchaser.

39. The subjects on both sides shall return to the possession of their immoveable goods, as well before the troubles begun in duke Charles's time, as after.

40. As to the profits and income of estates, which have been levied by the commanders of the respective parties, those that received them shall never be accountable for them, and no prosecution in law, upon that account, shall take effect against them.

41. All personal debts granted by the princes, or pursuant to their order, shall be their's who had the grant of them: as to all other moveables in being upon the peace, they shall belong to those that had them before the war, without any molestation, or any impediment whatsoever.

42. The town of St. Omer and its dependancies, are fully discharged of all rewards, remissions, &c. which have been granted them.

43. The duke of Austria, and his children, are by this treaty fully discharged of all debts they may owe to those who adhered to the contrary party, and they and their descendants shall never be molested for them.

44. Upon returning to their possessions, nobody shall take any oath to the prince or lord under whom the said possessions are, saving vassals and feoffees.

45. The widow of the late Peter of Luxemburg, and the ladies Mary and Frances, her daughters, shall be restored to their estates, as well those which they enjoyed in the life-time of Lewis de Luxemburg, count of St. Paul, Madam Jane de Bar his wife, and John de Luxemburg, count of Marle, their eldest son: in like manner monsieur de Croy count of Porcien, particularly to the

county of Porcien, the granaries belonging to the castle of Cambarsay, Montcornet, and other appennages, in the seigniory of Bar-sur-Aube, and other places in Picardy.

46. The king shall favour the count de Romont in his pretensions to the county of Romont, and the county of Vaux; and as for the princes and princesses of Orange, the count of Joigny, Liepart de Chalon the lord of Lorme, Messieurs William de la Beaume, du Lain, Claude de Thoulongeon, and the Sieur de la Bastie, they are comprehended in this peace, and shall be repossessed.

47. In like manner the monks of Anchin are restored to their abbey; so are those of the church and abbey of St. Wast d'Arras, and the inhabitants of Arras, whether they have withdrawn into the one or the other prince's country, shall freely return home and follow their respective occupations, without any let or hinderance, as before the war.

48. The heirs of those who have been put to death for adhering to the party opposite to him under whom they lived, shall return to their estates and succeed: the widows also of such shall have their rights and doweries.

49. As to persons enjoying their own, they shall not be obliged to go and reside where their estates are, either in the one or the other countries.

50. The king consents to free the county of Artois, the towns of Arras, Aire, Lens, Bapaume, Bethune, their villages, and the chattellany of Lilliers, from the tax called, "The ordinary aid of Artois," and all other extraordinary ones, for the space of six years from the day of the date of the peace. And seeing the late dutchess of Austria hath exempted the hospitals of Douay, &c. from paying any taxes to the country of Artois for their inheritances; the king and dauphin confirm the same privileges.

51. Those who shall return to their possessions, shall not be accountable for any rent due during the war; and the lands, which by reason of the war have been untilled, shall have no rent paid for them till next Christmas.

52. Those, who at their entry upon fiefs and inheritances are obliged to pay fines and other duties to their lords, shall have three months allowed them to do it in after the peace, and so remain unmolested.

53. The nobility and feoffees of the territories of the duke of Austria, and his son Philip, shall not be obliged to serve under any but them or their lieutenants; and in case that they, or one of them, should be in the king's service, if they are not there in per-

son, the other shall not be obliged to serve in person, but may send another.

54. The decrees and sentences made in the court of Malines, as also of the grand council of the dukes Philip and Charles, the dutchess Mary, and the present duke, shall remain firm, and not be brought before the parliament of Paris, or any other sovereign court. But those suits and causes, which are not yet decided in the said courts, shall be brought before the parliament of Paris, and there be determined.

55. In like manner mortmains, compositions, new acquests, and ennoblings, made by the said dukes and dutchess, shall remain good; only the subjects of the country of Artois shall be obliged to take new patents for their nobility, which shall be granted without any charge to them.

56. The abolitions, remissions, and pardons granted by duke Charles, his daughter, and the dukes of Austria, to the countries of Flanders, Lisle, Douay, Artois, and Burgundy, shall be valid, only the subjects of Artois shall sue them out as before.

57. The inhabitants on the frontiers of the duke, and others subject to the French crown, cited to appear in person in the court of parliament, or before royal judges, shall appear only by their proctors, during the minority of the said lady; and the same privilege is granted to St. Omer. Those preferred to livings by duke Charles, his daughter, &c. shall remain in quiet possession of them, notwithstanding any pretence of a Pragmatick, or the like, to the contrary.

58. Tournay, Tournesis, St. Amand, and Mortagne, &c. are comprehended in this treaty: and any places the king may have in the dutchy of Luxemburg, shall be restored to the archduke, and his son Philip; so shall also the houses of Flanders, and of Conflans, and the house of Artois, in the said country.

59. After the lady shall be delivered into the hands of those appointed to receive her for the dauphin, the troops, for the benefit of trade, shall be withdrawn by the king from the little places on the frontiers; and for the larger ones, the garrisons shall be regulated to the satisfaction of the duke of Austria, and the states of the country.

60. As for the duke's desiring to have the king of England and duke of Bretagne comprehended in the treaty, it is answered, the English are in truce with France; and for the duke of Bretagne, the king is at peace with him.

61. The king, after the peace, will assist the duke against Wil-

liam de Aremberg, a Ligeois, and all others that shall invade Brabant, &c.

62. The duke's subjects shall have all manner of protection and encouragement, in respect to navigation and commerce, with those of France.

63. Any prizes taken after the publication of the peace shall be restored, for the prevention whereof the peace shall on both sides be proclaimed without delay.

64. Such as are malefactors and delinquents, after the peace, shall be seized on both sides, and returned to be punished by the parties to whom they belong.

65. The infractors and violators of this peace, be they who they will, shall be punished unfeignedly for an example to others, in the places where they are taken.

66. In case this peace should any way be contravened, it shall not however be reputed an infraction, or rupture; but the breach shall forthwith be made up, and reparation made, without coming to hostilities either by sea or land, before the king and the duke's ambassadors have met together to adjust the difference in an amicable way.

67. It is agreed, that as soon as the said lady is brought to Lisle or Douay, and before she be conducted to Arras, the promises and sureties which follow shall be given the duke and states—That in case the dauphin do not accomplish the marriage in due time, the said lady shall be returned, at the king or dauphin's charge, to her father or brother, in one of the good towns of Brabant, Flanders, or Hainault, in the duke's possession; and the king and dauphin in that case shall quit all pretensions for keeping the territories and countries of Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, Masconnois, Auxerrois, the lordships of Salms, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, and surrender them to the duke in the name of his son Philip, while under age, or to Philip when at age; reserving only the homage and sovereignty to him.

68. The king shall also, upon the failure of the marriage, renounce his right to Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, and consent they shall belong for ever to the counts and countesses of Flanders.

69. The signing, sealing, and ratifying of all the premises in ample and due form, shall be done by the parties on either side. The treaty shall also be registered and verified in the court of the parliament of Paris, chambers of accounts, and of the finances.

The rest of the articles being mere matter of form concerning the observation of the treaty, we shall omit them.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the king's sending for the holy man of Calabria to Tours, supposing he could cure him; and of the strange things that were done by the king during his sickness, to preserve his authority.

AMONG men renowned for devotion and sanctity of life, he sent into Calabria for one friar Robert, whom, for the holiness and purity of conversation, the king called the holy man; and in honour to him our present king erected a monastery at Plessis-du-Parc, in compensation for the chapel near Plessis at the end of the bridge. This hermit at the age of twelve years was put into a hole in a rock, where he lived three-and-forty years and upwards, till the king sent for him by the steward of his household, in the company of the prince of Tarento, the king of Naples' son. But this hermit would not stir without leave from his holiness, and from his king, which was great discretion in a man so unexperienced in the affairs of the world as he was. He built two churches in the place where he lived; he never eat flesh, fish, eggs, milk, nor any thing that was fat, since he undertook that austerity of life; and truly, I never saw any man living so holy, nor out of whose mouth the Holy Ghost did more manifestly speak; for he was illiterate, and no scholar, and had only his Italian tongue, with which he made himself so much admired. This hermit passed through Naples, where he was respected and visited with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the pope's legate, both by the king of Naples and his children, with whom he conversed as if he had been all the days of his life a courtier. From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by the cardinals, had audience three times of the pope, and was every time alone with him three or four hours; sitting always in a rich chair placed on purpose for him, which was great honour for a person in his private capacity, and answering so discreetly to every thing that was asked him, that every body was extremely astonished at it, and his holiness granted him leave to erect a new order, called the hermits of St. Francis. From Rome he came to our king, who paid him the same adoration, as he would have done to the pope himself, falling down upon his knees before him, and begging him to prolong his life: he replied as a prudent man ought. I have heard him often in discourse with the king that now is, in the presence of all the nobility of the kingdom; and that not above two months ago, and it seemed to me, whatever he said or remonstrated was done by inspiration;

or else it was impossible for him to have spoken of some things that he discoursed of. He is still living, and may grow either better or worse, and therefore I will say nothing. There were some of the courtiers that made a jest of the king's sending for this hermit, and called him the holy man by the way of banter; but they knew not the thoughts of that wise king, and had not seen what it was that induced him to do it.

Our king was at Plessis with little company but his archers, still harbouring the jealousies mentioned before, against which he had carefully provided; for he left no person, of whom he had any suspicion either in town or country; but he sent his archers not only to warn, but to conduct them away. No business was communicated to him but what was of great importance, and highly concerned him. To look upon him, one would have thought him rather a dead than a living man. He was grown so lean it was scarce credible: his clothes were now richer and more magnificent than they had ever been before; his gowns were all of crimson satin, lined with rich martins' furs, of which he gave to several, without being demanded; for no person durst ask a favour, or scarce speak to him of any thing. He inflicted very severe punishments, for fear of losing his authority, as he told me himself. He removed officers, disbanded soldiers, retrenched pensions, and sometimes took them away quite; so that, as he told me not many days before his death, he passed away his time in making and ruining men, which he did in order to be talked of more than any of his predecessors, and that his subjects might take notice he was not yet dead; for few were admitted into his presence, as I said before, and when they heard of his figaries, nobody could easily believe he was sick. He had agents in all foreign courts. In England their business was, to carry on the treaty of marriage, and pay king Edward and his ministers of state their pensions very punctually. In Spain their instructions were to amuse that court with fair words, and to distribute presents as they found it necessary for the advancement of his affairs. In remoter countries, where he had no mind his indisposition should be known, he caused fine horses or mules to be bought at any rate whatever; but this was not in France. He had a mighty curiosity for dogs, and sent into foreign countries for them; into Spain for one sort, into Bretagne for another, to Valentia for a third; and bought them dearer than the people asked. He sent into Sicily to buy a mule of a private officer of that country, and paid him double the value. At Naples he caused all the horses and strange creatures to be bought up that could be found, and a sort of lions in Barbary, no bigger than a fox, which he called

Adits. He sent into Sweden and Denmark for two sorts of beasts those coutries afforded, one of them called an elk, of the shape of a stag, and the bigness of a buffalo, with short and thick horns; the other called Raindeer, of the shape and colour of a fallow deer, but their heads much larger; for each of which he gave the merchants 4500 Dutch florins. Yet when all these rarities were brought to him, he never valued them, and many times would not so much as see the persons who brought them to court. In short, he behaved himself after so strange and tyrannical a manner, that he was more formidable both to his neighbours and subjects than he had ever been before; and indeed that was his design, and the motive which induced him to act so unaccountably.

CHAP. IX.

Conclusion of the marriage between the dauphin and Margaret of Flanders, and her being carried into France; upon which Edward IV. king of England, died with indignation.

BUT to return to our principal design, the furtherance of these memoirs, and the affairs of all the illustrious persons of the age in which they were transacted, it is absolutely necessary for us to speak of the conclusion of the marriage between our present king, then dauphin of France, and the daughter of the duke and dutchess of Austria, which was effected by the mediation of the citizens of Ghent, to the great displeasure of the king of England, who found himself deluded in the hopes he had entertained of marrying his daughter to the dauphin, of which marriage both himself and his queen were more ambitious than of any other match in the world; and never would believe any man, whether subject or foreigner, that endeavoured to persuade them that our king's intentions were not sincere and honourable. For the parliament of England had remonstrated to them several times, when our king was in Picardy, that after he had conquered that province he would certainly fall upon Calais and Guise, which are not far off. The ambassadors from the duke and dutchess of Austria, as also those from the duke of Bretagne, who were in England at that time, represented the same thing to him, but to no purpose; for he would believe nothing of it, and the nation suffered for his negligence and incredulity: yet I am entirely of opinion that it proceeded not so much from ignorance as avarice, as being afraid to lose his annual pension of 50,000

crowns, which our master paid very punctually; and besides, he was unwilling to leave his ease and pleasures, to which he was extremely given. There was a conference at Halots in Flanders about this marriage, where the duke of Austria, now king of the Romans, was present, with several commissioners from the three estates of Flanders, Brabant, and other territories belonging to the duke and his children. There the Gantois acted several things contrary to the duke's inclination; they banished his officers, removed whom they pleased from about his son, told him their desire to have the marriage concluded, in order to peace, and forced him to an accommodation, whether he would or not. The duke was very young, had but few about him that were proper to manage an affair of that importance; for all the brave men belonging to the house of Burgundy were either slain or revolted, as I said before, or at least the greatest part, I mean of such as were fit to be statesmen, and capable of advising him; so that coming thither with a small retinue, and having lost his dutchess, who was sovereign in those provinces, he lost much of his former confidence, and durst not speak so boldly to his subjects as when she was alive. In short, the king was informed of all these proceedings by the lord des Cordes, was very well pleased, and a day was set for the young lady to be conducted to Hesdin.

A few days before, in the year 1481, Aire was delivered up to the lord des Cordes, by the lord de Cohem, born in Artois, for a sum of money, who had held it under his captain, the lord de Beurs, for the duke of Austria, a great while. The surrender of this town, which was very strong, and situated in the Artois, at the very entrance into their country, spurred on the Flemings to hasten the marriage; for though they were well enough pleased at the diminution of the duke's power, yet they did not care to have the king so near them upon their frontiers. As soon as measures were concerted, as I said before, ambassadors were sent to the king, from Flanders and Brabant; but all depended upon the Gantois, by reason of their force; the duke's children were in their hands, and they were always the most forward in every commotion: with them there came, in behalf of the king of the Romans, certain young noblemen much about his own years, and but indifferently qualified to make terms of peace for their country: monsieur John de Berghes was one, and monsieur Baudoüin de Lannoy was the other, besides some few secretaries. Our king was very ill, had no inclination to be seen, and pretended great difficulty to swear the treaties in the manner agreed on; but it was because he was unwilling they should see him; however, he was persuaded,

and swore them at last, being much to his advantage; for whereas, in all his former overtures for the match, he proposed only the county of Artois, or Burgundy, or which of the two they pleased to assign him; now, the states of Ghent, as he called them, were contented he should have both, and the country of Masconnois, Charolois, and Auxerrois into the bargain; and if they could have delivered them, he should have had Hainault, Namur, and all the subjects of that family, whose inhabitants spoke French naturally, on purpose to weaken their sovereign. Our master was a cunning politician, and understood well enough, that Flanders was of little importance to him, unless he could have Artois with it, which lies between France and them; and is, as it were, a bridle to the Flemings, affording good soldiers upon occasion, to correct their wantonness and effeminacy; and, therefore, in taking the county of Artois from the earl of Flanders, he should leave him the most inconsiderable prince in Europe, without either subjects or authority, but by the permission of the Gantois; whose commissioners, William Rym and Coppenole, whom I mentioned before, governors of Ghent, were at that time principal in the embassy. Upon the return of the ambassadors, the lady Margaret was conducted to Hesdin and delivered into the hands of the lord des Cordes, in the year 1483, and with her madame de Ravestein, duke Philip of Burgundy's natural daughter. There were appointed, and ready to receive them, the present monsieur and madame de Bourbon, the lord d'Albert, and others from the king; they brought her to Amboise, where the dauphin attended her. If the duke of Austria could have taken her from her convoy, he would willingly have done it, before she had passed his dominions; but the Gantois had placed too strong a guard about her, for they began to abate much of their obedience to him, and many considerable persons joined with them, as having the custody of the young heir, and power of placing and displacing whom they pleased. Among the rest of the nobility who were in Ghent, there was the lord of Ravestein, brother to the duke of Cleves, and chief governor to the young prince, whose name is Philip, still living, and like to possess vast territories, if it please God to spare his life. But whoever was pleased with this match, the king of England was highly affronted; for he thought himself deluded and baffled, and in danger of loosing his pension or tribute, as the English called it. He feared, likewise, it would render him contemptible and mean at home, and occasion some rebellion, because he had rejected the remonstrances of his parliament. Besides, he saw the king of France incroaching upon, and ready to invade his dominions with a very great force, which

made such a deep impression upon his spirits, that he fell sick upon it immediately, and died not long after; though some say of a catarrh. But let them say what they please, the general opinion was, the consummation of this marriage killed him in the month of April 1483. It is a great fault in a prince to be obstinate, and rely more upon his own judgment than the opinion of his counsel; and sometimes it occasions such losses and disappointments as are never to be repaired. Our king was presently informed of king Edward's death; but he still kept it secret, and expressed no manner of joy upon hearing the news of it. Not long after, he received letters from the duke of Gloucester, who was made king, styled himself Richard III. and had barbarously murdered his two nephews. This king Richard desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassador; for king Richard, after his brother's death, had sworn allegiance to his nephew as his king and sovereign, and yet committed that inhuman action not long after; and in full parliament caused two of his brother's daughters, who were remaining, to be degraded, and declared illegitimate upon a pretence which he justified by the bishop of Bath, who having been formerly in great favour with king Edward, had incurred his displeasure, was cashiered, imprisoned, and paid a good sum for his releasement. This bishop affirmed, that king Edward being in love with a certain lady which he named, and otherwise unable to have his desires of her, had promised her marriage, and caused him to contract them; upon which he enjoyed her, though his promise was only to delude her: but such delusions are dangerous, as the effects frequently demonstrate. I have known many a courtier who would not have lost a fair lady for all the swearing in christendom. This malicious prelate smothered this revenge in his heart near twenty years together, but it recoiled upon himself; for he had a son whom he was extremely fond of, and to whom king Richard designed to give a plentiful estate, and to have married him to one of the young ladies whom he had declared illegitimate, who is now queen of England, and has two fine children. This young gentleman being at sea, by commission from king Richard, was taken upon the coast of Normandy; and upon a dispute between those that took him, he was brought before the parliament at Paris, put into the Petit Chastellet, and suffered to lie there until he was starved to death: this king Richard himself reigned not long, for God on a sudden raised him up an enemy,

without power, without money, without right, (according to my information), and without any reputation but what his person and deportment excited; for he had suffered much, been in distress all the days of his life, and particularly a prisoner in Bretagne to duke Francis from the eighteenth year of his age, who treated him as kindly as the necessity of his imprisonment would permit. The king of France having supplied him with some money, and about 3000 Normans, the loosest and most profligate persons in all that country, he passed into Wales; where his father-in-law, the lord Stanley, joined him with 26,000 men at the least: in three or four days time he met the bloody king Richard, fought him, slew him in the field of battle, crowned himself king of England, and reigns at this present time. I have discoursed on this subject already, but it is not improper to mention it again, if only to shew that God in our times has taken vengeance for such cruelties immediately, without delaying his judgments: several other princes besides have met with the same reward of their villanies, in our days, had we but leisure to enumerate them.

CHAP. X.

Of the king's behaviour towards his neighbours and subjects during his sickness, and of the several things that were sent him from several parts for the recovery of his health.

AFTER the consummation of this marriage, which our king had so earnestly desired, the Flemings were perfectly at his command: Bretagne, which he hated so much, was at peace with him, but he kept them in great awe by the number of his forces which he quartered upon their frontier; Spain was quiet, and that king and queen desired nothing more than to live in peace and amity with him, for he kept them likewise in perpetual fear and expense about the country of Rousillon, which he held of the house of Arragon, and had been given him by John king of Arragon, father of the present king of Castile, as security for some conditions which were never performed. The princes of Italy were all ambitious of and courted his friendship; some of them were entered into an alliance with him, and sent their ambassadors often to his court. In Germany, the Swiss were as obedient as his own subjects: the kings of Scotland and Portugal were his allies. Part of Navarre was perfectly at his disposal. His subjects trembled at his nod, and whatever

he commanded was executed without the least difficulty or hesitation. Whatever was thought conducible to his health, was sent to him from all corners of the world. Pope Sextus, who died last, being informed that the king, in his devotion, desired the corporal or vest which the apostle Saint Peter used when he sung mass, sent it immediately, and several relics besides.

The holy phial at Rheims, which was never stirred before, was brought to his chamber at Plessis, and stood upon his cupboard head when he died, for he designed to be anointed with it again as he was at his coronation. Some were of opinion he designed to have anointed himself all over, but that was not likely, for the phial was but small, and no great store of oil in it. I saw it myself at the time I speak of, and also when he died, for he was interred in the church of Notre Dame de Clery. The great Turk that now is, sent an embassy to him, which came as far as Riez in Provence, but the king would not hear him, nor permit he should proceed any farther, though he brought him a large roll of relics which had been left at Constantinople, in the hands of the Turk, all which, and a considerable sum of money besides, he offered to deliver into the king's hands if he would secure a brother of the Turk's who was then in France, in the custody of the knights of Rhodes, and is now at Rome in the hands of the pope. From all which, one may be able to judge of the great esteem and character he bore in the world for wisdom and grandeur, when religious things dedicated only to devotion, were employed for the lengthening of his life, as well as things temporal and secular. But all endeavours to prolong his life proved ineffectual, his time was come, and he must follow his predecessors. Yet, in one thing, God almighty favoured him in a peculiar manner; for as he had made him more prudent, liberal, virtuous, and greater in every thing than the contemporary princes who were his neighbours and enemies; so he suffered him to survive them, though it was not very long. For Charles duke of Burgundy, the dutchess his daughter, king Edward of England, duke Galeas of Milan, and John king of Arragon, were all dead; but king Edward and the dutchess of Austria a very little before him. In all of them there was a mixture of bad as well as good, for they were but mortals. But without flattery I may say of our king, that he was possessed of more qualifications suitable to the majesty and office of a prince than any of the rest, for I knew the greatest part of them, and was acquainted with most of their transactions; so that I do not speak altogether by guess or hear-say.

CHAP. XI.

Of king Lewis sending for his son Charles a little before his death; and the precepts and commands which he laid upon him and others, before he departed.

IN the year 1483, the king had a great mind to see the dauphin his son, whom he had not seen for several years before; for besides his being of opinion it was for his son's benefit to have but few come near him, he was afraid lest he should be taken out of his management, and give occasion for some conspiracy against him, as had been done by himself against his father, king Charles VII. When at eleven years old he was taken away by some lords of this kingdom, and engaged in a war called la Praguerie, which yet lasted not long, and was rather a court-faction than a solemn war.

Above all things he recommended to the dauphin certain of his servants, and laid his commands expressly upon him not to change any of his officers, declaring, that upon the death of his father, Charles VII. and his accession to the throne, he had imprudently turned out all the good officers of the kingdom, both military and civil, who had assisted his father in the conquest of Normandy and Guienne, served him in the expulsion of the English, and contributed much to the restitution of peace and tranquillity; which rash method of proceeding proved highly to his prejudice, for that was the foundation of the war called the Public Good, which I mentioned before, and which had like to have cost him his crown. After the king had given these documents to his son, and concluded the marriage above mentioned, upon a Monday his fit seized him, of which he died, and held him till the Saturday following, which was towards the latter end of August 1483, at which time I was present, and therefore I think myself obliged to say something of his death. Not long after his being seized with this last fit, he was deprived of his speech, as he had been formerly; and though he recovered that again, yet he found himself much weaker, though indeed he was too weak before, had scarce strength to lift his hand to his mouth, and was grown so meager and lean, that every body who saw him pitied him. The king, perceiving he had not long to live, called for the lord de Beaujeu, who married his daughter, and is now duke of Bourbon, and sent him to Amboise to his son the king, as he called him: he recommended his son to him, and all his servants; gave him the command and government of the young king, and obliged him, for several good reasons, not to permit certain

persons to come near him; and had the lord de Beaujeu observed his commands strictly, or at least the best part of them, for some were contradictory and not to be observed, I am of opinion, considering what has since happened, it had been much better both for the kingdom and himself. After this, he sent the chancellor, with all that were under him, to carry the seals to the king his son. He also sent him a good part of his guards, his captains, the officers of his hounds and hawks, and all others which depended upon his sports: he desired all that came to wait upon him to go to Amboise and pay their respects to the king, as he called him, begging of them to be faithful and true to him; and by every one he sent him some message or other, but more especially by Stephen de Vers, who had lived all along with the young king in quality of first gentleman of his bed-chamber, and was made bailiff of Meaux by king Lewis. After the recovery of his speech, his senses never failed him, and indeed were never so quick; for he had a continual looseness upon him, which kept the vapours from ascending to his head. In all his sickness he never was the man that complained, which most other people do when they are ill; at least I am of that nature, and I have known several of the same temper; and the common opinion is, that complaining does alleviate our pain.

CHAP. XII.

A comparison of the troubles and sorrows which king Lewis suffered, with those he brought upon other people; with a continuation of his transactions till the time of his death.

HE was continually discoursing on some subject or other, and always with a great deal of sense and judgment. His last fit, as I said before, continued from Monday until Saturday-night. Upon which account I will now make comparison between the evils and sorrows which he brought upon others, and what he suffered in his own person: for I hope his sufferings and torments here on earth have translated him into Paradise, and will be a great part of his purgatory: and if in respect of their greatness and duration, his sufferings were inferior to what he had brought upon other people, yet if you consider the grandeur and dignity of his office, and that he had never before suffered any thing in his own person, but been obeyed by all people, as if all Europe had been created for no other end but to serve and be commanded by him; you will find that the little which he endured was so contrary to his nature and custom,

that he was as great a sufferer as any. His chief hope and confidence was placed in the hermit I spoke of, who was at Plessis, and came thither from Calabria; he sent continually to him, believing it was in his power to prolong his life if he pleased; for notwithstanding all his precepts and recommendations to his son, he had great hopes of recovering, and if it had so happened, he would have quickly dispersed the throng he sent to Amboise, to wait upon his son. Finding his thoughts were so intent upon this hermit, it was the advice of a certain grave divine, and others who were about him, that it should be declared to him, that his condition was desperate, that he did but flatter and delude himself, and that there was no hopes left for him but in the mercy of God; and it was also agreed among them, that his physician, Dr. James Coctier, in whom he had great confidence, should be present when this declaration was made him: this Coctier received of him every month 10,000 crowns, as if that would have lengthened his life. This resolution was taken by monsieur Oliver, to the end that he should lay aside all thoughts of hermit and doctor, and apply himself wholly to the settlement of his conscience. As he had advanced monsieur Oliver and others, as it were in an instant and against all reason, to employments beyond their capacities, so they took upon them impudently to open an affair to him that had been more proper for other people; nor did they observe that reverence and respect towards him which was proper in such a case, and would have been used by those persons who had been brought up with him a long time, and in a mere whim had been lately removed from court but a little before. But as he had sent a sharp message of death to two great persons, (the duke de Nemours, and the count de St. Paul, whom he had formerly beheaded), by commissioners deputed on purpose, who in plain terms told them their sentence, appointed them confessors, and acquainted them that in a few hours they must resolve to die; so with the same bluntness, and without the least circumstance of introduction, these imprudent persons told him—"Sir, things are now come to that pass, we must do our duties; do not place your hopes any longer in this hermit, or any thing else, for you are a dead man. Think therefore upon your conscience, for that is the only remedy you have left." Every one added some short saying to the same purpose; to which he answered—"I hope God will assist me, for perhaps I am not so sick as you imagine."

What sorrow was this to him to hear this news, this sentence of death? Never man was more fearful of death, nor used more things to prevent it than he? He had all his life-long commanded

and requested his servants, and me among the rest, that whenever we saw him in any danger of death, we should not use any long stories, but admonish him at a distance to confess himself, without ever mentioning that cruel and shocking word death, which he did believe he should not be able to bear with any tolerable patience. However, he endured that and several more things as terrible, when he was ill, and indeed more than any man I ever saw die. He spoke several things, which were to be delivered to his son, whom he called king; confessed himself very devoutly, said several prayers according to the sacraments he received, and called for them himself. He spoke as judiciously as if he had never been sick, discoursed of all things which might be necessary for his son's instruction, and among the rest gave orders that the lord des Cordes should not stir from his son for six months; and that he should be desired to attempt nothing against Calais, or elsewhere, declaring that though he had designed himself to undertake such enterprises as those, and with good intention both to the king and the kingdom, yet they were very dangerous, especially that of Calais, lest the English should resent it; and he left it in charge, that for six or seven years after his death, they should above all things preserve the kingdom in peace, which during his life he would never suffer. And indeed it was no more than was necessary; for though the kingdom was large and fertile, yet it was grown very poor, upon the marching and countermarching of the soldiers up and down in their motions from one country to another, as they have done since and in a worse manner. He also ordered that nothing should be attempted against Bretagne, but that duke Francis should be suffered to live quietly and in peace, that both he and his neighbours might be secure, and the king and kingdom remain free from wars till the king should be of age to take upon him the administration of affairs himself.

You have heard with what indiscretion and bluntness they acquainted the king with his approaching death; which I have mentioned in a more particular manner, because in a preceding paragraph I began to compare the evils which he made several others suffer, who lived under his dominion, with those he endured himself before his death; that it might appear, though they were not perhaps of so long a duration, that they were as great and terrible, considering his station and dignity, which required more obedience than any private person's, and had found more; so that the least opposition was a great torment to him. Some five or six months before his death, he began to grow jealous of every body, especially of those who were most capable and deserving of the

administration of affairs. He was afraid of his son, and caused him to be kept close, so that no man saw or discoursed with him but by his special command. At last he grew suspicious of his daughter, and his son-in-law the duke of Bourbon, and required an account of what persons came to speak with them at Plessis, and broke up a council which the duke of Bourbon held there by his order. At the time the count de Dunois and his son-in-law returned from conducting the ambassadors, who had been at Amboise to congratulate the marriage betwixt the dauphin and the young queen, the king being in the gallery, and seeing them enter with a great train into the castle, called for a captain of the guards, and commanded him to go and search some of the lords' retinue, to see whether they had any arms under their robes; and that he should do it in discourse, and so as no notice might be taken. Behold then, if he had caused many to live under him in continual fear and apprehension, whether it was not returned to him again; for of whom could he be secure, when he was afraid of his son-in-law, his daughter, and his own son? I speak this not only of him, but of all other princes who desire to be feared, that revenge never befals them till they grow old, and then, as a just penance, they are afraid of every body themselves: and what grief do you think it must be to this poor king to be tormented with such terrors and passions?

He was still attended by his physician, Dr. James Coctier, to whom in five months time he had given 54,000 crowns in ready money, besides the bishopric of Amiens for his nephew, and other great offices and estates to him and his friends; yet this doctor used him so scurvily, one would not have given such unbecoming language to one's servants, as he gave the king, who stood in such awe of him that he durst not forbid him his presence. It is true, he complained of his impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him, as he had done all the rest of his servants; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day—"I know some time or other you will remove me from court, as you have done the rest; but be sure (and he confirmed it with an oath) you shall not live eight days after it." With which expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and reward him, which must needs be a great mortification to a prince, who had been obeyed all along by so many brave men much above the doctor's quality.

The king had ordered several cruel prisons to be made, some of iron, and some of wood, but covered with iron plates, both within and without, with terrible cages, about eight foot wide and seven

high; the first contriver of them was the bishop of Verdun, who was the first that handselled them, being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen years. Many bitter curses he has had since for his invention, and some from me, having lain in one of them eight months together, in the minority of our present king. He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly a certain ring for the feet, which was extreme hard to be opened, and like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain, and a great globe of iron at the end of it, most unreasonably heavy; which engines were called the king's nets. However, I have seen many eminent and deserving persons in these prisons, with these nets about their legs, who have afterwards been advanced to places of trust and honour, and received great rewards from the king: among the rest, a son of the lord de la Grutuse, who was taken in battle, whom the king married very honourably afterwards, made him his chamberlain and seneschal of Anjou, and gave him the command of a hundred lancers. The lord de Piennes and Verger, both prisoners of war, had commands given them in the army, were made his or his son's chamberlains, and had great estates given them. Monsieur de Rochefort, the constable's brother, had the same; as also one Roquebertin, a Catalonian, and prisoner of war; besides others of several countries, too numerous to be mentioned in this place. This by way of digression. But to return to my principal design. As in his time this barbarous variety of prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater torment, and more terrible apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned, which I look upon as a great mercy towards him, and part of his purgatory; and I have mentioned it here, to shew that there is no person, of what station or dignity soever, but is punished some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has been the cause of other people's sufferings and misfortunes. The king towards the latter end of his days caused his castle of Plessis-les-Tours to be encompassed with great bars of iron, in the form of a grate, and at the four corners of the house four watch-towers of iron, strong, massy, and thick, to be built. The grates were without the wall on the other side of the ditch, and went to the bottom. Several spikes of iron were fastened into the wall, set as thick by one another as was possible: he placed likewise ten bowmen in the ditches, to shoot at any man that durst approach the castle till the opening of the gate; and ordered they should lie in the ditches, but retire to the watch-towers upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this fortification was too weak to keep out an army, or any great body of men, but he had no fear

of such; his great apprehension was, that some of the nobility of his kingdom having intelligence within, should attempt to make themselves masters of the castle by night, and having possessed themselves of it partly by affection, and partly by force, should deprive him of the regal authority, and take upon themselves the administration of public affairs, upon pretence he was incapable of business, and no longer fit to govern. The gate of du Plessis was never opened, nor the drawbridge let down before eight in the morning, at which time the courtiers were let in; and the captains ordered their guards to their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town upon the frontiers that was closely besieged: nor was any person admitted to enter but by the wicket, and those only by the king's order, unless it were the steward of his houshold, and such officers as were not admitted into the presence.

Is it possible then to keep a prince, with any regard to his quality, more strictly confined than he kept himself? The cages which were made for other people, were about eight foot square; and he, though so great a monarch, had but a small court of the castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that; but generally kept himself in the gallery, out of which he went into the chambers, and from thence to mass, but not through the court. Who then can deny but he was a sufferer as well as his neighbours? considering his being locked up, guarded, afraid of his own children and relations, and changing every day those very servants whom he had brought up and advanced; and though they owed all their preferment to him, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up in those strange chains and enclosures. If the place where he confined himself was larger than a common prison, his quality was as much greater than a common prisoner's. It may be urged, that other princes have been more given to jealousy than he, but it was not in our time; and perhaps their wisdom was not so eminent, nor their subjects so good. They too might probably be tyrants, and bloody-minded, but our king never did any person a mischief who had not offended him first. I have not recorded these things purely to represent our master as a suspicious and mistrustful prince, but to shew, that by the patience which he expressed in his sufferings, like those which he inflicted on other people, they may be looked upon, in my judgment, as a punishment which God inflicted upon him in this world, in order to deal more mercifully with him in the next, as well in those things before mentioned, as in the distempers of his body, which were great and painful, and much dreaded by him before they came upon him; and likewise that those princes, who are

his successors, may learn by this example, to be more tender and indulgent to their subjects, and less severe in their punishments than our master had been. I will not accuse him, or say I ever saw a better prince; for though he oppressed his subjects himself, he would never see them injured by any body else.

After so many fears, sorrows, and suspicions, God, by a kind of miracle, restored him both in body and mind, as is his divine method in such kind of wonders. He took him out of the world in perfect ease, understanding, and memory; having called for all the sacraments himself, discoursing without the least twinge or expression of pain, to the very last moment of his life. He gave directions for his own burial, appointed who should attend his corpse to the grave, and declared that he desired to die on a Saturday of all days in the week; and that he hoped our Lady would procure him that favour, in whom he had always placed great part of his trust, and served her devoutly. And so it happened; for he died on Saturday the 30th of August 1483, about eight at night, in the castle of Plessis, where his fit took him on the Monday before. His soul, I hope, is with God, and enjoys an everlasting rest in the kingdom of Paradise.

CHAP. XIII.

Digression concerning the miseries of mankind, especially of princes, by the example of those who reigned in the author's time, and first of king Lewis.

SMALL hopes and comfort ought poor and inferior people to place in the riches and honours of this world, considering what our king suffered and underwent to obtain them, and was at last forced to leave them all, and could not with all his care and diligence protract his life one single hour. I knew him, and was entertained in his service in the flower of his age, and the height of his prosperity, yet I never knew him free from labour and care. Of all diversions he loved hunting and hawking in their seasons, but his chief delight was in dogs. As for ladies, he never meddled with any in my time; for about the time of my coming to court he lost a son called Joachim, who was born in 1459, for whose death he was extremely afflicted, and made a vow in my presence, never to be concerned with any other woman but the queen; and though this was no more than what he was obliged to by the canons of our church, yet it was much that his command of himself should be so great

that he should be able to continue his resolutions so firmly, considering the queen, though an excellent princess in all other respects, was not a person in whom a man could take any great delight.

In hunting, his eagerness and fatigue were equal to his pleasure, for his chase was the stag, which he always ran down: he rose very early in the morning, rode sometimes a great way to his dogs, and would not leave his sport, let the weather be ever so bad; and when he came home at night he was always very weary, and generally in a violent passion with some of his courtiers, or huntsmen; for hunting is a sport not always to be managed according to the master's direction; yet in the opinion of most people, he understood it as well as any man of his time: he was continually at his sports, lying up and down in the country villages as his recreations led him, till he was interrupted by the war, which for the most part of the summer was constantly between him and Charles duke of Burgundy, and at winter they made a truce. He was also involved in some trouble about the county of Rousillon, with John king of Arragon, father of Peter of Castile, who at present is king; for though both of them were poor, and already incumbered with their subjects in Barcelona and elsewhere, and the son had nothing but the expectation of succeeding after the death of don Frederick de Castile, his wife's brother, which fell to him afterwards, yet they made considerable opposition; for that province being entirely devoted to their interest, and being universally beloved by the people, they gave him abundance of trouble, and the war was spun out till that king's death, in which several brave men lost their lives, and his treasury was exhausted; so that he had but a little time, during the whole year, to spend in pleasure, and even then, the fatigues he underwent were troublesome to him. When his body was at rest his mind was at work, for he had affairs in several places at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his neighbours as his own, putting officers upon all the great families, endeavouring to divide their authority as much as possible. When he was at war, he laboured for peace or a cessation; and when he had obtained them, he was as impatient for war. He troubled himself with many trifles in his government which he might better have let alone; but it was his temper, and he could not help it: besides, he had a prodigious memory, he forgot nothing, but knew every body, as well in other countries as in his own.

And certainly he seemed to be born for universal monarchy rather than to govern a single kingdom: I speak not of his minority,

for then I was not with him. But when he was eleven years old, he was by the advice of some of the nobility and others of his kingdom, embroiled in a war with his father Charles VII. which lasted not long, but was called la Praguerie. When he was arrived at man's estate, he was married much against his inclination, to the king of Scotland's daughter; but he never had the least tenderness or affection for her during the whole course of her life. Upon her decease, by reason of the broils and factions in his father's court, he retired into Dauphinè, which was his own, whither many persons of quality followed him, and indeed more than he could entertain. During his residence in Dauphinè he married the duke of Savoy's daughter, and not long after had a great difference with his father-in-law, and a terrible war was begun between them. His father, king Charles VII. seeing his son attended by so many good officers, and raising men at his pleasure, resolved to go in person against him, with a considerable body of forces, in order to disperse them. As he was upon his march, he published proclamations, requiring them all, as his subjects, under great penalties, to repair to him; and many obeyed, to the great displeasure of the dauphin, who finding his father incensed, resolved to retire, and leave that country to him; and accordingly removed with but a very slender retinue into Burgundy, to duke Philip's court, who received him honourably, furnished him nobly, and maintained him and his principal servants by the way of pensions, as the count de Cominges, the lord de Montauban, and others; and the rest he presented as he saw occasion, during the whole time of their residence there. However, the dauphin entertained so many at his own expense, that his money often failed, to his great disgust and mortification; for he was forced to borrow, or his people would have forsaken him, which is certainly a great affliction to a prince who was utterly unacquainted with those courses: so that during his residence at that court too, he had his anxieties, for he was constrained to flatter and fawn upon the duke and his ministers, lest they should think he had been too burthensome, and had lain too long upon their hands, for he had been with them six years, and his father king Charles was still pressing and soliciting the duke of Burgundy, by his ambassadors, either to deliver him up to him, or to banish him out of his dominions. And this you may believe gave the dauphin some uneasy thoughts, and would not suffer him to be idle. In which season of his life then was it that he may be said to have enjoyed himself? I believe from his infancy to his death, his whole life was nothing but one continued scene of troubles and fatigues; and I am of opinion, that if all the days

of his life were computed in which his pleasures outweighed his pain, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant. He lived about sixty-one years, yet he always fancied he should never outlive sixty, giving this for a reason, that since the time of Charles le Grand, there had not any king of France lived beyond that age; but he was far advanced in his sixty-first.

What ease, what pleasure, did Charles duke of Burgundy enjoy more than our master king Lewis? In his youth indeed he knew but little trouble, for he did not begin to enter upon any action, till the two-and-twentieth year of his age; so that before that time, he lived in great ease and quiet. His first quarrel was with his father's chief officers; and the father taking their part, he immediately withdrew from court, retired in a huff into Holland, where being well received, he fell immediately into intelligence with the Gantois, and sometimes went and visited them. He had no allowance from his father; but Holland being a rich country, they made him great presents, as several other great towns did; hoping thereby to insinuate themselves into his favour, and reap the advantage after duke Philip's death. And it is the common custom of the world to adore the rising sun, and court him whose authority will be greater, rather than him who is already at the height, and can never be higher. For this reason, as soon as duke Philip was informed that the Gantois had expressed a great kindness for his son, and that he understood how to manage it, he answered—"They always love him who is to be their sovereign; but as soon as he is invested with the power, they hate him as much." And his saying was true, for from the time of duke Philip's death, and Charles's possession, their love began to decline, and they shewed it to some purpose; and he on the other side cared as little for them; yet they did more mischief to his posterity, than they could possibly do to him. But to continue these memoirs. From the time duke Charles undertook his war for the towns in Picardy, which our master had redeemed from duke Philip, and joined himself with the lords of the kingdom in the war called the Public Good—What pleasure, what tranquillity had he? He had continual trouble and labour, without the least cessation or refreshment either to his body or mind; for glory having got the entire possession of his heart, it spurred him on to attempt new conquests, and invade the dominions of those princes that bordered upon his: he was always in the field during summer, exposing his person to the greatest danger, taking the care and command of the whole army upon himself; and yet he thought it too little. He was the first that rose,

and the last that went to bed in the camp; and took as much pains as the poorest foot-soldier in the army. In winter, when the campaign was over, his mind was busily employed about raising of money; six hours every morning he set apart for conferences, and giving audience to ambassadors, and in this perpetual hurry of affairs he ended his days, and was killed by the Swiss in the battle of Nanci, as you have already heard; so that it cannot be said that he enjoyed one happy day from the time of his setting up for conquests to the hour of his death, and then what were the fruits of all his pains and labour? Or what necessity was there for it, since he had towns and territories large enough already to have made him happy, if he could have been contented.

The next whom we shall have occasion to mention, is Edward IV. king of England, a great and powerful prince: in his minority he saw his father the duke of York defeated and slain in battle, and with him the father of the earl of Warwick, who governed the king in his youth, and managed all his affairs; and to say the truth, it was the earl of Warwick who made Edward king, and dethroned his old master king Henry VI. who had reigned many years in that kingdom, and in my judgment and the judgment of the world, was their lawful king: but in such cases, the disposition of kingdoms and great states is in the hands of God, who orders them as he pleases, for indeed all things proceed from him. The reason of the earl of Warwick's espousing the interest of the house of York against king Henry, who was of the Lancastrian family, was upon a difference that happened at court betwixt the duke of Somerset and the earl of Warwick. The king not having wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that heigth, that the queen, who was of the house of Anjou, and daughter to Renè king of Sicily, interposed in it, and inclined to the duke's party, against the earl of Warwick; for every body had acknowledged Henry his father, and grandfather, for their king. The queen had acted much more prudently in endeavouring to have adjusted the dispute between them, than to have said—"I am of this party, and will maintain it." And it proved so by the event, for it occasioned many battles in England, and a war which continued nine-and-twenty years, and in the end all the partizans of both sides were destroyed: so that factions and parties are still very fatal, especially to the nobility, who are too prone to propagate and foment them. If it be alleged that by this means both parties are kept in awe, and the secret minds of the subjects are discovered to the prince; I agree a young prince may do it among his ladies, and it may be pleasant and diverting enough, and give him opportunity of finding out some of their in-

trigues; but nothing is so dangerous to a nation as to nourish such factions and partialities among men of courage and magnanimity; it is no less than setting one's own house on fire; for immediately some or other cry out, the king is against us, seize upon some fortified town, and correspond with his enemies. And certainly the factions of Orleans and Burgundy ought to make us wise in this case; for they began a war which lasted seventy-two years, in which the English were concerned, and thought by these unhappy divisions to have conquered the kingdom. But to return from this digression. This king Edward was a very young prince, and one of the most beautifnl of his age: as soon as he had overcome all his difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to pleasures, and took no delight in any thing but ladies, dancing, entertainments, and such like effeminate diversions; and in this voluptuous course of life, if I mistake not, he spent about sixteen years, until the quarrel happened between him and the earl of Warwick, in which contest, though the king was driven out of the kingdom, yet his misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly returned, fought his adversary, defeated and killed him, and re-assuming the government, fell again to his pleasures, and indulged himself in them after a more violent manner than before. From this time he feared nobody; but living a luxurious life, he grew very fat, and his excess inclining him to diseases, in the very flower of his age he died suddenly, as it was reported, of an apoplexy, and his family lost the kingdom, as you have heard, as to the succession in the male line.

In our time also there reigned two wise and valiant princes, Matthias king of Hungary, and Mahomet Ottoman, emperor of the Turks: this Matthias was the son of a valiant young gentleman, called the White Knight of Walachia, a person of great honour and conduct, who for a long time had governed the kingdom of Hungary, and had fought several battles with the Turks, who are neighbours to it, by reason of the territories which they have usurped in Sclavonia and Greece. Not long after his death, Lancelot came to man's estate, who was heir to that kingdom, and to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland besides. This Lancelot was advised by some persons, as was reported, to seize upon the two sons of the White Knight, pretending that their father having usurped and exercised so much power in that kingdom during his infancy, it was not improbable but his sons might do the same. Upon which the said Lancelot resolved to have them both apprehended, and his orders were accordingly obeyed. He put the eldest to death, and sent the other, which was Matthias, a prisoner to Buda,

the chief town in Hungary; but he did not remain long under that confinement, God almighty being perhaps pleased with the services of his father; for a while after, this Lancelot was poisoned at Prague in Bohemia by a lady of quality, whose brother I have seen: he had been in love with her, and she with him; but being incensed at his marriage in France, with the daughter of king Charles VII. called now the princess of Vienna, which was contrary to his engagement to her, she poisoned him in a bath, as he was eating an apple, by conveying the poison into the haft of his knife. Upon the death of Lancelot, the barons of Hungary assembled at Buda for the election of a king, according to an ancient privilege they had when he died without issue. Whilst they were mightily divided, and in great controversy about the election, the widow of the White Knight, and mother of Matthias, entered the town in a very splendid equipage, for she was rich, especially in ready money, which her husband had left her, by the power of which she was enabled to raise men immediately; and besides it is not improbable but she had a party in the town, and among the electors, on account of the services and authority of her husband. As soon as she came into the city, she marched directly to the prison, and released her son, upon which part of the barons and prelates that were assembled fled out of the town, and those that remained chose this Matthias for their king, who reigned among them in great prosperity, with as much applause and esteem as any of his predecessors, and in some things more. He was a man of as much courage as any of that age; and obtained many signal victories over the Turks, without any loss to his own kingdom, which he much enlarged as well on that side towards Bohemia, which was most in his possession, as in Walachia, where he was born, and Sclavonia; on that side towards Germany he took the greatest part of Austria from the emperor Frederick, and kept it until his death, which happened in Vienna, the chief city of Austria, in 1491. He was a prince who managed his affairs discreetly both in peace and in war. Towards the latter end of his days, finding he was become formidable, he began to affect grandeur and a splendid way of living, and provided a world of rich hangings, jewels, and plate, for the ornament of his palace. All his business relating to the public was dispatched by himself, or his direction: he had also an inclination to make himself terrible to his own subjects, and turned a very tyrant towards his latter end; after which he fell into a grievous and incurable distemper, as it were, in his youth, for he was but eight-and-twenty years of age when he died, his life having been one continued scene of labour and sorrow, without any considerable pleasure or ease.

The great Turk, whom I mentioned before, was a wise and valiant prince, but he made more use of his cunning than his courage: his father was a valiant prince, took Adrianople, that is to say, the city of Adrian, and left his son very great; but his son, at the age of twenty-three, took Constantinople, or the city of Constantine: I have seen his picture drawn at that age, which represented him vigorous and sprightly. It was a great shame and reflection upon all christendom to suffer that city to be lost. He took it by assault; and the emperor of the east, which we called emperor of Constantinople, was slain at the breach: many brave men were killed with him in this assault, many great ladies ravished, and all manner of cruelties committed. This was his first exploit; but he continued to perform wonderful actions, and so many, that I heard a Venetian ambassador say once in the presence of Charles duke of Burgundy, that this Mahomet had conquered two empires, four kingdoms, and two hundred cities: he meant indeed the empires of Constantinople and Trebisond; the kingdoms of Bosnia, Syria, Armenia, and I think the Morea was the fourth. He conquered likewise several fair islands in the Archipelago, where the Venetians have two, as Negropont and Mitylene: besides which he subdued most part of Albania, and Sclavonia; and as his conquests were great over the Christians, so were they no less considerable over those of his own religion; among whom he destroyed several great princes, as the prince of Caramania, and abundance of others too tedious to mention here. The greatest part of his affairs were transacted by himself, according to the practice of our king and the king of Hungary, who were without all dispute the wisest princes that had reigned for a hundred years before. But the generosity of our master's conversation, and his liberality to his servants, as well foreign as others, distinguished him very much from the rest, and made him more venerable than either of the other two; and it is no wonder, for he was styled the most Christian king. As to worldly pleasures and enjoyments, this Turk had his share, and spent most of his time in them, and it was well he did so; for otherwise he would have done more mischief to Christendom, had he not been so employed. He indulged his genius in all kinds of sensuality, and was strangely given to gluttony, which brought him to an ill habit of body, and occasioned a numberless train of diseases, which continued upon him as long as he lived. Every spring he had a swelling in one of his legs, that made it as big as a man's middle, as I have heard from those who have seen it, which never broke, but dispersed of its own accord, and no surgeon could tell what to make of it, but all agreed his intemperance was the occasion of it, though perhaps it was a judgment from hea-

ven; and one reason why he suffered himself to be seen so seldom, and shut himself up in his chariot when he went abroad, was, lest he should discover that infirmity, and grow contemptible to the people. He died about the fifty-second year of his age, and suddenly; yet he made a will, and I have seen it, and if it be true, he seemed to have some remorse for a tax which he had lately laid upon his subjects. Let Christian princes consider what they do, since they have no more power to raise money without the permission and consent of their subjects than he.

Conclusion.

THUS have you seen the death of several illustrious persons in a short time, who have borne so much sorrow, and endured so many fatigues, only to extend their dominions, and advance their fame and glory beyond that of their neighbouring monarchs; perhaps not only to the shortening of their lives, but to the endangering the welfare of their immortal souls. I am not speaking here of the Turk, for I question not but that he is gone to his predecessors; but of our king and the rest, of whom I hope God will have mercy. But to speak freely, as one that is no great scholar, but has had some experience in the world, would it not have been better for them, and for all other great princes and subjects whatever, to be less ambitious in all their desires; that is, not to be so solicitous and careful about temporal things, and have such vast and unreasonable designs in view; but to be more cautious of provoking God, oppressing their subjects, and invading their neighbours, by so many cruel and unchristian ways, as I have said before, and rather employ their time in tranquillity and innocent diversions? Their lives would be longer, their infirmities the later, their deaths less desirable to other people, and less terrible to themselves. Can we desire any clearer examples to prove how poor and inconsiderable a creature man is; how short and miserable his life; and how little difference betwixt princes and private persons; since, as soon as they are dead, whether rich or poor, there bodies are abominable, all people fly and shun them; and their souls are no sooner separated, but they repair to receive their doom, which is given by God at that very instant of time, according to every man's works; and this is called the Particular Judgment.

END OF BOOK VI.

A SUPPLEMENT

CONTAINING

The most remarkable occurrences both in France and other kingdoms, from the death of Lewis XI. to the expedition of Charles VIII. to Naples, viz. from 1483 *to* 1493 *or* 1494.

CHAP. I.

Of king Charles's accession to the crown; the death of monsieur Oliver, king Lewis's barber, and others; and of the resumption of king Lewis's exorbitant grants.

UPON the death of Lewis XI. who died the thirtieth of August, in the year 1483, his only son Charles VIII. then dauphin of France, came to the crown. He was but thirteen years and two months old, when his father died; and therefore the solemnity of his coronation was deferred till the June following, that he might be full fourteen before he was crowned. The king his father had educated him at Amboise in such a private and solitary manner, that none but his domestics were ever permitted to have access to him; neither would his majesty suffer him to learn any more Latin than this single sentence—"Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare;"—not that he had any aversion to human learning, but only out of fondness and paternal care, he was afraid that too great an application to his studies might weaken and spoil the delicate and tender constitution of the prince. However, king Charles, after his coming to the crown, grew extremely desirous of learning; applied himself very closely to the reading of history and other books of humanity in the French language, and even endeavoured to make himself master of the Latin.

Before the king's coronation, the princes of the blood, and the nobility of the kingdom, who had so often been injured and affronted in the late king's reign by Oliver le Dain his barber, one Daniel a Fleming, monsieur Oliver's servant, and monsieur John Doyac, who had managed the affairs of the whole kingdom during part of the reign of Lewis XI. caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them, for several murders, rapines, and other enormous offences, which they had formerly committed; though

some of them were by the express command of the late king.—These informations being brought before the court of parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemned to death: and the year following, which was 1484, monsieur Oliver and his servant Daniel were executed at Paris; and monsieur Doyac had his ears cut off, and his tongue bored through. One of the crimes committed by monsieur Oliver and his servant Daniel, and for which they were executed, was this—A certain gentleman was committed to prison by the order of Lewis XI. and having a very young and beautiful lady for his wife, monsieur Oliver falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her husband by his intercession, provided she would consent, to prostitute herself to his loose desires. Accordingly she did; but instead of performing his promise, the very next day he ordered his servant Daniel to put him into a sack, and throw him into the Seine, where he was drowned. This Oliver was by birth a Fleming, had been barber to king Lewis, and of greater power and authority with the king than any nobleman in France. This power and influence which he had over the king, was gained by vile and slavish offices about his royal person, too low to mention here; but among the rest, he generally used to suck his majesty's piles, with which he was terribly afflicted; and this base and loathsome office he performed, not out of any love or respect to the king, but through avarice, and an ambition to maintain his power and credit at court; which ended immediately upon the death of his master, as you have already heard, notwithstanding the strict charge the king gave his son upon his deathbed, to continue his favour to monsieur Oliver; and not to suffer what he had generously given him, to be taken from him, since by his service, his life had been long preserved. But notwithstanding princes in their lifetime support and countenance such base and scandalous ministers, and how ready soever such may be to execute their masters' unlawful and arbitrary commands; yet at last they find that credit at court is no inheritance, and that God, who leaves no villany unpunished, finds a time to reward them according to their deserts. Besides, immediately after the death of Lewis XI. a strict inquiry was made into all the exorbitant and superstitious grants that were made by him in his life, all which were resumed; and whatever lands had been alienated from the crown, were united to it again.

CHAP. II.

The assembly of the states held at Tovars; the duke of Orleans' pretending to the regency of France; the civil war raised by him; and his retiring into Bretagne.

THE king, in the July after his coronation, which was in the year 1484, held a general and free assembly of the states of the kingdom, at Tovars, after a far different manner from what had been done in the reign of his father, who summoned none but such as were of his own choosing, and in the court interest, neither durst any of the members speak their minds freely; but in all matters of debate the whole assembly were forced to act entirely according to the king's will and pleasure, which generally was violent and arbitrary: but at this convention there was a glorious appearance of the nobility, commons, and clergy; their votes were free and unbiassed; and every member had the liberty to remonstrate and complain freely of whatever injury or injustice, contrary to the laws of the realm, and the customs of their ancestors, they had received in the late king's reign. In this convention it was unanimously agreed upon, that there should be no regent chosen in France, but that Anne dutchess of Beaujeu, the king's eldest sister, should be intrusted with the government of his royal person, according to the last will and testament of his father Lewis XI, and that the privy council should consist of twelve persons chosen out of the body of the nobility, by whose advice the whole affairs of the kingdom should be transacted and dispatched, but all in the king's name, and under his hand and seal. After this, John duke of Bourbon was created constable of France, and by degrees the affairs of the whole kingdom were entirely managed by the dutchess of Beaujeu, upon the account of her having the government of her brother in her own hands.

However, Lewis duke of Orleans, being the next prince of the blood royal of France, by the persuasion of some that were about him, who expected great preferment, if the administration of affairs was in his hands; and especially at the instigation of the count de Dunois, son of John, commonly called the bastard of Orleans, a person of an enterprising genius and a subtle wit, remained still at Paris, and came daily into council, notwithstanding the resolution of the three states: and with that boldness, as plainly shewed him to be a person from whom it was impossible to hide any of their designs and intrigues. This assurance of the duke of

Orleans did not a little displease the dutchess of Beaujeu; upon which the prince of Orange, the marshal de Rieux, and the rest of the barons at Bretagne, that were exiles at that time in France, understanding how affairs went, came to the dutchess of Beaujeu, and offered their service to her and the king; at which the duke of Orleans was highly incensed. Besides, the duke used his utmost endeavours to vilify and disparage her female administration; but it did not much prevail upon the people, because the duke himself was not yet four-and-twenty years old, and still under his mother's guardianship; and it seemed unreasonable to place him at the helm of affairs, who was not capable to manage his own private concerns; so that the same reason hindered him from the government at this time, that excluded his grandfather heretofore, during the lunacy of Charles VI. But this reason did not satisfy the duke nor his friends; upon which the dutchess of Beaujeu finding that the duke of Orleans continued still at Paris, and daily brought over by his cunning insinuations those that were in authority, to his own party; endeavouring by that means to obtain the regency of the kingdom, sent certain persons, by the advice of the privy council, to Paris, to arrest his person. The duke being informed of their designs, as he was playing at tennis, immediately withdrew; and, pretendieg to go to his palace, leaves Paris attended only by one Guyotipot, and John de Louen, one of the gentlemen of his bed chamber, and lay that night at Pontoise. The next morning he went to Vernueil, and from thence to Alençon, where he staid some time; during which he endeavoured to draw the count d'Angoulesme, the duke of Bourbon, and the lord d'Albret, over to his party; and at last they all declared themselves for him, and unanimously resolved to stand by him, and support him in this undertaking, with their lives and fortunes.

All these great lords, who had considerable places in the government, were immediately removed, upon their declaring for the duke of Orleans; however, they raised a considerable army out of the vassals of their own territories, and contrived the matter so nicely as to gain the duke of Lorrain, the prince of Orange, and the count de Foix, over to their side. The duke of Orleans, being assisted by these princes and lords, assembled his army at Blois, with a design to march directly to Orleans; but the citizens of that place, finding their duke was coming thither with a design to surprise it and make it the seat of war, shut their gates upon him, and would not suffer him to enter it. Upon this refusal, he marched with an army of about 400 men at arms, and a good body of foot, to Bougencey, being attended by the counts de Du-

nois and Foix, and other French officers, where they halted for some time, and whither the king sent a considerable body of forces to besiege them; but finding the place not to be of any great strength in itself, and not in a good posture of defence at that time, and perceiving that the malecontents of the kingdom did not come into them as they expected they would have done, they immediately clapped up a peace with the king, by the articles of which it was agreed that the duke of Orleans should make his submission to the king, and that the count de Dunois, who was the contriver and fomenter of this rebellion, should depart the kingdom, which he did, and retired to Asti. But notwithstanding this peace, the duke of Bourbon and the count d'Angoulesme, who had raised their armies on purpose to assist the duke of Orleans, marched towards Bourges, whither the king followed with a numerous army, accompanied by the duke of Orleans, who was forced to take arms against his friends and allies.

The two armies were now in sight of each other, and nothing less than a battle was expected; however, by the wisdom and management of the marshal de Giè, and the lord de Graville, two persons of great authority in the French court during the dutchess of Beaujeu's administration, a peace was concluded between the king and his nobility, in which the lord d'Albret was comprehended; and after this manner all these armies separated without any bloodshed; and the king retired to Amboise, the duke of Orleans to Orleans, and the count de Foix with the cardinal his brother, to the duke of Bretagne at Nantes, who had married their sister. This rebellion was called the Mad War, and happened in 1485.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the count de Dunois returned from Asti, and retired to his own town of Parthenay in Poitou, which was at that time strongly fortified with a double ditch and a triple wall. The king having intelligence of this, and of his adding new fortifications to the town, and knowing him to be a cunning enterprising person, sent to the duke of Orleans, who was then at Orleans, diverting himself with justs and tournaments, to come to him at Amboise. After three or four messengers, the last of which was the marshal de Giè, the duke of Orleans went to Blois, and the next day, being Twelfth-Eve, in the year 1485, he left Blois early in the morning with his hawks, pretending he went to fly them in the fields; and without stopping by the way, rode that day to Fronteraux, of which his sister was then abbess: from thence he went to Clisson, and from Clisson to Nantes, where he was honourably received by the duke of Bretagne. This was the second time of the duke of Orleans

coming into Bretagne, as by the sequel of this short history will more plainly appear. The king having intelligence of his leaving Blois in this clandestine manner, resolved to besiege the count de Dunois in his town of Parthenay, and found a way, before the secret was discovered, to draw over to his party the marshal de Rieux and the other barons of Bretagne, who were retired to Chateaubrian to the lady de Laval, who was mistress of it; for the duke of Bretagne, by the assistance of the duke of Orleans and the count de Dunois, endeavoured to be revenged of the said barons, for the death of Peter Landois, treasurer of Bretagne, of which we shall say something in the following chapter.

CHAP. III.

The civil wars in Bretagne between the duke and his nobility; and the death of Peter Landois, treasurer of Bretagne.

ABOUT the same time, or a little before, that the Mad War happened in France, a disturbance of the same nature broke out in Bretagne, though not with the same success. The seeds of this rebellion were sown in the late king's reign, but did not spring up for fear of a foreign war, with which Lewis XI. always threatened the Bretons, till after his death. But all apprehensions o. a foreign invasion being then vanished, the fire, which upon this occasion was first kindled, began to break out. Monsieur Chauvin, chancellor of Bretagne, a very worthy person, died miserably in the castle of l'Hermite, where the duke had imprisoned him at the request and instigation of his treasurer, Monsieur Peter Landois, a hosier's son of Tovars, who, after the treasurer's death, entirely governed and managed the duke at his pleasure. This so highly affronted the nobility, that some of them, to wit, the prince of Orange, the marshal de Rieux, and several others, who were then at Nantes, and hated this Landois, as being the occasion of the chancellor's death, entered into a conspiracy against him, and for the better executing their design, they watched an opportunity to surprise him, either in the castle with the duke, or in his own house called Pabotiere, about a mile from Nantes; in order to which they divided themselves into two bodies, with one of which they besieged his house, and with the other entered the castle; and that they might be sure to prevent his escape, they shut up the gates, searched every corner of the castle, not so much as sparing

even the duke's chamber, into which they violently rushed, as believing that monsieur Landois might be retired thither by way of safety and protection. But he, being a mile from Nantes in the above-mentioned house, had time enough to make his escape at a back gate before it was surrounded, and so saved himself that time. Immediately there was a great uproar in the town, for one of the duke of Bretagne's servants, who was let down the castle wall by a rope, upon the nobility entering the castle, made a great noise and disturbance, aggravating the heinousness of the attempt, and affirming that the castle was stormed, the duke assaulted, and his person in imminent danger, unless he was speedily succoured. The poor deluded citizens, being ignorant that this attempt was made only for the surprising of monsieur Peter Landois, immediately armed themselves, and with great fury ran to the castle, threatening to put all the nobility to the sword, of whom not one durst appear upon the walls to speak to the enraged multitude, who had planted cannon against the castle, and resolved to sieze upon whomever appeared, except the duke himself. At last the duke, attended by his nobility, shewed himself to the people, who presently fell on their knees before him, expressing abundance of joy and satisfaction at his being safe and out of danger; and thus was the insurrection ended in a moment, and every one departed quietly to his house.

Though the duke was so gracious as to pardon the nobility, yet they were immediately banished Bretagne, upon which they retired into France to Charles VIII. as you have already heard. After the pacification of these troubles, monsieur Peter Landois recovered his former credit and interest with the duke, and prevailed with him to write to his cousin-german the duke of Orleans, to desire the favour of him to come into Bretagne, which he did by the persuasion of the count de Dunois, who endeavoured to divorce him from the king's sister, and marry him to Anne, the duke of Bretagne's eldest daughter and heir; which also happened after the duke of Orleans came to the crown, though it was not accomplished at that time. The duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Alençon, arrived at Nantes, after the above-mentioned insurrection, in April 1484, where they were honourably received by the duke of Bretagne, who made heavy complaints to them of the insolence offered him by the prince of Orange and the marshal de Rieux, and desired their assistance to revenge himself on these two lords, which they promised him in general terms, and then took their leave of him to go to Rheims to king Charles's coronation. After this some difference happened be-

tween the king and the duke of Orleans, but at last matters were amicably adjusted in the year 1485, as you have already heard.

Monsieur Peter Landois, seeing the duke his master in an alliance with the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Orleans and his faction at peace with the king, was resolved to be revenged of his enemies; and prevailed upon the duke of Bretagne to publish a proclamation, commanding all the houses of the nobility that were in the abovementioned conspiracy, to be razed; and, to put it in execution, an army was raised in the duke's name, to raze Ancenis, where the prince of Orange and the count de Cominges were retired; who having intelligence of it, by the assistance of their friends and the banished lords, raised also another army to oppose the designs of monsieur Peter Landois; but when these two armies came to face each other, the remembrance and love of their native country, altered their resolutions so, that they threw down their arms, and embraced each other like friends. After this mutual and friendly agreement, the prince of Orange and the count de Cominges were restored to the duke's favour, and to the administration of affairs under him; so that the whole storm fell upon monsieur Landois alone, whom, knowing him to be in the castle, they immediately resolved to seize upon, even though he were in the duke's arms. Upon this resolution, one, whom the nobility and commons had by consent chosen to be their new chancellor, went by compulsion, and acquainted the duke, that nothing but his delivering up monsieur Peter Landois would appease the tumult; and that they would proceed against him only in form of law, without doing any thing to him till his cause was fairly heard and examined into. After this manner, and upon these fair promises, he was surrendered to them, immediately imprisoned, and for form's sake examined. Several heinous crimes were objected against him, and in the end he was condemned and executed, before ever his trial was known to the duke, who designed to have granted him his pardon, however the proceedings of the court went; and to prevent that, his execution was hastened. This action, which the duke esteemed an high affront offered to himself in particular, rendered the nobility more odious to him than they were before. The duke created a new chancellor, and, to oppose his nobility, very kindly received the duke of Orleans, who about the same time retired out of France, to his court, with several of his faction; upon which the nobility being greatly alarmed, fled a second time into France, where the king, designing to make war upon the duke of Bretagne for entertaining the duke of Orleans, willingly received them into his service, and entered into

an alliance with them, as in the end of the last chapter you have already heard. There was a report that the duke of Orleans had a design to get himself divorced from the lady Jane, the king's sister, who was forced upon him against his inclination, by Lewis XI. and to marry Anne, the duke of Bretagne's eldest daughter and heir; the hopes of which match was the occasion of his journey into Bretagne: but the lord d'Albret had entertained also great hopes of that match, which drew him into the duke of Bretagne's service; nay, he had even assurances of the marriage, under the hands of all the nobility that were with the duke of Bretagne, except the duke of Orleans.

CHAP. IV.

The king makes war into Bretagne, and the embassy of the count de Dunois to the king for peace.

THE only thing that the banished nobility of Bretagne desired, was, to be recalled, and to remain in peace and quiet in their own country. The king's desire on the other hand was, to be revenged of the duke of Bretagne for entertaining and protecting the duke of Orleans in his rebellion against him. To carry on his intended design against Bretagne, the king entered into an alliance with these noblemen, and to assist them, raised an army and commenced a war against the duke of Bretagne in the year 1486. This army invaded Bretagne in three several parts—The lord de St. Andrè, with a body of four hundred lancers, and five or six thousand foot, penetrated into Bretagne on one side; the count de Montpensier, with a considerable detachment, on another; and Lewis de la Tremoville, viscount of Tovars, who had married the count de Montpensier's sister, in a third. So that the province of Bretagne had three French armies in it at once, with whom also the abovementioned barons joined, and by their interest occasioned several castles in Bretagne to be surrendered to the king's forces, at which the duke was extremely surprised; but the duke of Orleans, the counts de Dunois and Cominges, who were with him, used all their arguments to encourage and keep up his spirits; and under pretence of a marriage to be concluded between the lady Anne his eldest daughter and the lord d'Albret, who had the command of a hundred lancers, and was capable of raising a considerable body of foot in Gascony and Guienne, where he had large possessions, they persuaded the lord d'Albret to join with them, who

presently left the king's service, and came into the duke's. However, the duke of Bretagne leaving Nantes in the possession of his cousin the prince of Orange, retired to Malestroit, a castle of great strength, where he assembled an army of six hundred lancers and sixteen thousand foot, in order to relieve Ploermel, about three or four leagues from Malestroit, which the king had besieged. While the duke's army was marching towards Ploermel, one of the officers began to talk after a mutinous manner, saying—"He knew no reason for this war, neither could he tell the design of it; affirming that their duke was governed and managed by the French, and they made the Bretons, at their pleasure, revenge French quarrels upon the French; and therefore he persuaded them to return home to their wives and children, and not venture in other people's quarrels, to lose their lives so ridiculously." This speech so intimidated and discouraged the whole army, that they separated immediately, and returned every man to his own home; by this means, for want of being reinforced, the garrison of Ploermel was forced to surrender upon terms; yet, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation to the contrary, the town was plundered, the most substantial inhabitants made prisoners, and a considerable ransom demanded for them. The dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and the rest of the lords that were with them at Malestroit, being informed of the separation and return of their army, as also of the surrender of Ploermel, went to Vannes, on Whitsun-Eve, in the year 1487, whither the king's army pursued them so closely, that they had scarcely time to get on ship-board and sail to Croisic, and from thence up the river Loire to Nantes, being forced to leave part of their baggage behind them at Vannes, which surrendered immediately after they had left it, without any manner of resistance. Some time after the taking of this town, the French, in a small skirmish at a place called Jove, between Chateaubrian and Nantes, defeated a great body of Bretons, under the command of Amaulry de la Mossay, near Nantes; the king himself was at Ancenis at that time. After the taking of Vannes, the king's army marched to Nantes, which he invested on the 19th of July in 1487. Within the town there was the duke of Bretagne and his two daughters, Anne and Isabella, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the ladies de Laval and Chateaubrian, the bishop of Nantes, the count de Cominges, and several other lords; all which left the castle, and took up their lodgings in the town. The people of the town having some jealousy of the bishop and the lady de Laval, whom they suspected to be in the French interest, they were put into the custody of some of the chief citizens. The king be-

sieged this town with an army of ten thousand men, and a large train of artillery, with which they shockingly battered the walls and towers both of the town and castle; but the besieged fired as briskly upon the king's troops, and made several bold sallies, in which both sides behaved themselves with a great deal of valour and intrepidity.

You must now understand, that the count de Dunois, who was in lower Bretagne, in order to embark for England, where he designed to solicit for some supplies, being hindered by contrary winds, brought with him fifty thousand of the commons of Bretagne, to relieve the town of Nantes; and the French supposing they were unfit for service, let them pass quietly, without attacking them. The king at last, finding the heat of the weather increase, and that he could not carry the town by force, raised the siege on the sixth of August, and marched with his army and besieged Dole, which he took without any resistance, plundered, and made all the garrison, and the inhabitants, prisoners of war. Besides, the king's army spoiled and ravaged all the country round about, killed the people, and drove away their cattle: but the marshal de Rieux, and the greatest part of the banished lords of Bretagne, that were in the king's army, being concerned at, and lamenting the miserable condition of their native country, began to grow weary of the war; and alleged, that their alliance with the king was not with a design to destroy, but to recover their country, and that the French that were fled into Bretagne might return into their's. Wherefore, since the French lords, residing in Bretagne had protested solemnly that they were willing to return into France, provided the king would pardon their going over to the duke; and that the duke on the other hand, had, with the unanimous consent of all his subjects, offered the banished lords of Bretagne not only their pardon, but also the restitution of all their goods and lands; they saw no reason for the continuance of the war any longer, and therefore were for having each party return home in peace. These allegations, though there was a great deal of truth in them, did but little move and affect the French, and several of the Bretons themselves, who were still for carrying on the war. Upon this, the marshal de Rieux, who was lord of Ancenis, a town very commodious for the king to erect magazines in, for the subsistence of his troops, and which, notwithstanding he held it for the king, he garrisoned with his own tenants and servants, surrendered the place to the duke of Bretagne, and made the townsmen swear allegiance to him. And besides, before the news of this revolt was spread abroad, he marched with a good

body of troops to Chateaubrian, which was also held for the king; and being received into the town after a friendly manner, he put a garrison of his own soldiers in it, and forced all those to leave the town that would not return to the obedience of the duke.—From thence he marched and besieged Vannes, on the twenty-fifth of January, which was held by the French, under the government of Gilbert de Grassay, and Philip de Moulins, two experienced commanders, who surrendered the place upon terms, on the third day of March following.

On the other hand, the king's army was not idle; for they took Ancenis by storm, and by the king's express command razed the walls, towers, and houses, so that one stone was not left upon another; and this the king did to spite the marshal de Rieux, to whom the town belonged, and who had lately revolted from him as you have already heard. Chateaubrian was also recovered by the king's forces, and the castle razed. From thence the king's army marched to Fougeres, a frontier town, and of considerable strength, which they also besieged; upon which the duke of Bretagne, fearing he should lose all his country, resolved to send the count de Dunois on an embassy to the king, of which you shall hear more in its proper place.

About this time, which was in the beginning of the year 1488, the lord d'Albret, who had been long resident at the court of Spain, came by sea, and landed in lower Bretagne, with four thousand men; his forces marched immediately to Rennes, but he himself came directly to Nantes, to wait on the duke of Bretagne. Upon his first arrival, he demanded the accomplishment of the marriage between him and the lady Anne, the duke's eldest daughter; but the lady would not consent to it, to the great displeasure of her father, who was ignorant of her having placed her affections on the duke of Orleans, by the management and persuasion of the count de Dunois; for which reason, and to save his honour, he endeavoured to withdraw the instrument he had given for the accomplishment of the said marriage, and which was in the hands of the lady de Laval, sister to the lord d'Albret, among the rest of the writings of the other lords of Bretagne. And he managed the affair so cunningly, that at last he got it; for he gave the lady de Laval to understand that this match could never be accomplished without obtaining an instrument under the duke of Bretagne's hands; and that he had prevailed with him to give one, provided it was written word for word by that which the count de Dunois had already sealed; therefore if she would be pleased to order his writing to be delivered to him, he would make his se-

cretary take an exact copy of it, which should be presented to the duke, in order to have him sign it. The lady de Laval supposing his intentions to be just and honourable, delivered him his own writing, which he never restored; for immediately after this, he was sent with certain lawyers on an embassy to the king, who was then at Angers, to know what his majesty demanded in Bretagne, and the reason of his destroying so many towns and castles in that province.

The duke of Bretagne, as we have already observed, being in a great consternation to see Fougeres invested by the king's army, sent the count de Dunois, by the unanimous consent of his nobility, on an embassy to the king. The count de Dunois, all along in his journey to the French court, so magnified and extolled the blessings and advantages of peace, that the eyes of the whole kingdom were fixed upon him, as the only person by whose mediation they were to obtain it. Upon his being admitted to an audience of the king, who was then about eighteen years old, he, after a very eloquent manner, remonstrated the present circumstances of the duke of Bretagne, and the other French lords that had retired to his court; alleging—"That the duke being grown old, worn out with diseases, having buried his wife, being destitute of male issue, having only two daughters, one twelve years old, and the other less; and lastly, being forsaken by his nobility, upon account of their hatred to monsieur Peter Landois, and not through any male-administration on his part, began to languish in grief and sorrow, and therefore the nobility of France, that were nearly allied to him, out of a natural and sincere affection, were retired to his court, purely to comfort him in his affliction; among whom none were so near to him as the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Orange, except his own children, one being his uncle's son, and the other his sister's; and that these and others of his near relations, that were still at his court, staid there upon no other design:" adding—"That the duke was not to be accused of secret practices against his majesty, in not forbidding them his dominions, since they came purely to comfort him in his distress. But perhaps, (continued he), it will be objected, that there are several others of the nobility of France with him, who have made war against the king. But what war? Why, as the Bretons were marching with an army to raise the siege of Ploermel, being informed that it was impossible to do it, without venturing a battle with the French, out of respect to his majesty they declined fighting, marched home, and suffered their towns to be taken and plundered, rather than engage the king's troops. Besides, as soon

as the duke knew the king's royal pleasure in relation to the return of the banished nobles of Bretagne, he immediately restored them to his favour, and the possession of their estates. What offence (added he) has the duke committed? What is the cause of the war against him? certainly none: but on the other hand, many reasons why the king should commiserate the present circumstances of the duke of Bretagne, and consent to give him peace. This was the substance of the speech which, (as he said), he was commanded to deliver to the king; but he would not have undertaken so weighty a charge, had he not been entirely convinced of the duke's singular affection to his majesty; and that the French lords that were in Bretagne were honest and faithful subjects to their king, and were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and his kingdom." This speech of the count de Dunois inclined the king to hearken to overtures of peace, which was already set on foot, and which was broken off by the sudden news of a battle, of which you shall be informed in the following chapter.

CHAP. V.

The battle of St. Aubin, in which the duke of Orleans was taken prisoner; the treaty of peace between the king and the duke of Bretagne; and the death of that prince.

YOU have already been informed of the siege of Fougeres, which still continued, and notwithstanding the count de Dunois's embassy to the king, was carried on with so much vigour and success, that the town was reduced to great extremity; upon which, the duke of Orleans, and the rest of the nobility of Bretagne, being fearful of losing the town, immediately left Nantes, and went to Rennes, where they assembled their forces, in order to raise the siege of Fougeres. Their army consisted of four hundred men at arms, and twelve thousand foot of their own country, as some write: but others say, only eight thousand, besides three hundred English and eight hundred Swiss, and a large train of artillery.—This army, which was commanded in chief by the duke of Orleans, and under him by the lord d'Albret, the marshal de Rieux, the lords de Chateaubrian, Leon, Crenettes, Pont l'Abbe, Plessis, Balines, Montigny Montuet, and the lord Rivers an English peer, encamped as soon as they were assembled, near a village called Andoville, on Wednesday July 23, 1488. In the night there was

some disturbance in the camp among the Gascons, which was like to have occasioned a quarrel between the duke of Orleans and the lord d'Albret, but the matter was soon adjusted. In the mean-time, these great lords, which lay encamped at Andoville, received an express with the news of the taking of Fougeres, by the French, upon terms of agreement; by which the garrison was permitted to march out with their bag and baggage. No sooner had these lords received the news of the surrender of Fougeres, but they called a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved to decamp, and march directly to St. Aubin; being of opinion they might easily take the town in which there was but a small garrison of the French, especially since they might be joined by the garrison that marched out of Fougeres, which would be a considerable reinforcement to their army. On the other hand, it unluckily happened, that the French army bent their march also towards St. Aubin, with a design to cover the place, and prevent the Bretons from besieging it. However, neither of the armies entered the town, because, before they arrived at it, they met and fought. For you must understand, that the same day that the Bretons received the news of the surrender of Fougeres, they broke up from Andoville, and marched to Orange, a village about two leagues from St. Aubin, where they received intelligence, that the king's army was marching directly, with a full resolution to fight them.

The next day, early in the morning, the Bretons consulted how to draw up their army in order of battle; and because the infantry were jealous of the French horse, and especially of the duke of Orleans himself, it was judged proper that he and the prince of Orange should quit their horses, and fight on foot, among the Swiss; and so they did. The vanguard was commanded by the marshal de Rieux, the main battle by the lord d'Albret, and the lord de Chateaubrian brought up the rear. Upon the right wing was placed their artillery; and to dismay and terrify the French the more, by making them believe they had a greater number of English than really there were, for there were but three hundred, under the command of lord Talbot, seventeen hundred Bretons dressed and armed after the English manner, were ordered to join them. On Monday morning, they drew up in the abovementioned order of battle near a great wood, in expectation of the French. The king's army, which was commanded by the lord de la Tremoville viscount of Tovars, marched from Fougeres with a full resolution to give the Bretons battle. The van was led by Adrian de l'Hospital and Gabriel de Montfalzois; before

which a small party of French officers advanced to get intelligence of the Bretons, and as soon as they had discovered in what order they were drawn up, and how posted, they returned to their army, which boldly marched on to attack the Bretons. After some cannonading, which killed abundance of men on both sides, the French attacked the Bretons' vanguard with incredible fury and intrepidity, and they were as warmly received by the marshal de Reiux who commanded it; so that being repulsed there, they wheeled off, and marched directly to the main battle, which being vigorously charged sword in hand, the cavalry of Bretagne began to give ground, which dispirited those in the rear, and without fighting a stroke, they immediately fled. The French pursued them, and made sad havoc among the infantry; the vanguard seeing this disorder and confusion, and that there were no troops left to support them, fairly turned their backs and fled too. In short, the French obtained a complete victory, and killed all those that wore the red cross, supposing they had been English, besides twelve or thirteen hundred Bretons more, horse and foot. The duke of Orleans was taken prisoner by some of the foot, as was also the prince of Orange, who had pulled off his black cross, and laid himself flat upon the ground among the dead, as if he was killed; he was known by a French archer, and both he and the duke of Orleans were brought prisoners to St. Aubin, under a strong guard. The lord d'Albret seeing the battle was lost, mounted on horseback, and made his escape; the marshal de Rieux also saved himself, and retreated to Dinan; but the lords de Leon, Pont l'Abbe, Montfort, and several other lords of Bretagne, were slain, and about six thousand common soldiers. On the king's side about twelve hundred or a thousand common soldiers, and but one officer of note, which was monsieur James Galeot, a brave soldier, and much lamented in the army. This battle was fought on Monday July 28, 1488, soon after which, the duke of Orleans was carried prisoner to the castle of Lusignan, and from thence he was removed to Poitiers, where he remained for some time, and lastly to the great tower of Bourges.

The second day after the battle, the lord de la Tremoville sent an herald to Rheims, to summon the town to surrender to the king; who after some consultation returned this answer—"That the king had no right to the town; that he had unjustly, and without any provocation, invaded Bretagne, and that notwitstanding his numerous army, it would not be in his power entirely to ruin and destroy their country as he intended; for God, who defended the Bretons in their rights and liberties, was able to show his

power against him now, as he did against king John at Poitiers, and king Philip of Valois, at Crecy:" adding further—"That if the lord de la Tremoville thought fit to invest the town, and lay formal siege to it, he would find in it forty thousand men, twenty thousand of which were able to bear arms, and resolved to make a vigorous defence." This answer was brought to the lord de la Tremoville, who considered a long time before he made any reply to it; and afterwards sent the same herald to Angers, where the king was, to acquaint his majesty with it. Upon which the king convened his council, to resolve what measures were to be taken in this nice affair. The greatest part of them were for besieging the town; but William de Rochfort, chancellor of France, was on the contrary opinion, which was founded on the king's title to the dutchy of Bretagne, which was commonly reported to come by means of a certain writing that the lord John de Bross, lord of Boussac, husband to dame Nicola of Bretagne, daughter and heir to Charles of Blois, earl of Ponthievre, had made to the king's ancestors, together with several other titles, which were not as yet proved in due form of law: adding further, that if his majesty had no lawful title to it, it would be base and tyrannical in him to usurp another prince's dominions. Therefore the chancellor's advice was—That according to the desire of the ambassadors, certain grave and judicious persons learned in the law, should be chosen to examine and inquire into the right on both sides. This opinion at last prevailed, and accordingly the king agreed to the demands of the ambassadors of Bretagne, that both he and their master should appoint some of their council, who should meet in some indifferent place, to examine the charters and writings on both sides, and fairly and equitably determine to whom the dutchy belonged; and that in the mean-time the king should keep all the towns that his majesty was possessed of already in Bretagne. The duke of Bretagne was extremely pleased with this agreement; and because the plague was hot in Nantes, he removed from thence, with his two daughters, the lady de Laval, the lord d'Albret, the count de Dunois, the marshal de Rieux, the count de Cominges, and several other persons of quality, to Coizon upon the Loire, about three leagues above Nantes, where soon after, to wit, on Wednesday September 7, 1488, he died of an illness occasioned by a fall, and left the government of his dutchy of Bretagne, and his two daughters to the marshal de Rieux, with whom also the count de Cominges was joined as an assistant. His body was carried to Nantes, and interred in the church belonging to the Carmelites of that place.

CHAP. VI.

Of the king's marriage with the lady Anne of Bretagne, by which that dutchy was united to the crown of France.

[1489]. NOT long after the duke of Bretagne's death, died also his younger daughter, the lady Isabella, by whose decease the lady Anne became his sole heir. Her marriage occasioned great contention among the nobility of Bretagne; for some of them were for marrying her to the lord d'Albret, a powerful lord in Guienne, to whom, as it was falsely reported, she was contracted by her father's consent, the day before he died: but this faction was soon dispirited by the young lady's positively refusing to consent to this match. Others openly declared themselves for Maximilian, son to the emperor Frederick; alleging, that he would not only be a protector of their liberty, but also a strong defence against any designs or attempts of France. The king of France was not ignorant of this treaty, but knew that several ambassadors had been sent between Maximilian and the nobility of Bretagne; and so far was this affair advanced, that Maximilian himself thought the business was done, began to grasp the whole dutchy of Bretagne in his imagination, and believed no enterprise too great for him to undertake, provided, if to the Low Countries, which he got by his first marriage, he could join the dutchy of Bretagne, by a second. The king of France often assembled his privy council about ways and means how to break off this match, and divert the terrible storm that threatened the kingdom; but it was Maximilian's own remisness in the affair that furthered their designs the most. At last, after some consultation, it was resolved in council, that the king should not stand to his contract with Maximilian's daughter; but should send her back to her father, and with all expedition endeavour to accomplish a marriage between him and the lady Anne of Bretagne; alleging, that the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince as Maximilian was, could not but be of dangerous consequence to the kingdom of France, being one from whom his majesty could expect nothing but dissembled friendship now, and certain war hereafter; considering that having already forgotten his alliance and affinity with the king, began one war after another against him, and by that means shewed himself to be an open enemy to the king and kingdom. Upon this resolution ambassadors were dispatched to the court of Bretagne, to treat of a marriage with the lady Anne. At first she

was extremely surprised at this proposal, and told the ambassadors—That she had already given her faith and honour to Maximilian, which she could not break; and besides, she was solemnly married to him, according to the usual manner of princes, by his proxy, Wolfgangus Poleme of Austria, sent by him into Bretagne for that purpose. However, the lady de Laval, and other ladies of quality, who were her chief favourites, being corrupted by French gold, and large promises, persuaded her that this French match would be most for her safety and advantage, cunningly insinuating, that if she married Maximilian, he would scarce be able to defend Bretagne, considering he had always disappointed them of the succours he had promised to send them. As for her scruple of conscience, they told her that the pope, who had power over ecclesiastical laws, would easily be prevailed with to dispense with her vow to Maximilian, since this match would be so much for her advantage, and the preservation of her territories. The young princess, though she was a person of great wit and virtue, yet being overcome by these artful and insinuating persuasions, consented to the request of the king's ambassadors, and delivered up both herself and her dominions into his majesty's hands; and soon after the marriage was solemnized, to the great joy and satisfaction of the French court. Thus Bretagne came under the French power, to the unspeakable grief of all its subjects, who desired still to be governed by a particular duke of their own, as they had ever been in times past.

Soon after this marriage, the count de Dunois, who had been the chief promoter of the peace, and a great instrument in this match, by which he entirely regained the king's favour, died suddenly on horseback, and according to common report, for want of something to eat. As soon as the king had settled affairs in Bretagne, he returned into France, and ordered the lady Margaret of Flanders to be still kept, attended by the princess of Tarento, in the castle of Melun, upon the Seine.

Maximilian was informed of the secret designs and practices of the French, and seemed not to value them; but when he found the marriage was solemnized, he began to double his hatred against the king; openly exclaimed against him, swore he would destroy France with fire and sword, and immediately invaded Picardy with a numerous army. The lord des Cordes, who was governor of that province, opposed him, and valiantly defended the country, to his own honour, and the advantage of France.—However, Maximilian being resolved to be thoroughly revenged of France, stirred up the English, the ancient enemies of that king-

dom, to invade it on that side, and promised them great supplies both of men and money. Upon this account, we are obliged to say something of the affairs of England, because the English are our next neighbours, and both in peace and war have always concerns with us, and we with them.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the troubles in England; the king of England besieges Boulogne; the peace between the French king and him; and the surprising of Arras and St. Omers by the king of the Romans.

KING Edward IV. the same that had an interview with Lewis XI. at Picquigny, where the French outwitted the English in the treaty of peace that was concluded there, dying in the year 1483, left behind him two sons and several daughters. The government of the two sons was committed to the duke of Gloucester, king Edward's brother, who barbarously murdered them, slew those of the nobility whom he thought would oppose his designs, and usurped the crown. At last the duke of Buckingham, who had espoused the duke of Gloucester's interest, even to the usurpation of the crown, fell out with him, and invited Henry earl of Richmond, who had been an exile in Bretagne for many years, to come over into England, promising to join him with a powerful army immediately upon his landing. The earl of Richmond communicated this affair to Peter Landois, by whom the duke of Bretagne was entirely governed at that time; who being in hopes that the earl, if by his interest he obtained the kingdom of England, would assist him against his enemies, persuaded the duke of Bretagne to assist him with men and money to carry on this enterprise, who accordingly furnished him with three large ships and a considerable body of land forces, with which he put to sea, and sailed immediately for England. As soon as they were arrived on the coast of England, and ready to disembark, the earl of Richmond received the unwelcome news of the death of the duke of Buckingham, whom king Richard had beheaded, the defeat of his troops, and king Richard being on the sea-coast with a powerful army, in expectation of his landing. Upon this intelligence the earl of Richmond returned, in hopes of recovering the coast of Bretagne, from whence he set sail; but a tempest overtook him, and drove him upon that of Normandy, where he was forced to land. The dutchess of Beaujeu having notice of his landing, sent a gentleman

belonging to her household to invite him to court, where the king received him very graciously, and where he made some stay; after which he returned to Vannes in Bretagne, to remain there till a more favourable opportunity. Peter Landois seeing himself disappointed in his designs, altered his mind, and made overtures to king Richard to deliver the earl of Richmond into his hands; but the earl being secretly informed of it, under pretence of going a-hawking one morning, fled with about ten or twelve horsemen into France to king Charles VIII. who afterwards furnished him with ships and some soldiers to assist him in his design upon England; by whose help, and that of his own relations, who had invited him over, and espoused his interest, he fought, vanquished, and slew king Richard in the field, and was himself crowned king in his room. This generous assistance of king Charles, joined to the king of England's desire of living peaceably, and growing rich, was the reason why Henry VII. during all the wars and troubles in Bretagne, never invaded France, though he had often been earnestly solicited to do it, both by the duke of Bretagne, the count de Dunois, and the rest of the lords of that faction. For generally when any troubles arose in France, our neighbours, especially the English, within a year, are invited to take part of the feast, and so was Henry VII. of England, and had certainly invaded France if the abovementioned reasons, joined to some other private ones, to wit, fear of a civil war in his own kingdom, had not kept him at home.

However, notwithstanding the king of England's backwardness to invade France, yet, in the year 1490, partly by the instigation of Maximilian, who had promised him great assistance in his wars, but disappointed him, and partly to please his own subjects, who already began to think him too much in the French interest, by suffering them, to the prejudice of England, to annex the dutchy of Bretagne to the crown of France, he passed the seas, and besieged Boulogne, whither the lord des Cordes, and the bastard of Cardonne, governor of Arras, were sent with a small body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and put the place into a posture of defence. Besides, the king raised an army in order to relieve the town; but these forces not being assembled in any great haste, the two abovementioned officers took upon them the command and defence of it. The siege was not carried on with any vigour, so that the French sent an herald into the English camp to make some overtures of peace, to which king Henry seemed not to be averse, as well for the affection he bore to the king of France, who had assisted him in his obtaining the crown of England, as

also for fear of sedition at home, which hindered him from being long absent from his dominions; because Maximilian had broken his word with him; and lastly, because he hoped, by this peace, to receive of the king a vast sum of money, which he loved extremely well, as being the most covetous prince that ever reigned in Europe. The lord des Cordes finding the king of England's inclination for peace, went and had a conference with him in his camp. His majesty's demands were, first, a great sum of money, which he said he had lent the late duke of Bretagne; and secondly, that the king should pay him all the charge he had been at in this war. To all these demands the king of France agreed, and an order was signed, by which the king of England was to receive annually such a certain sum of money, till the whole demanded by him was paid; and in this shameful and dishonourable manner the king of England returned home. In the mean time, while the lord des Cordes and the bastard of Cardonne were at Boulogne, treating with the king of England, the citizens of Arras knowing the town not to be well fortified, tampered with the garrison to persuade them to deliver it up to Maximilian, who accordingly sent a detachment thither, which secretly, and with great diligence, approached the walls of the place. When all things were in readiness, and the gates being so slightly guarded that the traitors with their false keys had opened them, they began a song, in which they desired the enemy to hasten their march, who immediately came up to the gates, and were admitted into the town. Paul Carquelevant, a Breton, who was governor of the town in the absence of the bastard of Cardonne, retired upon the enemy's first entrance, with his garrison into the castle; but fearing lest it should be taken by storm, presently abandoned it after a most shameful manner; for if he had but held out till the next day, a considerable body of French troops had been sent to relieve it. The town was plundered, and several people killed, neither did they spare the churches nor the houses of those that betrayed it. The author of this treason was a poor smith that lived upon the town-wall, and was the only person that was suffered to remain in the town when Lewis XI. transported the townsmen as a colony into France. Carquelevant the governor, when the town was surprised, lay fast asleep, and dead drunk, as it was reported. The town was plundered, by reason that Maximilian owed his soldiers some months' pay, and they were forced to do it for subsistence. St. Omers was also surprised at the same time, though some refer it to another; but whenever it was taken, it is certain it was owing to the negligence of the guards that were posted at

the gates: for the enemy, whose troops were commanded by monsieur George Daberfin, made a shew upon their first investing the town, as if they designed to have scaled it, at which time the French garrison were in arms upon the walls, and ready to receive them; and the town was strong and very defensible both by art and nature. Upon this the enemy, pretending to be afraid, retired to their camp, nay even farther, when the French garrison sallied out to fall upon their rear; and thus they continued to retreat for eight days together, and by this piece of policy and dissimulation, made the French careless and negligent in their duty, which being perceived by the Burgundians and Germans, they with great expedition planted scaling ladders against the walls and bulwarks of the town, and easily entered it, the guards being fast asleep, and in some places none at all. As soon as they had scaled the walls, they forced open the gates, put the French garrison, and the greatest part of the citizens, to the sword, and so became masters of the town.

At the same time also Amiens was attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to have been surprised, by the same negligence of the guards; but Catharine de Liques, a woman of heroic courage, awakened the guards out of their dead sleep, by which means the alarm-bell was rung, and the garrison and the townsmen repaired immediately to their arms, part of which defended the walls, and the rest of them made a sally, fought and defeated Maximilian's troops, who generously owned, that the vigilance and industry of one woman had wrested the victory out of their hands.

CHAP. VIII.

The restitution of Rousillon and Perpignan to the king of Spain; the emperor Frederick's death; the peace between the king of the Romans and the French king; and the release of the duke of Orleans out of prison.

FERDINAND, king of Arragon, desired nothing more than to recover the counties of Rousillon and Perpignan out of the king's hands, which were mortgaged by him, as he said, to Lewis XI. for fifty thousand crowns. The nobility of France would not consent to this restitution, because those two countries were a barrier to the kingdom on that side towards Spain, alleging that they were not engaged to king Lewis, but absolutely sold; and

though the king of Spain maintained, that Lewis XI. by his last will and testament, had ordered those countries to be restored, as knowing them to be unjustly detained, yet his remonstrances and allegations were but of little force. Therefore, finding he could do no good that way, he began to tamper with priests and holy people; hoping by their preaching up conscience and justice to the king, to gain of his majesty what was impossible for him to obtain by any other means. In order to effect his designs, he corrupted, with a large sum of money, father Oliver Maillard, or, according to other authors, John de Mauleon, a Franciscan friar, and confessor to the dutchess of Beaujeu, the king's sister; who, under the pretence of religion hiding his hypocrisy and avarice, persuaded her, that if restitution of these territories were not immediately made to the king of Spain, that the king her brother could never expect a prosperous and happy reign. The dutchess of Beaujeu being touched in conscience by this friar's persuasions, opened the whole matter to Lewis d'Amboise, bishop of Alba, the king's schoolmaster, who, in conjunction with her, so terrified the king's conscience, that he not only made restitution of the said territories, by the hands of the abovementioned bishop, but also gave the king of Arragon the money that his father Lewis XI. had paid for them; upon these conditions, that the said king of Arragon and his successors should for the future be in friendship and amity with the kingdom of France; that he should make no war against it, nor aid or assist with either money, troops, provisions, or counsel, the enemies thereof, nor to grant him a passage through his dominions. And after this manner were these provinces restored, to the universal dislike and mortification of the subjects of France; but in reality the king was the rather inclined to restore them, because his majesty began already, by the persuasion of some of his courtiers, to have some thoughts of his expedition to Naples, for the recovery of that kingdom: which afterwards succeeded, though the king, both at that time, and long afterwards, kept his designs secret to himself and one or two more; which intended expedition we believe was the principal cause of his restoring the abovementioned provinces, to oblige the king of Spain to stand neuter, and not give him any disturbance in his designs. But he was mistaken; for no sooner had the king passed the mountains with his army, but the king of Spain forgot all his favours and obligations, and endeavoured to form an alliance with his enemies against him.

During these transactions in France, the emperor Frederick died; to whom his son Maximilian succeeded, who, however, was

never crowned, neither was he ambitious of that honour; for if he had, he might easily have obtained it.

The emperor Maximilian, designing to quiet and pacify the state of the empire, which his father's death had involved in some troubles, seemed more desirous to make peace with the king than he had formerly been, which happened very fortunately for the king's affairs; for without a peace with Maximilian, it had been impracticable for his majesty to have undertaken his expedition to Italy; but both parties being inclined to peace, it was soon concluded. The emperor's daughter was restored to him, and with her the county of Artois, and all the towns his imperial majesty demanded. And thus the king being in peace with all his neighbours, to wit, the emperor and the king's of England and Spain; and being by his marriage in the quiet possession of the dutchy of Bretagne, and by that means having no enemy to fear, he began wholly to think of his intended expedition to Italy, on which he had long fixed his mind.

Besides, about this time the king, at the earnest request and solicitation of his sister Jane, a lady of singular piety and virtue, restored not only to his liberty, but his favour, Lewis duke of Orleans, the lady Jane's husband, who was taken prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin in Bretagne, as you have already heard; by which action of generosity the king not only deserved the highest commendations for his clemency in preserving his enemy, and restoring him to his former dignity and honour, but by it took care that no discontented subject at home should disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom in his absence, in his expedition to Italy, to which the memoirs of Philip de Comines now call us; which history, from the death of Lewis XI. to this present time, have been supplied out of other good and valuable authors; because Philip de Comines himself, who was either in prison, or in disgrace at court, almost from the death of Lewis XI. to the abovementioned expedition into Italy, in which he was present, has been silent, and has left nothing in writing to posterity, of what occurrences happened during that space of time.

END OF THE SUPPLEMENT.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO BOOK VII.

Giving an account of the design of his memoirs concerning the reign of Charles VIII. the son of Lewis XI. but with intermission of some years, from the death of Lewis XI. till he reassumes his discourse; which is from the year 1483 *to* 1494.

TO continue these memoirs, which were begun by me Philip de Comines, concerning the exploits and reign of our late king Lewis XI. I will now give you an account of what induced his son Charles VIII. to undertake his expedition into Italy, in which I was present. The king set out from Vienna in Dauphinè on the twenty-third day of August 1494, and returned into his kingdom in the year 1495. Before he undertook this enterprise, it was warmly debated whether he should go or not; for to all persons of experience and wisdom it was looked upon as a very dangerous undertaking; nor indeed was any body for it but himself and one Stephen de Vers, a native of Languedoc, of very mean extraction, and one who had never seen or had the least knowledge of military affairs. There was also one Brissonet, who was of the council, and belonged to the finances; but his heart failed him, and he shrunk his neck out of the collar. However, this expedition turned much to his advantage afterwards; for he had great preferment in the church, was made a cardinal, and his fortune advanced by the addition of several spiritual promotions. De Vers was possessed of a plentiful estate before, was made seneschal of Beaucaire, and president of the accounts at Paris; for in his youth he had served the king faithfully in the quality of gentleman of the bedchamber, and by his persuasion monsieur Brissonet was brought over to his party; so that they two were the chief pro-

moters of this expedition, which the greater part of the kingdom rather blamed than commended them for: because, not only all things necessary for so great an enterprise were wanting; but the king was young, foolish, and obstinate, without either money, officers, or soldiers; so that before he began his march, he was forced to borrow a hundred thousand franks of the bank of Genoa, at an extravagant interest from mart to mart; besides what he took up in other places, as you shall hear hereafter. They had neither tents nor pavilions, though it was winter when the army entered into Lombardy. One thing indeed was very handsome, and that was a brigade of young volunteers, who were lively and brisk, but under no command or discipline. So that we may conclude this whole expedition, both going and coming, was conducted purely by God; for as we said before, the wisdom of the contrivers of this scheme contributed but little; however, they may boast of this, that they were the occasion of highly advancing the honour of their king.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

The coming of Renè, duke of Lorrain, into France, to demand the dutchy of Bar and the county of Provence, which the king had in his possession; and his being disappointed in his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, to which he laid claim as well as the king; with an account of their titles.

AS soon as the king was fourteen or fifteen years old, which was an age fit to be crowned, the duke of Lorrain came to him to demand the dutchy of Bar, which king Lewis XI. kept from him; and the county of Provence, which king Charles of Anjou, his cousin-german, dying without issue, left to Lewis XI. by his last will and testament. The duke of Lorrain laid claim to it, as being son to the daughter of Renè king of Sicily, duke of Anjou, and earl of Provence; alleging that the king of Sicily had highly injured him, for the said Charles of Anjou was but his brother's son, whereas he was descended from his own daughter; but the king pretended that Provence could not be transferred by will to a daughter. The conclusion of this affair was, Bar was restored for a sum of money which the king insisted upon, and the duke of Lorrain being in great favour, and having many friends at court, especially John duke of Bourbon, who was old, and desirous to marry his sister, had the command of a hundred lancers given him, and a pension of 36,000 franks for four years, in which time his title to Provence was to be examined into. I was one of this council, which was chosen on purpose, and which consisted of the king's relations and the three estates of the kingdom, to determine the matter. Stephen de Vers, whom I mentioned before, was another, who had got some estate in Provence, which he was unwilling to part with, and therefore made the king, as young as he was, to declare, in the presence of his sister the dutchess of Bourbon, the count de Cominges, the lord du Lau, both likewise of the council, and myself, that we

should have a care that we did not lose the county of Provence, and this was transacted before the abovementioned agreement.

Before the expiration of the four years, some persons of Provence produced a new will of Charles I. who was brother to St. Lewis, and of other kings of Sicily, of the house of France. By these it was pretended, that not only the county of Provence belonged to the king, but the kingdom of Sicily also, and other places possessed by the house of Anjou, and that the duke of Lorrain had no title to any of them, which other people denied: those who were against the duke of Lorrain's title, were influenced by this Stephen de Vers, who possessed his master that the late king Charles, earl of Provence, son of Charles of Anjou, count du Maine, and nephew to king Renè, had left it to him by his will. For he had made him his heir before he died, and preferred him before the duke of Lorrain, who was his own daughter's son: and this they urged was done by king Renè, in consideration of the wills of Charles I. and his wife the countess of Provence, by which they had enjoined, that that kingdom and the county of Provence should not be separated, nor descend to a daughter while there was a son living of the line. And they affirmed, that the wills of their successors were to the same effect, and particularly the will of Charles II.

During the time of these four years, they that had the management of the king, who were the duke and dutchess of Bourbon, one Graville and others, lords of his bedchamber, who were in great power, sent for the duke of Lorrain to court, and put him into places of great trust and authority; that being a person of a more enterprising temper than the rest of the courtiers, he might aid and assist them in their undertakings: besides, they questioned not to find a way to get rid of him when they had no further service for him, as they did afterwards, when they found they were able to manage affairs by themselves; and the power of the duke of Orleans, and the rest of the nobility in his faction was weakened, and began to decline apace. And to say the truth, after the expiration of the four years the duke of Lorrain would stay no longer at court, unless they would put him into possession of the county of Provence, or secure it to him in writing at a prefixed time, and continue his pension of 36,000 franks; but not agreeing in the point, the duke of Lorrain left France, highly disgusted with the court.

Four or five months before his leaving the court, a very advantageous overture was made him, if he had known how to have accepted it. The whole kingdom of Naples was in rebellion against king Ferrand, for his and his son's tyranny, so that all the barons,

and three parts of the kingdom, submitted themselves to the church; but the said king Ferrand, with the assistance of the Florentines, pressed them very hard; upon which the pope, and the lords who were in arms against them, sent to the duke of Lorrain to have made him king, and they were so far in earnest in the matter, that the gallies under the commaud of the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, waited for him a long time at Genoa, whilst he was quarrelling at court, though ambassadors from all the nobility of that kingdom were with him, and pressing him daily to be gone. The result of all was, the king and his council expressed great readiness to assist him: he was promised 60,000 franks, and received 20,000 of them, the rest he lost; he had leave to carry his hundred lancers along with him, and was told that the king would send ambassadors to foreign courts, to espouse his interest. However, though the king was now nineteen years of age, yet he was still governed by the persons above named, who were always filling his ears with his undoubted title to the kingdom of Naples, which I insert the rather, because persons of little consideration are often capable of raising great troubles; and so I understood they did there, by several of the duke of Lorrain's ambassadors to Rome, Florence, Genoa, and elsewhere; as also by the duke himself as he passed by Moulins, where I then resided, upon account of the dispute between the court and John duke of Bourbon. But the duke of Lorrain's opportunity was half lost already by his own delay; however, I went out to meet and compliment him, though I had no obligation to do it; for he was partly the occasion of my being removed from court, and had given me very abusive language; but now nobody is so dear to him as I; he caressed me at a most extravagant rate, and complained heavily of those who had the present administration of affairs. He continued two days with John duke of Bourbon, and then set out for Lyons.

In short, his friends were so weary and tired with expectation, that both pope and barons came to an accommodation with king Ferrand; upon which the barons adventuring to Naples, were all seized and imprisoned, though the pope, the Venetians, the king of Spain, and the Florentines, were all of them their guarantees, and had promised and sworn to the contrary. The prince of Salerno escaped into France, refusing to be comprehended in the treaty of accommodation, as knowing the revengeful temper of king Ferrand; and the duke of Lorrain returned with great shame and dishonour into his own country. He was never afterwards in any credit with our king, who took away his lancers, stopped his 36,000 franks for the county of Provence, and in that condition he stands this very day, being in the year 1497.

CHAP. II.

The prince of Salerno, a Neapolitan by birth, comes into France; the endeavours that were used by him and Lodowick Sforza, surnamed the Moor, to persuade the French king to make war upon the king of Naples, and the occasion of it.

THE prince of Salerno, with three of his nephews, sons to the prince of Bisignan, fled to Venice, where they were kindly received. Their business was to consult that senate, as the prince told me himself, to know what prince they should address themselves to; whether to the duke of Lorrain, the king of France, or the king of Spain. He told me their answer was, that the duke of Lorrain's affairs were in a desperate condition, and it was impossible for him ever to relieve them; that the king of Spain would be too powerful by the addition of the kingdom of Naples to the isle of Sicily, and what he had already in the gulf of Venice; and that his strength at sea was very considerable already: but if they might advise, they would rather have them apply themselves to the king of France; for with the kings of France who formerly reigned in Naples, they have held very good friendship and amity; and this I believe was spoken without any prospect of what happened afterwards. The conclusion of all was, the barons came into France, were well received, but indifferently supplied; they solicited very hard for two years together, and all their application was to Stephen de Vers, at that time seneschal of Beaucaire, and chamberlain to the king. One day they were in hope, another in despair; however, their friends used the same diligence in Italy, especially in Milan, where John Galeas was duke; not the great Galeas, who was buried in the charter-house at Pavia, but the son of duke Galeas and the dutchess Bona, a daughter of the house of Savoy, which duke Galeas being a weak prince, the dutchess had the education of her children; and I have seen her, when she was a widow, in great authority, but managed by one of her secretaries called Sico, who had been a long time in that family, and had driven out or imprisoned all the brothers of this duke Galeas, to secure the dutchess and her children. Among the rest, he banished one Lodowick, who was since duke of Milan, whom he recalled, though he was her enemy, and actually in arms against her; as also one Robert di St. Severino, a person of great valour and experience in military affairs, whom by the advice of this Cico she had likewise banished. At last, by the persuasion of one Anthony Tassino, who was her carver, a native of Ferrara, and of mean extraction,

she recalled them very indiscreetly; presuming that, according to their oaths and promises, they would do no harm to Cico. But the third day after their return, they took Cico, put him into a tub, and in derision carried him in triumph through the town. This Cico had married with one of the family of the Visconti, and had they been in the way, these durst not have seized him. This was a contrivance of Lodowick's, that Robert di St. Severino, being to pass that way, might have the pleasure of beholding him in that posture, for he knew he abhorred him; after which Cico was conducted to the castle of Pavia, where he died a prisoner.

They paid the lady all possible respect, and, as she thought, complied with her in every thing; but they held private cabals among themselves, and never communicated any thing to her but what was of little importance, and she took it for the greatest kindness imaginable not to trouble her with any thing.

They gave her leave to caress Anthony Tassino, and make him what presents she pleased; they assigned him an apartment near her own, and permitted him to carry her on horseback behind him quite through the town, and nothing but feasting and dancing was to be seen in her palace. This way of living did not continue long, scarcely half a year, during which time she made him several rich presents; and all packets were directed to him, which rendered him odious to, and highly detested by, Lodowick, uncle to the children, who intended to make himself sovereign, as he did afterwards. One morning the children were both taken from their mother, and carried to the castle, which they called the Rock, where they were secured by the appointment of Lodowick, Robert di St. Severino, and one Pallevoisin, the young duke's governor, and captain of the castle, who before the death of duke Galeas never stirred out of it, nor for a long time after; till at length he was taken by the circumvention of Lodowick, and the folly of his master, who took after the mother, and was no wiser than he should be. When these persons had secured the children in the castle, they seized upon the treasury, which at that time was the richest in Christendom, and took an account of it; after which they caused three keys to be made, of which she had one, but she never touched one farthing of the money afterwards. They made her renounce the guardianship of her son, and count Lodowick was deputed in her place: besides, they wrote letters full of reflections on her into several places, and particularly into France, which I saw, and those contained severe remarks on her conduct, in relation to her favourite Anthony Tassino; yet they sent him away, without any other punishment; for the lord Robert was his friend, and would not

suffer either his person or estate to be touched. But these two great men could not as yet get admittance into the castle when they pleased; for the captain had a brother in it, and near a hundred-and-fifty men, who always ordered the gate to be strictly guarded when they entered, and would not suffer above one or two to come in with them, and this caution was observed for a long time.

In the mean while a great dispute arose between Lodowick and Robert di St. Severino, as is usual, for it is impossible for two persons in authority to agree long; but Lodowick getting the upper hand, the other quitted Milan, and went into the Venetian service. Yet, since that, two of his sons, the lord Galeas and the count di Cajazzo, came back and served the count de Lodowick and the state of Milan; some say they came with their father's consent, others say not; be it which it will, Lodowick entertained them very kindly, and they have, and do still, serve him very faithfully. You must know that this Robert their father was of the house of Saint Severino, but by a natural daughter, which in Italy is no great matter, for a natural daughter with them is as good as one lawfully begotten. I mention this particular on account of their assisting us in our enterprise in that country in favour of the prince of Salerno, who is chief of the house of St. Severino, and for other reasons, which you shall hear in another place.

This Lodowick began presently to make it appear, that he would stick at nothing to establish his authority: he caused money to be coined with the duke's effigy on one side, and his own on the other, which disgusted abundance of the people of Milan. The duke was married to the duke of Calabria's daughter, who, after the death of his father Ferrand, king of Naples, was king himself by the name of Alphonso; the young lady was very courageous, and would fain have irritated her husband to the vindication of his authority; but he was a weak prince, and still discovered all she said. The captain of the castle maintained his reputation for a long while, but never stirred from his command. Jealousies began now to arise, so that both the sons never went abroad together, but when one went forth the other staid behind. In short, about a year or two before our expedition into Italy, this Lodowick having been abroad with the young duke, and designing some mischief against him, waited on him back to the castle. The captain having ordered the drawbridge to be let down, and advanced a little way upon it with some of his officers, to receive the duke, and kiss his hand, according to the usual custom; the duke being at some distance from the bridge, the captain was forced to

step forward a pace or two; upon which the two sons of St. Severino, and others that were with them, seized on him and secured him. Those of the castle pulled up the drawbridge, upon which this Lodowick, causing the end of a candle to be lighted, swore he would cut off the captain's head if they did not surrender the castle before that candle was burnt out; upon which they submitted; and he fortified it, and put a strong garrison into it for himself, though all was done in the duke's name. Lodowick caused a charge to be exhibited likewise against the captain, on pretence that he would have delivered up the castle to the emperor; and seized upon several Germans, who, as he gave out, were agents in the business, but discharged them again, and beheaded one of his secretaries as a principal manager of that affair, and another for carrying messages betwixt them. Lodowick kept the captain a long while in prison, but at last he released him, pretending, that when the dutchess of Milan had upon a certain time corrupted one of his brothers, and hired him to kill him as he was entering into the castle, the captain had prevented it, and upon that account he had now spared his life. Yet I am of opinion, had he been guilty of a design of delivering that castle to the emperor, who had a double title to it, as emperor and duke of Austria, which family pretends to it likewise, he would scarcely have excused him, for it would have produced great disturbance in Italy, and the whole state of Milan would have revolted in a day; for whilst they were under the dominion of the emperors, every house paid but half a ducat taxes; but now, both clergy, nobility, and people, are miserably oppressed, and to speak the truth, under perfect slavery.

Lodowick being in possession of the castle, and finding all the soldiers belonging to that family devoted to his service, resolved to proceed; for he that is master of Milan has the whole government, and the senate, at his mercy; because the principal senators, and those who have the charge of other places in that government, have their residence there; and for the bigness of it I never saw a richer or finer country than the dutchy of Milan: and if the prince could content himself with a yearly revenue of 500,000 ducats, the subjects would grow wealthy, and the prince be secure; but he raises six hundred and fifty or seven hundred thousand ducats every year, which is absolute tyranny, and makes the people so fond of revolutions. Upon this consideration, and what has been said before, Lodowick, being married to the duke of Ferrara's daughter, by whom he had several children, prepared to accomplish his designs, and took care to strengthen himself with friends, both in Italy and abroad. He first entered into an alliance, for

mutual preservation with the Venetians, to whom he had been a great friend, to the prejudice of his father-in-law, from whom not long before, the Venetians had taken a small territory called the Polesan, encompassed entirely with water, and wonderfully fruitful; which place, though but half a league distance from Ferrara, the Venetians keep to this day, and in it there are two pretty towns, Rovigo and Labadio, which I have seen. This country was lost upon the duke of Ferrara's making war upon the Venetians at first by himself; but before the end of the war, Alphonso duke of Calabria, whilst his father Ferrand was alive, count Lodowick with the forces of Milan, the Florentines, the pope, and the city of Bologna, came in to his assistance: yet, when the Venetians were conquered, or at least very low, their treasury exhausted, their soldiers corrupted, and several of their towns lost, Lodowick made an honourable and advantageous peace for them, by which all was to be restored to every body but the poor duke of Ferrara, who had begun the war at the instigation of Ferrand and this Lodowick who had married his daughter; for the duke of Ferrara was forced to let the Polesan remain in the hands of the Venetians, who keep it to this day. It was reported that Lodowick had sixty thousand ducats for his pains; whether true or false I cannot yet determine; but I am sure the duke of Ferrara was of that opinion himself. At this time he was not married to his daughter, and therefore the friendship between him and the Venetians continued.

None of all the subjects or relations of John Galeas, duke of Milan, gave Lodowick the least disturbance in his designs upon the government, unless it were the young dutchess, who was a wise lady, daughter to Alphonso duke of Calabria, as I said before, eldest son to Ferrand king of Naples. In the year 1493 count Lodowick began to solicit Charles VIII. now reigning in France, to an expedition into Italy, to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and to supplant and exterminate those who possessed it; for whilst they were in authority, Lodowick durst not attempt what he did afterwards; for at that time Ferrand and Alphonso his son were both very rich, of great experience in the wars, and had the reputation of being very valiant princes, though it appeared otherwise upon occasion. This Lodowick was a wise man, but very timorous and humble where he was in awe, and false when it was for his advantage; and this I do not speak by hearsay, but as one that knew him well, and had many transactions with him. But to proceed, in the year 1493 count Lodowick began to tickle king Charles, who was but twenty-two years of age, with the vanities and glories of Italy, remonstrating, as is reported, the right which he had to

the kingdom of Naples, which he knew well enough how to blazon and display. He addressed himself in every thing to Stephen de Vers, who was now become seneschal of Beaucaire, and much enriched, though not to the height of his ambitious desires; and general Brissonet, who was rich, well skilled in the management of the finances, and a great man with the seneschal of Beaucaire, by whose means count Lodowick persuaded Brissonet to turn priest, and he would make him a cardinal; but the seneschal was to have a dutchy. For the better management of these affairs, count Lodowick, in the year 1493, sent a formal embassy to the king at Paris: the chief of the embassy was the count di Cajazzo, eldest son of Robert di St. Severino, whom I mentioned before. This count di Cajazzo met the prince of Salerno at Paris, who was his cousin, and chief of the house of St. Severino; and being banished his own country by Ferrand, was then in France, pressing and soliciting that king to an enterprise against Naples. With the count di Cajazzo came also count Charles de Bellejoyeuse, and the lord Galeas Visconti of Milan: both of them were well attended, and in great splendour, but their discourse was only in public, and then in general terms, by the way of compliment and visitation; and this was the first solemn embassy that ever Lodowick sent to the king. He had formerly sent one of his secretaries to endeavour to procure that his nephew the duke of Milan might be permitted to do homage for Genoa by proxy, which was granted, against all appearance of reason. It is true, the king was at liberty to do him that favour, and depute some person or other to receive his homage; for when he was under the guardianship of his mother, I, being then ambassador at Milan for the late king Lewis XI. received it by commission from the king in the castle of Milan; but when Genoa was out of his hands, and in the possession of Baptista di Campoforgoso, and now count Lodowick had recovered it, and gave eight thousand ducats, to some persons about the king, to be invested: but they did their master a mighty injury, for they might have had Genoa as well for him; or if it must be sold, why for so little? since duke Galeas paid my master king Lewis fifty thousand ducats at one payment, of which I had thirty thousand given me by his majesty; and yet they pretended they received the eight thousand ducats by the king's consent. Stephen de Vers was one of the number of those that received them, who beat down the price to prepare and oblige Lodowick to his interest, when his design should be fit for execution. The ambassadors being arrived at Paris, as I said before, and having had their public audience, the king took the count di

Cajazzo into his closet, and had a private conference with him for some time: this count di Cajazzo was in great reputation in Milan, and his brother John Galeas di St. Severino was in greater, especially in military affairs, who began to make large offers of his interest and assistance to the king both in men and money; for his master had already as absolute a command of the state of Milan as if it had been his own, and could dispose of it as he pleased. He represented the business very easy to the king, and the next day he and the lord Galeas took their leave of his majesty and departed; but count Charles de Bellejoyeuse remained behind to solicit it still, and immediately after they were gone he put himself into the French habit, and managed this affair so dexterously, that several of the courtiers began to approve of the design. The king sent into Italy one Peron de Basche, educated in the family of Anjou, under John duke of Calabria, as his ambassador to pope Innocent, the Venetians, and the Florentines. These embassies from one court to another, and secret negotiations, continued seven or eight months, and among those who were privy to it the enterprise was talked of several ways; but none of them ever imagined that the king designed to have gone himself in person.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the peace that was concluded between Charles VIII. king of the Romans, and the archduke of Austria; and the return of the lady Margaret of Flanders, before this expedition to Naples.

DURING this suspension of affairs, a peace was negotiated at Senlis, between the king and the archduke of Austria, heir to the house of Burgundy; and though a truce was already concluded, yet new occasion of difference arose; for the king forsook the daughter of the king of the Romans, and sister to the archduke, upon account of her being too young, and married the daughter of Francis duke of Bretagne, that he might keep that province peaceably; the greatest part of which at the time of the treaty was in his possession, except the town of Rennes, where the young lady lived under the guardianship of her uncle the prince of Orange, who had been instrumental in making the match between her and the king of the Romans, and married her by proxy publicly in the church about the year 1492. In favour of the archduke the emperor Frederick sent a solemn embassy, and offered his mediation.

The king of the Romans, the count Palatine, and the Swiss, did the like, in order to compose this difference; for they all were of opinion great disputes would arise, and that the king of the Romans had very great injury done him; not only to take from him a person whom he thought was his wife, but to send back his daughter, who had been lawfully married, and queen of France for several years together. In short, a peace was concluded; for every body was weary of war, especially duke Philip's subjects, who had suffered so much both by their wars with the king, and their distractions and divisions at home, that they were not able to carry it on any longer. The peace was made only for four years, to give some repose; and Maximilian's daughter was to be sent back, though with some difficulty; for there were some persons both about the king and the lady that strenuously opposed it. I was at this treaty myself with the rest of the commissioners, who were, Peter duke of Bourbon, the prince of Orange, the lord des Cordes, and several other persons of quality. It was concluded, that all the king was possessed of in the province of Artois, should be restored to duke Philip, according to the agreement in the treaty of marriage in 1492; and that if that was not accomplished, that then all the lands which went in dower with the daughter, should be restored, either to her or duke Philip. But the archduke's subjects had already surprised Arras and St. Omers, so that there remained nothing to be restored but Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune; the revenue and lordship of which places were immediately delivered, and they put in what officers they pleased, only the king was to remain in possession of the castles for the term of four years, during which he might put what garrisons he pleased into them; but at the end of four years, which were to expire on St. John's day 1498, the king was obliged, both by oath and promise, to restore them to the archduke. Whether these changes of martiages were according to the laws and canons of the church or not, I cannot resolve, and therefore shall leave it without any determination; for I find the doctors divided about this point, and as some have told me they were not lawful, so others have maintained that they were. Be it which way it will, the ladies were all unfortunate in their children. Our queen had three sons successively in four years, but all of them died, though one lived to be three years old. Madam Margaret of Austria was married to the prince of Castile, only son to the king and queen of Castile and several other kingdoms; which prince died the first year of his marriage, which was in the year 1487, leaving his princess with child, and she miscarried of a son not long after his

death, to the unspeakable affliction of the king and queen of Castile, and the whole kingdom. Presently after these changes, the king of the Romans married the daughter of Galeas duke of Milan, sister to the abovementioned duke John Galeas, which marriage was contracted by count Lodowick, highly to the dissatisfaction of the princes of the empire, and several others of the friends of the king of the Romans, who looked upon the lady as not of an extraction illustrious enough for him. For as for the Visconti, from whom the present dukes of Milan are descended, there is no great matter of nobility among them, and less among the Sforzi; for the first of that house was duke Francis, whose father was a shoemaker in a little town called Cotignole; but he was a brave and magnificent person, and his son was a greater; for he made himself duke of Milan by the assistance and management of his wife, (who was the natural daughter of duke Philip Mary), conquered it, and possessed it, not as a tyrant, but as a good and lawful prince; being equal in virtue and goodness with most, and those of the best, princes of his time. Thus much I have written, that I might shew what has already been the consequence of these changes; nor can I tell what there is still remaining behind.

A treaty of peace between king Charles VIII. and Maximilian I. king of the Romans, and his son Philip archduke of Austria, concluded at Senlis, May 23, 1493.

1. A GOOD peace, firm friendship, and perpetual alliance, is and shall ever remain between the most Christian king, the dauphin, their kingdom, territories, and subjects, and the king of the Romans, and archduke Philip his son, as well in their own name, as in the name of the lady Margaret of Austria, the said king's daughter, and the archduke's sister, for themselves, their countries, territories, subjects, &c. laying aside all malevolence, and forgetting all past injuries.

2. Seeing the most Christian king, after his marriage to the queen, hath notified by his ambassadors to the king of the Romans and the archduke, his desire to send back the said lady Margaret, and to have her conducted suitably to her quality to any place agreed on, and for that end had sent her as far as Amiens; he does still offer at his own charge to conduct her suitably to her quality from the town of Meaux, where she now resides, before the third of June next, to St. Quintin, and to put her from thenceforward into the hands of the ambassadors of the king of the Romans and the archduke.

3. Upon such a delivery of the said lady into the hands of the commissioners appointed by the king of the Romans and the archduke, the said princes shall give proper instruments to the king, freeing him from all obligations of marriage with her, who shall also do the same by her.

4. The most Christian king and the archduke reserve to themselves the liberty of recovering any rights in an amicable way, and by course of law, to such things as are not adjusted by this peace.

5. The counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois, and the lordship of Noyers, with all their appurtenances, shall be delivered up to the king of the Romans, as guardian to his son the archduke: and also the towns and castles of Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune, now in the possession of the king of France, shall be deposited in the hands of the mareschal de Querdes, who shall keep them without any charge to the archduke, save the usual profits taken by the commanders of the said places; and he shall take an oath to the king and the archduke both, for the due maintenance of their rights, and shall keep no guard therein, as may be prejudicial to either party, who shall engage not to oblige him thereunto on either side; and if they do, he shall then be discharged of all his oaths, till the archduke shall arrive at the age of twenty, which will be on Saint John Baptist's Eve in 1498.

6. The archduke, after he is of age, having done homage to the king in due form, those towns and places shall be given up to him by the mareschal or others, who ought to do it, and have the command therein.

7. The officers shall continue in their places, having commissions from the archduke till he comes of age and does homage.

8. As to the city of Arras, its revenue and temporalities, it shall be deposited in the hands of the bishop and chapter to whom it belongs, under the ordinary jurisdiction of the bailiwick of Amiens, in the usual manner; and as to the captainship, which is in the king's disposal, he shall be content to appoint the person that now is, or shall be nominated by the archduke, till of age, under the usual obligations: but the city shall be entirely in the king's power, when the archduke comes of age.

9. The houses of Flanders, Artois, and Conflans, so called, in and near Paris, shall be delivered to the archduke.

10. The archduke shall not be obliged to do homage till he is of age; but the king shall at the same time enjoy his usual rights and prerogatives.

11. The counties of Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine,

shall be enjoyed by the king, till the pretensions of the parties are decided.

12. What rights the archduke pretends to have acquired by the treaty of 1482, shall remain in being, and the king shall be free to controvert the same.

13. The ecclesiastical preferments conferred by the king in Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, and Noyers, shall remain as they are.

14. Free commerce shall be restored both by sea and land, and on fresh waters; paying the usual customs as before the breaking out of the war.

15. The cities, towns, and villages of Tournay, Tournesis, Mortagne, St. Amand, &c. as the king's subjects, are expressly comprehended in this peace: so are the allies of both parties.

16. Cambray, the Cambresis, with all its inhabitants, are by common consent included in the peace, and maintained in all their rights under either prince to whom they belong; and the infractors on either side shall be punished by the conservators of the peace.

17. A general act of indemnity shall be granted by both parties, upon the account of taking up arms, &c. for the contrary side; no process being ever to be formed against them; and those who have a mind to sue out a pardon, it shall be freely granted them.

18. All persons, as well ecclesiastics as laics, shall by this peace return to the peaceable possession of their dignities, benefices, and inheritances, wherever situated on either side, and be kept in the peaceable possession of the same; notwithstanding any declarations, confiscations, sentences, and arrests, to the contrary; and the judges, magistrates, &c. shall be obliged to be assisting herein.

19. Under this article of returning to their estates and rights are comprehended the old servants of the late dukes Philip and Charles, who after the death of duke Charles stuck to the king, who by virtue of this peace shall enjoy their pensions assigned them in his lifetime, upon the demesns of the counties of Artois and Burgundy.

20. If any inheritances have been sold by contumacy, or on the account of personal debts owing, the debtors shall, within a year after the proclaiming of the peace, return to their possessions, paying the said debts, &c.

21. As to the rents, profits, and incomes of those inheritances granted in a way of reward, or the like, by either party, all that has been done of that kind since 1470 to the present peace, shall never be accounted for; but yet with an exception to any inheritances that in a due course of law have been adjudged to creditors

for arrearages of rents, which arrearages have been given away or remitted; such gifts or releasements shall not take place, but for such arrearages as have escheated in time of war.

22. As to moveables, which have not been made away, but are found upon the premises, which the subjects of either party shall return to, and the debts and arrearages that have not been given away, nor adjudged by law, they shall belong to the said subjects, and not to those who shall have a general list of their moveables.

23. The enjoyments of the dignities, benefices, inheritances, &c. by the subjects of either party, shall not oblige them to reside where they are; neither are they by that bound to take an oath to the prince in whose dominions they are, unless they are fiefs and their vassals.

24. Those who shall return to their estates by virtue of this peace, shall not be prosecuted for rent-charges escheated during the war; and those lands which lay waste and uncultivated during the war, shall be liable to the payment of no rents.

25. No reprisals shall be made after the peace, upon the account of damages sustained by the subjects of either party; nor any letters of mart, contramart, or the like, granted.

26. By this peace all the people of Arras, of whatever condition, that have absented themselves since the surprise of that city, wherever they are, are free to return, and traffic there, notwithstanding any promises or otherwise to the contrary: and whether they do return or not, they shall as much as any of the other subjects enjoy their estates, rights, benefices, moveables, and utensils yet in being, without any molestation whatsoever.

27. In like manner the people of St. Omer, of what calling or quality soever, who resided therein while it was neuter, and afterwards, by reason of the taking and retaking it, absented themselves from it, shall, notwithstanding any interdiction or sentence against them, return, and enjoy their estates, benefices, &c. without any manner of molestation: and all offences and injuries shall be entirely remitted.

28. The lady Margaret, widow of Charles late duke of Burgundy, is comprehended in this treaty: the king consenting she shall enjoy the lands and seigniories of Chauchnis and la Perriere, with all their appurtenances in the viscounty of Auxonne, in the same manner as the late dutchess Isabella, the mother of duke Charles, enjoyed them, upon the payment of 20,000 crowns in gold.

29. The most Christian king names for his allies, his imperial majesty, the kings of Castile, England, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Navarre, the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, and

all the dukes and branches of the house of Bavaria, the electors of the holy empire, the duke and house of Savoy, the duke and house of Milan, the doge and republic of Venice, the duke of Lorrain, the duke of Guelderland, the marquis and house of Montferrat, the bishop and city of Liege, the Swiss cantons, the commonwealths of Florence and Genoa. And on the part of the said king of the Romans and archduke, his most sacred imperial majesty, the kings of Castile, Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, England, and Scotland, the electors of the holy Roman empire, as the king of Bohemia and others, the marquis and house of Montferrat, the bishop and city of Liege, and all the princes of the empire, the Swiss cantons, cities and communities of the empire are comprehended.

30. In this peace are also comprehended the king's counsellor William de Harancourt, bishop and count of Verdun, as well in his own person, as for his bishopric and county of Verdun, lordships, subjects, &c, so are also, by the consent of the said princes, the archbishop, and even all the inhabitants of Brianson.

31. The respective parties oblige themselves in the most solemn manner to the observance of this treaty; so they do also their subjects, vassals, &c.

32. Any contravention which may happen of this treaty on either side, shall be repaired at furthest in the space of six weeks.

33. For the greater confirmation of this peace, the king of France will procure to the king of the Romans and the archduke the instruments and seals of the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Nemours, the counts of Angoulesme, Montpensier, and Vendosme; of the prince of Orange, of the mareschals and admirals of France; and of the cities, towns, and communities of Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Poitiers, Tovars, Angers, Orleans, Amiens, and Tournay: and the king of the Romans and the archduke engage to procure those of the dukes of Saxony, marquis of Baden, monsieur de Ravestein, counts of Nassau and of Zollern, prince of Chimay, of messieurs de Bevres, Egmont, Fiennes, Chievres, Walhain, Molembais, du Fay, Fresnoy, great bailiff of Hainault, of the town and communities of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Boisleduc, Ghent, Bruges, Lisle, Douay, Arras, St. Omer, Mons, Valenciennes, Dort, Middleburg, and Namur. And whoever shall contravene this treaty, without reparation made in six weeks, these guarantees are then obliged to leave the contravener, and give assistance to the injured party, and be discharged of their oaths.

34. The instruments on both sides shall be registered and verified in the most regular and authentic manner.

35. The conservators of this peace for the marches on the side

of the country of Burgundy, on the king's part, are, the prince of Orange, M. de Baudricourt, governor of Burgundy, and the bailiffs of Dijon, Chalons, Anthun, and Mascon, or their lieutenants: for the marches of Champagne and Rethelois, M. de Orvat, governor of Champagne, the bailiffs of St. Peter le Monstier, Troyes, and Vitri, or their lieutenants; and for the marches of Picardy, the mareschal des Querdes, the bailiffs of Amiens and Vermandois, the seneschals of Ponthieu, Boulognois, and the governors of Mondidier and Roye, or their lieutenants; and for the sea, the admirals, &c. The conservators on the part of the king of the Romans and the archduke, for the marches of Flanders and Artois, are, M. de Nassau, with the governors of Lisle, Arras, and the bailiffs of the said countries respectively; for the marches of Hainault, the princes of Chimay and the grand bailiff of Hainault; for Luxemburg, the marquis of Baden; for Burgundy, the governor of the county of Burgundy, and the bailiffs of Damont, Daval, and Dole; and for the sea, monsieur de Breves, admiral, &c.

36. No manner of shelter or protection shall be given to vagrants, thieves, and robbers, on either side; but they shall be banished, or otherwise brought to condign punishment wherever they are found.

37. The same thing is to be done in respect to rovers or pirates by sea.

38. Neither party shall receive or support those who shall any way contravene this peace; but they shall be punished for the infractions they make; but the peace at the same time shall not be violated.

39. The said princes and their officers shall assist one another against all those who shall delay or refuse to keep this peace; and they shall on both sides be taken for common enemies; and those who shall any way assist or favour them, shall in like manner be answerable for the mischiefs done by them, and be punished as violators of the peace.

CHAP. IV.

The king of France sends to the Venetians, in order to induce them to enter into an alliance with him, before his undertaking his expedition to Naples, and of the preparation in order to it.

YOU have already been informed of the count di Cajazzo and other ambassadors taking their leave of the king at Paris; of the several secret negotiations that were carried on in Italy, and how

the heart of our king, though very young, was strangely bent upon this expedition, which, however, he discovered to nobody but the two persons above mentioned. His request to the Venetians was, that they would give him their assistance and council in this expedition; and they returned this answer—"That he should be very welcome in Italy, but that they were wholly incapable of assisting him, upon account of their continual apprehensions of the Turk, though at that time they were at peace with him; and to undertake to advise so wise a king, who had so grave a council, would savour too much of presumption; but they would rather assist than disturb him in his designs." This they believed a very discreet answer, and truly so it was; and I am of opinion that their affairs are managed with more prudence and discretion at this day, than any princes or states in the world: but God will still have us know, that the wisdom and policy of man is of no force, where he pleases to interpose; for he orders things many times quite otherwise than they were expected. The Venetians did not imagine that the king would come in person, and, whatever they pretended, they had no apprehension of the Turk; for the Turk who then reigned was a man of no courage nor activity: but their design was to be revenged of the house of Arragon, both father and son, for whom they had a mortal hatred, because, as they said, it was at their instigation that the Turks fell upon them at Scutari; I mean the father of this Turk, called Mahomet, who did abundance of mischief besides to the Venetians. They had several complaints against Alphonzo duke of Calabria, and among the rest, that he had been the occasion of the war which the duke of Ferrara made upon them, which was very expensive, and had like to have proved their ruin. They complained also that he had sent a man to Venice to poison their cisterns, at least such as he could come at; for some are kept under lock and key. In that city they use little other water, for they are wholly surrounded by the sea; but that water is very good, and I drank of it eight months together in my first embassy thither, for I was there since. But these were not the true reasons of their animosity to the house of Arragon; the real occasion was, because the father and son restrained them, and kept them from extending their conquests both in Italy and Greece; for their eyes were upon them on every side, and yet without any title or pretence they had lately subdued the kingdom of Cyprus. Upon these considerations the Venetians thought it highly for their advantage, that a war should be begun between our king and the house of Arragon; hoping it would not have been brought to a conclusion so soon as it was, and that it

would only weaken the power of their enemies, and not utterly destroy them: and then, let what would happen, one side or other would give them towns in Apulia, which borders upon their gulf, for their assistance; and so it happened, but they had like to have been mistaken in their reckoning. Besides, they thought to have transacted affairs so secretly, that nobody could have accused them of inviting our king into Italy, since they had neither given him counsel nor assistance, as appeared to the world by their answer to Peron de Basche.

In the year 1494 the king advanced to Lyons, to examine into his affairs; but nobody ever imagined he would have passed the mountains himself. He was met there by the lord Galeas di St. Severino, brother to the count di Cajazzo, with a numerous retinue, on the part of count Lodowick, whose lieutenant and chief minister he was. He brought him arms, and abundance of fine horses dressed on purpose for a tournament: he tilted very well himself, was young, and a fine gentleman; and the king used him according to his merit, entertained him with a great deal of honour, and made him a knight of his own order; after which he returned into Italy, but the count de Bellejoyeuse staid with the king to promote his expedition. By this time a great fleet was preparing at Genoa, where the lord d'Urse, master of the horse, and several others, were negotiating the king's affairs. At length, about the beginning of August that year, the king removed to Vienna in Dauphinè, and the nobility of Genoa resorted to him daily. The king also sent to Genoa at that time Lewis duke of Orleans, now king of France, a young prince, and very handsome, but much addicted to his pleasures. It was the opinion of every body at that time, that he was to command the army in chief; and that it was to have been embarked and landed in the kingdom of Naples, by the assistance and direction of the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, whom we have mentioned before. They had gotten fourteen great ships, besides several gallies and galeons, ready at Genoa; and the king was as much obeyed in those parts as at Paris, for the city belonged to the state of Milan, where count Lodowick governed, without any competitor but the duke his nephew's wife, daughter to king Alphonzo, for at that time his father king Ferrand was dead: but the poor lady had no great power, since the king's army was ready to march, and her husband a weak prince, and discovered whatever she said to her uncle, who had already caused a messenger to be drowned that she had sent to her father.

The equipping of this fleet was very expensive, and I believe cost no less than three hundred thousand franks, which quite ex-

hausted the king's treasury, and yet did him no great service after all this expense; for as I observed before, neither his exchequer, his understanding, nor his preparations, were sufficient for such an important enterprise; and yet by the mere favour of providence he succeeded in it, which was visibly manifest to all the world. I do not say that the king wanted wisdom, considering his age; but he was only two-and-twenty years old, and not as yet capable of understanding state affairs. Those who were the chief managers of this affair, I mean Stephen de Vers, seneschal of Beaucaire, and monsieur Brissonet, at present cardinal of St. Malo, were two persons of indifferent fortunes, and less experience, which made the power of God more conspicuous; for our enemies were reputed wise, warlike, and rich, well furnished with counsellors and officers, and in possession of the whole kingdom: I speak of Alphonso of Arragon, newly crowned by pope Alexander, who was in amity both with the Florentines and the Turk. King Alphonso had a son called Don Ferrand, a hopeful gentleman of about two or three-and-twenty years old, performed his exercises very well, and was extremely beloved in that kingdom; and a brother called Don Frederick, who was king after the death of Ferrand, a wise prince, and admiral of their fleet, who was educated a long time on this side the mountains, and one that you, my lord of Vienna, have often, by your skill in astrology, assured me would be king; and he promised me, upon my telling him of it, a pension of four thousand livres, if it proved true, as it did twenty years afterwards.

But to proceed. The king changed his resolution, being prevailed upon by the duke of Milan's letters, the importunity of Charles de Bellejoyeuse his ambassador, and his two ministers above mentioned; but by degrees Brissonet's courage began to fail him, finding that all sober and rational persons condemned the expedition, as beginning in August, without money, and every thing else that was necessary to carry it on. So that the seneschal was the only man that was consulted; for the king looked sour upon monsieur Brissonet for three or four days, but he was reconciled to him afterwards. About this time one of the seneschal's servants died of the plague, and he durst not appear at court; which was a great mortification to him, for there was nobody else to carry on the design. The duke and dutchess of Bourbon were with the king, and used all their interest to hinder this expedition, and monsieur Brissonet did the same; so that one day it was laid aside, and the other revived. At last the king resolved to march, and thinking to pass the mountains more commodiously in small bodies, I mounted on horseback and advanced before; but was

countermanded, and assured that design was given over. The same day fifty thousand ducats were taken up of a merchant of Milan, but the count Lodowick was security to the merchant. I was engaged for six thousand of that sum, and others for the rest; but it was borrowed without interest. Before that, we had borrowed of the bank of Soly in Genoa, a hundred thousand franks, the interest of which in four months amounted to fourteen thousand franks; but some people said the persons above mentioned kept part of the money for their own private use.

CHAP. V.

King Charles sets out from Vienna in Dauphinè to conquer Naples in person; and the action that was performed by his fleet under the command of the duke of Orleans.

IN short, the king, on the three-and-twentieth of August 1494, set out from Vienna in Dauphinè towards Asti. At Suza the lord Galeas di St. Severino came post to meet his majesty, who advanced from thence to Turin, where he borrowed the jewels of Madam de Savoy, daughter of the late William marquis of Monferrat, and widow to Charles duke of Savoy; having pawned them for twelve thousand ducats, he removed a few days after to Casale to the marchioness of Montferrat, widow of the late marquis of Montferrat, a young and prudent lady, and daughter to the king of Servia. The Turk having overrun her country, the emperor, in respect of the relation betwixt them, took care of her, and married her there. She also lent the king her jewels, and they were engaged as the other for twelve thousand ducats; by which you may see what a prosperous beginning there was of this war, had not God himself interposed. The king continued at Asti for some time. The wines in Italy were sour this year, and therefore not at all agreeable to the French, any more than the excessive heat of the air. Count Lodowick and his lady came with a numerous retinue to wait on his majesty; they staid there two days, and then removed to a castle called Non, about a league from Asti, belonging to the dutchy of Milan, to which place the king's council resorted to him daily.

King Alphonso had two armies in the field, one in Romania towards Ferrara, under the command of his son, who was attended by the lord Virgil Ursin, the count de Petilhane, and the count

John James di Trivulce, who at this time are in our interest. To face this body of forces there was the lord d'Aubigny on the king's side, a wise man, and a brave officer, and with him about two hundred Frenchmen at arms, and five hundred Italians in the king's service, commanded by the count di Cajazzo above mentioned, as an officer under count Lodowick. They were in great pain for this brigade, for if they had been defeated, we should have retired, and have left count Lodowick to shift for himself, and the enemy had a strong party in the dutchy of Milan.

The other army, which was commanded by Don Frederick, Alphonso's brother, was at sea; and the fleet that had this body of forces on board, lay at Pisa and Leghorn, for the Florentines espoused their interest, and with it a certain number of gallies commanded by Breto di Flisco, and other officers of Genoa, by whose assistance they were in hopes of making themselves masters of that city; and they missed it but narrowly. They landed some thousands of men at Specie and Rapalo, and had they not met with a timely opposition, it is probable they had carried their point; but that very day or the next the duke of Orleans arrived there with some ships, a good number of gallies, and one great galeas which was mine, and commanded by Albert Mely. The duke and chief persons in that army were on board my galeas, with several great pieces of cannon, for she was very strong; and getting as near the shore as possible, they cannonaded the enemy so briskly with their great guns, which till that time were unknown in Italy, that they beat them from their post, landed what soldiers they had in the ships, and from Genoa by land, where the whole army lay, there came to them a considerable body of Swiss, commanded by the bailiff of Dijon. There were other reinforcements also sent from the duke of Milan, under the command of the lord John Lewis di Flisco, brother to the abovementioned Breto, and the lord John Adorni; these were not in the engagement, yet they did their duty, and maintained several passes with a great deal of courage and resolution. In short, by the strength of these reinforcements our army attacked and utterly defeated the enemy, of whom about a hundred or six score were killed in the pursuit, and about eight or ten taken prisoners, among whom there was one signior Forgosa, son to the cardinal of Genoa. Those who were taken, were stripped by the duke of Milan's soldiers, and dismissed; for in Italy that is the law of arms. I had a sight of all letters which brought an account of this victory to the king and the duke of Milan: and after this manner was the army defeated, and never afterwards durst approach us. Upon our return to Genoa the ci-

tizens began to rise up in arms, and slew several Germans that were in the city; but the tumult was soon appeased, after some of the ringleaders of the insurrection were killed.

Something must be said of the Florentines, who sent two embassies to the king of France before his setting out upon this expedition; but their design was only to wheedle and amuse him. The first time, the seneschal, monsieur Brissonet, and myself, were deputed to treat with their ambassadors, who were the bishop of Arezzo and one Peter Soderini: our demands were only to grant us a passage for our troops, and a hundred men at arms, to be paid by them after the Italian establishment, which is but ten thousand ducats a-month. The ambassadors replied according to the instructions that were given them by Peter de Midicis, a young man of no extraordinary parts, son of Laurence de Midicis, lately deceased, who had been one of the wisest men of his time, governed the city almost as a prince, and left it in the same condition to his son. Their family had been of about two generations, Laurence the father of this Peter, and Cosmo who founded it, and was worthily to be reckoned among the chief of that age: considering their profession, which was merchandizing, I think this family was the greatest in the world; for their factors and agents had so much reputation upon their account, that it is scarcely credible. I have seen the effect of it in England and Flanders: I saw one Gerard Quanvese, who kept king Edward upon his throne, almost on his own credit, during the time of the civil wars in that kingdom; for he furnished the king at different times with six score thousand crowns, but not at all to his master's advantage, though at length he got it again. I knew also another, one Thomas Portunay, who was security between king Edward and Charles duke of Burgundy for five hundred thousand crowns, and another time for eighty thousand. I cannot commend merchants for doing so; but it is highly commendable in a prince to be punctual with them, and keep his promise exactly; for he knows not how soon he may want their assistance, and certainly a little money at some critical juncture of affairs does wonders.

This family of the Medicis was looked upon to be in a declining condition, as illustrious houses will decay in all kingdoms and governments, for the authority of his predecessors was a great prejudice to Peter; though indeed Cosmo, the first of it, was mild and gentle in his administration, and behaved himself as he ought to do in a free government. Laurence, the father of Peter, of whom we are now speaking, upon occasion of the difference betwixt him and the Pisans above mentioned, in which several of them were hanged, had a guard of twenty soldiers assigned him,

for the security of his person, by an order from the senate, which at that time acted nothing without his direction and approbation. However, he governed very moderately; for as I said before, he was a wise man; but his son Peter thought it his due, and employed his guards to the terror and vexation of his people, committing great injuries and insolencies by them in the night, and invading the common treasure, which his father had done too before him, but managed it so prudently that the people were almost satisfied with his proceedings.

The second time, Peter sent as his ambassadors to Lyons, Peter Caponi and others, excusing himself as he had done before, that king Lewis XI. had commanded the Florentines to make peace with king Ferrand in the time of John duke of Anjou, and to forsake the alliance of the duke; alleging, that since it was by command of the late king of France that they had entered into an alliance with the house of Arragon, and the term of the said alliance not being to expire for some years, they could not in justice desert it: however, if his majesty entered their territories, they would rather assist than oppose him; but they thought no more of his coming in person than the Venetians did. In both these embassies there was somebody still who was an enemy to the Medicis, and at this time more particularly Peter Caponi, who often informed us what measures were to be taken in order to make the city of Florence revolt from Peter de Medicis, traducing him more sharply than he really deserved: he advised the king to banish all Florentines out of our kingdom, and so he did. I mention this particular, that you may more easily understand the sequel of these memoirs; for the king had conceived a great enmity against Peter de Midicis; and the seneschal and monsieur Brissonet held great intelligence with his enemies in the city, especially with this Caponi, and with two of Peter's cousins-german of his own name.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the king's resolution at Asti to go in person into the kingdom of Naples, by the persuasion and advice of Lodowick Sforza: of Philip de Comines being sent on an embassy to Venice: of the duke of Milan's death, and of count Lodowick making himself duke in prejudice of a son of the late duke of Milan.

I HAVE given an account of the engagement at Rapalo by sea: Don Frederick, upon this defeat, retired to Pisa and Leghorn, without staying for the forces which he had put on shore; at which

the Florentines were highly disgusted, as being always in their own minds more inclinable to favour the French than the house of Arragon: and our army in Romania, though the weaker of the two, yet it had better fortune than the other, and forced the duke of Calabria to give ground by degrees; which the king observing, he took a resolution to march forward, being solicited to do it by count Lodowick and others whom I have mentioned before; and at his arrival count Lodowick saluted him after this manner:—

"Sir, do not fear the success of this enterprise in the least; Italy consists of but three estates that are considerable: Milan, which is one of them, is your's already; the Venetians are neutral, and you will have to do only with Naples. When we were united, and joined together in a mutual alliance, several of your predecessors have been too powerful for us. If you would be ruled by me, I would assist in making you greater than Charlemagne; for when you have conquered the kingdom of Naples, we will easily drive this Turk out of the empire of Constantinople. If he meant it of the Turk who now reigns, he was likely enough; but affairs on our side must have been managed more wisely. Upon this the king began to be wholly governed by count Lodowick, which highly displeased some of our courtiers, among whom there was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, and I know not who besides; but their resentment was to no purpose, nobody took notice of them; for what they did was but in complaisance to the duke of Orleans, who pretended to the dutchy of Milan. But above all, none was so much disgusted as monsieur Brissonet, who now began to look upon himself as a considerable person, and was become the seneschal's rival in power; and Lodowick having proposed to the king and the seneschal to leave him behind, he was highly incensed against the count, talked bitterly against him, and endeavoured to possess all people that he would leave them in the lurch. It had been more wisdom in him to have been silent; but he was never employed in, nor indeed fit for any affairs of state; for he had not the command of his tongue by any means, though otherwise he was well affected to his master. The conclusion of all was, that several ambassadors should be sent, and I among the rest, to Venice. I put off my journey for some days, because the king was fallen sick of the small pox, and being taken with a high fever besides, was thought to be in danger; but it lasted not above five or six days, so that I resolved upon my journey, and left the king at Asti, not suspecting in the least that he would have proceeded any farther. In six days time I arrived with my mules and train all safe at Venice; for the way was ex-

tremely good. I was very unwilling to depart, as fearing the king would have gone back; but God had otherwise appointed. The king marched directly for Pavia by the way of Casale, where he visited the marchioness of Montferrat, a lady much in our interest, but a great enemy to count Lodowick, and he as much to her. The king was no sooner at Pavia but jealousies began to arise; they would have had the king to lodge in the town, and not in the castle; but nothing would serve his turn but the castle, and lie there he did, and his guards were doubled; and not without cause, for as some told me since, who were then with him, he was in manifest danger. Count Lodowick was much surprised at it, and questioned the king about it, whether he was suspicious of him. In short, things were so carried on both sides, that the amity was not likely to last long: but our people were the most indiscreet in their language; not the king, but some of his nearest relations. In this castle of Pavia there was at that time John Galeas duke of Milan, whom I have mentioned before, and his dutchess the daughter of king Alphonso. The dutchess looked very melancholy, for her husband was dangerously sick, and kept in that castle under a kind of restraint, with herself, her son, and one or two of her daughters; her son is still living, and was then about five years of age. Nobody might see the duke, but any one might see the child. I passed that way three days before the king, but was informed of the duke's illness, and of his not being willing to give me leave to pay my respects to him; however, the king was permitted to visit him when he came, for he was his cousin-german. His majesty told me since, the subject of their discourse was only in general terms, for he was unwilling to disoblige count Lodowick in any thing: yet he had a great mind, as he said, to have given him notice of the designs against him. At the same time the dutchess threw herself at count Lodowick's feet, and begged of him to have compassion on her father and brother; he replied it was not in his power: but she had more reason to have petitioned for her husband and herself, for she was young and very beautiful.

From thence the king marched to Placentia, where count Lodowick was informed that his nephew the duke of Milan lay dying; he took his leave of the king, and being pressed to return, he promised it faithfully. Before he reached Pavia the duke was dead; upon which he went post immediately to Milan: this I saw in a letter which the Venetian ambassador that was with him wrote to Venice, assuring the senate of his designs to make himself duke. It is certain both duke of Venice and senate were much against it, and asked me if my master would not espouse the young duke's

interest? Though the thing was but reasonable; yet, knowing how necessary the count's interest and assistance were to the carrying on our designs, my answer was in doubtful terms. In short, he made himself duke of Milan, and, as many affirmed, that was his design of inviting and drawing us into Italy. He was charged also with the death of his nephew, whose friends and relations put themselves into a condition to have wrested the government out of his hands, and they might easily have done it, had it not been for his alliance with our king; for they had already assembled their forces in Romania, as you have heard, but the count di Cajazzo and monsieur d'Aubigny made them retire; for monsieur d'Aubigny, with about a hundred and fifty or two hundred Frenchmen at arms, and a good body of Swissers, advancing upon them, Don Ferrand and the rest retreated towards their friends, decamping still about half a day before us, towards Forli, which belonged to a lady that was a bastard of the house of Milan, and widow of count Hieronimo, nephew to pope Sextus. It was reported that she favoured their party, but our men having battered a small town of her's for some time, they took it by storm; upon which, and the inclination she had to us before, she came over to our side. The people of Italy began generally to assume new courage, and be desirous of novelty; for they saw that which they had never seen before, and that was the use of great guns, which, though frequent in France, was not till then known in Italy. Don Ferrand retreated towards his own kingdom, and marched for Cesenna, a city of the pope's, in the marquisate of Ancona; but the people stripped and plundered all the stragglers they could meet with; for they were disposed all over Italy to revolt, had things been managed wisely on our part, without violence and plunder. But all was done quite contrary, at which I was extremely concerned; for by this ungenerous way of proceeding we lost all the honour and renown that the French nation might otherwise have gained in that expedition. At our first entrance into Italy we were adored like saints, and every body thought us people of the greatest goodness and sincerity in the world; but that opinion lasted not long, our own disorders, and the clamours and false reports of our enemies quickly convinced them of the contrary, for they accused us wherever they came of all imaginable rapacity, plundering and robbing their houses, and ravishing their wives and daughters whenever they fell into our hands. Nor could they have invented any thing to have rendered us more odious; for in Italy the people are the most jealous and avaricious of any in Europe. As to our ravishing of the women, they wronged us, but for the rest there was too much truth in it.

CHAP. VII.

Peter de Medicis puts four of his strongest garrisons into the king's possession; and restores Pisa, which was one of them, to its antient liberty.

THE king, as you have heard, was at Placentia, where he ordered a solemn funeral for his cousin-german the duke of Milan; and indeed he knew not how else to spend his time, since count Lodowick the new duke had left him. Those who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with these affairs have told me, that the whole army understanding how ill they were provided with every thing necessary for such an expedition, had a great mind to have returned; and that those who were the chief promoters of it at first, began now to condemn it, as the lord d'Ursè, master of the horse, though at that time sick at Genoa; for he wrote a letter upon some intelligence that he pretended to receive, which increased and heightened their former fears and apprehensions, but God, as I said before, conducted this enterprise; for the king had received the unexpected news that the new duke of Milan was upon his return, and that the Florentines were disposed to an alliance with us, in opposition to Peter de Medicis, who played the tyrant among them, to the great dissatisfaction of his nearest relations and several other considerable families in that city, as the Caponi, the Soderini, the Nerli, and almost the whole town; upon which the king left Placentia, and marched towards the territories of the Florentines to force them to declare for him, or to seize upon their towns, which were but in an ill posture of defence, and take up his winter-quarters in them, which was already begun. Several small places received him very readily, and among the rest Lucca, which at that time was at war with Florence; the duke of Milan had always advised the king to take up his quarters in those parts, and advance no farther that winter, in hopes by the king's interest and favour to get into his own possession Pisa, a strong and fair city, Serzana, and Pietro Sancto; for the two last had belonged lately to Genoa, and had been taken from them by the Florentines, in the time of Laurence de Medicis.

The king marched by Pontremolo, which belongs to the dutchy of Milan, and besieged Serzana, the strongest castle the Florentines had, but ill provided by reason of their divisions; and to say true, the Florentines never fight willingly against the French, for they have been always faithful and serviceable to them in respect of their trade and interest in that kingdom, as also upon account

of their being Guelphs. Had Serzana been furnished as it ought to have been, the king's army had certainly been ruined in besieging it; for the country is mountainous and barren, full of snow, and not able to supply us with provisions: the king lay before it but three days, and the duke of Milan came to him before any composition. Having passed through Pontremolo, the citizens and garrison fell out with our Germans, which were commanded by one Buffer, and in the dispute some of our Germans were slain. I was not present at this action myself; but I have been informed of it both by the king, the duke, and several others that were there; and this accident produced great inconveniences, as you will know hereafter. Our affairs went smoothly on at Florence, and were brought to that height that fifteen or sixteen persons were deputed to attend the king; the citizens publicly declaring they would not expose themselves to the displeasure of the king and the duke of Milan, who had a residence in Florence, and Peter de Medicis was forced to concur, for as matters then stood, he knew not how to avoid it; and to have done otherwise would have ruined them, considering how ill they were provided and disciplined. Upon their ambassador's arrival, they offered to receive the king into Florence, and whatever places his majesty pleased, the designs of most of them being fixed upon his journey to Florence, which they thought would conduce to the expulsion of Peter de Medicis; and they pressed it very earnestly by the friends they had gained about the court, whom I have often mentioned before.

On the other hand, Peter de Medicis managed his affairs as diligently, by one Laurence Spinoli, his factor, who governed his bank at Lyons, was a man of integrity, and had lived a considerable time in France; but could not get intelligence of the secret affairs of our court; nor indeed could they who lived constantly in it depend upon any thing, their counsels were so various: however, Spinoli practised with those who had authority there, as the lord de Bresse, since duke of Savoy, and the lord de Myolans, who was chamberlain to the king. As soon as the Florentine ambassadors were returned, Peter de Medicis, and some of his friends, waited on the king with their answers to what had been demanded: they perceived the inevitable ruin of the city would be the consequence of disputing any thing the king thought fit to require; wherefore they resolved to gain his favour by doing something extraordinary, beyond what the rest of the states of Italy had done. Upon the news of their approach, the lord de Piennes, a native of Flanders, and chamberlain to the king, and monsieur Brissonet, whom I have so often mentioned before, were appointed to meet

them: they proposed the surrender of Serzana to Peter de Medicis, which was immediately done: they demanded further, that he would give the king possession of Pisa, Leghorn, Pietro Sancto, and Librefacto, and he granted it, without communicating with his colleagues, who were told that the king was to be received into Pisa, and stay there some time to refresh his troops; but they never thought those places were to be continued in his hands. However, he had put their whole power and fortunes into our custody. Those who managed this treaty with Peter de Medicis have often told me and other people, smiling and laughing at his condescensions, that they were astonished at them, and that he had made several concessions which they had scarcely the confidence to demand. In short, the king entered Pisa, and the ambassadors returned to Florence, where Peter de Medicis ordered lodgings to be prepared for the king in his own house, which is the fairest and best furnished for a merchant and man of his quality of any in Europe.

We must now say something of the duke of Milan, who was already grown weary of the king, and heartily wished him out of Italy, that he might still keep the possession of such places as were delivered up by the Florentines. He pressed the king very hard to have Serzana and Pietro Sancto restored to him, which he said belonged to the Genoese, and at the same time he lent the king 30,000 ducats, upon which, as he told me and several others since, he was promised he should have them; but finding he could not get them, he was highly disgusted at it, and pretending his affairs required him at home, left the king, who never saw him afterwards: But he ordered the lord Galeas di St. Severino to stay with the king, giving him instructions that he should be present in all councils with the count Charles de Bellejoyeuse, whom I have mentioned before. During the king's stay at Pisa, the lord Galeas, at his master's instigation, invited several of the chief citizens of the town to his lodging; and persuaded them to rebel against the Florentines, and petition the king to restore them to their liberty, hoping that by this means the city would fall again into the hands of the duke of Milan, where it had formerly been in the time of duke John Galeas, the first duke of Milan of that name; which John was a great tyrant, but lived very honourably. His body lies in the charter-house at Pavia, not far from the park; it is laid much higher than the altar; the monks shewed it me, or at least his bones, with a ladder, which were no sweeter than nature permitted. One of the monks, who was born at Bourges, in discourse called him Saint; I whispered him in the ear, and asked him why

he gave him the title of Saint; for one might see painted about him the arms of several cities which he had wrongfully usurped; besides, his horse and he being of fine marble, were placed above the altar, and yet his body lay under the feet of his horse: he answered me softly—"In this country we call all saints who do us any good, and he built this church;" which is of fair marble, and indeed the best I ever saw in my life of that kind.

But to proceed, this Galeas di St. Severino had an ambition to be a great man, and Lodowick duke of Milan, whose bastard daughter he had married, seemed ambitious of making him so; for his own children were not old enough as yet. The Pisans had been cruelly treated by the Florentines, and used as their slaves; for they had been conquered by them about one hundred years, much about the time in which the Venetians subdued the country and city of Padua, which was their first acquisition upon the *terra firma*. These two cities were much alike; they had been long enemies to those who had the government of them; they were almost equal in power, and it was a great while before they could be conquered. The Pisans called a council, and finding themselves encouraged by so great a person, and being naturally desirous of liberty, as the king was going to mass, a great number of women and men cried out to him—"Liberty, liberty!" begging of him with tears in their eyes that he would vouchsafe to restore it.—There was at that time one Rabot, a counsellor of the parliament of Dauphinè, and then either actually master of the requests, or executing that office for somebody else, who, having promised to do so, or not well understanding the nature of their demands, acquainted the king, as he was walking before him, with the deplorable condition of the Pisans, and told his majesty he ought in justice to redress their wrongs, for never people had been so tyrannically dealt with. The king not understanding what they meant by that word liberty, and beginning to commiserate the afflictions of Italy, and the miseries the poor subject endures both under prince and commonwealth, replied—"He was willing it should be so;" though, to speak the truth, he had no authority to do it; for the town was not his own, and he was received into it only in friendship, and to relieve him in his present necessities. Monsieur Rabot having told them the king's answer, the people began to fill the streets with acclamations of joy, and running to the end of the bridge upon the river Arno, they pulled down a great lion called Mazorco, which stood upon a marble pillar, and represented the government of Florence, and threw it into the river. When they had so done, they caused another to be set up

of the king of France, with his sword in his hand, and the Mazorco or lion under his horse's feet. After that, when the king of the Romans came to that town, they served the statue of the king of France as they had done the poor lion, for it is the humour of the Italians to side with the strongest always; but these Pisans were, and are still, so barbarously treated, they ought in justice to be excused for what they do.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the king's departure from Pisa towards Florence; and of the flight and destruction of Peter de Medicis.

THE king stayed not long there, but departed for Florence; where they complained to him of the injury he had done to the Florentines, and that it was not according to his promise, to restore the Pisans to their liberty. Those whom he appointed to answer their memorial excused it in the best manner they could; alleging, that his majesty was not rightly informed, nor did he understand any thing of another agreement, of which I shall say something hereafter. But in the first place I must speak of the fortune of Peter de Medicis, of the king's entrance into Florence, and of the garrisons that his majesty left in Florence, Pisa, and other places, which the Florentines had lent him. After Peter de Medicis, by the consent of some few of his colleagues, had delivered up the abovementioned towns to the king, he returned to Florence, supposing the king would not have kept them, but that after he had refreshed himself for three or four days, and had left Pisa, they would have been delivered to him again. I am of opinion, that had the king proposed to them to have staid there the whole winter, they would easily have consented to it; though Pisa, except in the numbers of the people, and the richness of their furniture, is of greater value and importance to them than Florence itself. Peter de Medicis, upon his return to Florence, was but coldly received by the people, who looked discontentedly upon him, and not without reason; for he had disarmed them of their power and authority, and robbed them of all the conquests they had gained for a hundred years before; so that their hearts seemed to presage the calamities which have happened to them since. For this cause, which I believe was the principal, (though they never declared it), for the hatred they bore him, as I have said before, and for the

recovery of their liberties, which they desired impatiently, without any respect to the services of Cosmo and Laurence his predecessors, they resolved to drive him out of the town. Peter de Medicis having some intelligence, but no certain knowledge of their designs, went to the senate to acquaint them with the king's approach, who was within three miles of the city; but coming according to his usual custom, with his guards, and knocking boldly at the palace gate, he was denied entrance by one of the Nerli, (of whom there were several brothers that I was well acquainted with, and their father, all very wealthy people), who told him he might enter if he pleased alone, but not otherwise; and he that gave him this answer was armed. Upon which, Peter de Medicis returned to his house, put himself and his domestics in arms, and sent word of it to one Paul Ursini, who was in the Florentine service; for by the mother's side Peter de Medicis was a-kin to the Ursini, of which family his father and himself had always had several in their service; resolving to stand upon his guard, and oppose any insurrection that might happen in the city: but not long after, hearng a great cry of—"Liberty, liberty!" and the people being assembled in arms, he left the city, according to the prudent advice that was given him by this Ursini; though it was a sad parting for him, for in power and riches he and his predecessors had been equal with the greatest princes; and that day fortune began to be adverse, and he lost both authority and estate. I was at Venice myself, but the news was communicated to me by the Florentine ambassador, who was there, and was extremely concerned at it; for I had a great respect for his father. Had this Peter believed me formerly, he had not then been in that condition; for upon my first arrival at Venice I wrote to him, and offered to make his peace with the king, and it was in my power to have done it; for I had commission from the seneschal and Brissonet both to do it, and the king would have been contented barely with passage for his troops, or at the worst to have had Leghorn put into his hands, for which he would have done whatever Peter could have desired; but by the persuasion and ill counsel of Peter Caponi, whom I have mentioned before, he did but laugh at me for the offer I made him.

The next morning the Florentine ambassador delivered a letter to the senate of Venice, importing that Peter de Medicis was banished Florence for endeavouring to make himself sovereign of that city, by the assistance of the Ursini and the house of Arragon; besides other complaints against him, which were not true. But such are the accidents and successes in this world, he who is beaten and flies, is not only sure to be pursued by his enemies, but shall

be forsaken, and perhaps persecuted by his friends, as was too visible in the behaviour of this ambassador, Anthony Soderini, one of the wisest statesmen in all Italy. The day before the delivery of this letter, he mentioned Peter de Medicis to me with the respect due to his sovereign lord, now he declared himself his enemy by order from the state; but to do him justice, he said nothing of himself that was to his prejudice. The next day I was informed that Peter de Medicis was coming to Venice, that the king had made his triumphal entry into Florence, and that the senate had recalled their ambassador, telling him—"They were necessitated to sail by that wind;"—that was their expression. I saw their letter myself, for he shewed it me upon his leaving Venice. Two days after his departure, Peter de Medicis arrived at Venice, in the disguise of a servant in livery. The Venetians were at a loss how to behave themselves towards him; they were afraid of disobliging the king, and yet they could not in reason refuse to give him protection; however, they made him wait two days before they would declare their resolutions, desiring to know of me how my master would take it: I had never received any orders from the king to resent it, and being willing to serve him, I answered —"That I supposed this flight was from the people, not from the king." Upon which he was received, and the next day after his appearance before the senate, I made him a visit. The senate ordered a handsome apartment for him, permitted himself, and about twenty of his retinue, to wear their swords, and shewed him a great deal of honour and respect; for though his grandfather Cosmo had formerly hindered them from making themselves masters of Milan, yet they had a reverence for the honour of his family, which had been so renowned all over Europe. When I came into his presence, methought he seemed not to answer my expectation: he gave me a narrative of his misfortunes, and I gave him the best consolation I could: among the rest of his complaints, he told me he had lost all; but that which made the deepest impression on his spirits, was, that having written to a factor of his in town, to furnish him with cloth for himself and his brother, and only to the amount of a hundred ducats, he had been refused; which was a strange thing, considering his estate and authority, which had continued in great lustre in that family for three score years together. Not long after, he heard good news from the lord de Bresse, since duke of Savoy, and the king wrote to him to come to him. However, the king left Florence about the same time, as you will find hereafter; but I was forced to say something of this Peter de Medicis by the by.

CHAP. IX.

The king's entrance into Florence, and what other towns he passed through, in his march to Rome.

THE next day the king made his entrance into Florence, where Peter de Medicis had prepared a noble apartment for him in his own palace, and appointed the Lord de Ballassat to attend him; but as soon as his majesty was informed of the flight of Peter de Medicis, he fell a-rifling the palace, upon pretence that the bank at Lyons was in arrear to him for a considerable sum of money; and among other things he seized upon a whole unicorn's horn, valued at six or seven thousand ducats, besides two great pieces of another, and several other things; and other people followed his example. The best of his furniture was conveyed into another house in the city; but the mob plundered it. The senate got part of his richest jewels, twenty thousand ducats in ready money that he had in the bank in the city; several fine agate cups, besides an incredible number of seals admirably well cut, which I have seen, and three thousand medals of gold and silver, weighing nearly forty pounds, which I believe was more than in all Italy besides; so that his losses in the city that day might be computed at a hundred thousand crowns, if not more: but the king being got into the city, a treaty was set on foot between him and the Florentines; and I am of opinion the citizens embraced it very heartily. They gave the king six score thousand ducats, paid him 50,000 down, and the rest in two short payments afterwards. They lent him all the abovementioned places, and changed their arms, which were the Red Flower-de-Luce, and bore the king's, who took them into his protection, and swore upon the alter of St. John to restore the towns which they had put into his possession within four months after his arrival at Naples, or sooner, if he should return into France; but matters succeeded otherwise, as you will find in the sequel of these memoirs.

The king made but little stay at Florence: but advanced with his army to Sienna, where being well received, he advanced to Viterbo, where the enemy (Don Ferrand having retreated towards Rome) designed to post and fortify themselves, and fight if they saw an advantageous opportunity, as king Alphonso's and the pope's ambassadors at Venice told me; and truly I expected the arrival of king Alphonzo in person there, for he had the reputation of being a man of courage, and that he would have left his son in the

kingdom of Naples, to have managed affairs in his absence. According to my judgment the place would not have been altogether improper for them; for he would have had his own kingdom, the patrimony of the church, and the towns and places belonging to the Ursini behind them. And I was extremely surprised to hear by letters, that the king was at Viterbo, and that one of the Commanders had delivered up the castle upon the intercession of the cardinal Petri ad Vincula, who was governor of it, and the Colonni. I fancied then that God would put an end to this affair, and began to repent of my having advised and written to the king to come to an accommodation; for they offered him very fair. Aqua Pendente, Montefiascone, and all the adjacent towns were delivered up before the surrender of Viterbo, as I was informed by letters from the king and others, to the senate at Venice, who had daily intelligence of what passed, from their ambassadors, which they shewed me, or else ordered their secretaries to give me an account. From Viterbo the king marched towards Rome, through the dominions of the Ursini, which were all surrendered to him by the lord Charles Ursini, pretending that he had orders from his father to do so, who was always in king Alphonso's service, and that while Don Ferrand was entertained in the territories of the church, so long was he commanded to wait on the king, and no longer. This was exactly according to the custom in Italy, both among princes and captains, and all persons; for there they carry fair with their very enemies, for fear it should be their misfortune to be of the weakest side. The king therefore was received into Bracciano, the chief place belonging to Virgil Ursini; it was strong, beautiful, and well furnished with provisions. I have heard the king often commend the place, and the entertainment he met with there; for at that time his army was in great distress for want of provisions, and indeed they could hardly be in greater: so that if we do but consider how often this army was inclinable to mutiny, and not to march any farther, since its first arrival at Vienna in Dauphiné, and the many unexpected accidents by which it was supplied and advanced, it must of necessity be acknowledged, that God Almighty conducted it.

CHAP. X.

The king sends the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who was afterwards Pope by the name of Julius II. to Ostia; what the pope did at Rome in the mean time; the king enters Rome, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his enemies to the contrary; the factions between the Ursini and the Colonni, in Rome.

FROM Bracciano the king sent the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula to Ostia, of which he was bishop. Ostia is a town of great importance, possessed by the Colonni, who had taken it formerly from the pope; but not long since it was recovered from the cardinal by the forces of the church. It is a town of no great strength, and yet it kept Rome in subjection a long time, by means of the said cardinal; who was a great friend to the Colonni, which family embraced our interest, at the instigation of cardinal Ascanio, the duke of Milan's brother, and in opposition to the Ursini, with whom they have been always at difference. The faction of these two houses has occasioned as great troubles to the church as the animosity betwixt the Luce and the Grandmonts have been to us, or the Houcs and Caballans to the Hollander; and were it not for this dissension, the territory of the church was one of the best habitations for the subject in the world; for they pay no taxes, their duties are few, and they would be sure to be well governed; for the popes are always wise, and have good counsel about them. But because of these emulations, it is subject to many calamities, as murders and plundering, &c. of which sort we have seen frequent examples within these last four years. Since that time the Colonni have been our enemies, much to their dishonour; for the king had given them twenty thousand ducats a-year, and better, in the kingdom of Naples, as in the county of Tagliacozzo, and other places, which was before the estate of the Ursini, besides whatever else they demanded, whether in men or money: so that what they did was done treacherously and unhandsomely without any manner of provocation; but they had been always for the house of Arragon against the French, as being Ghibellines, and the Ursini being Guelphs, were always on our side with the Florentines.

The king sent along with the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, to Ostia, Peron de la Basche the steward of his household, who three days before had brought the king twenty thousand ducats by sea, which was part of the money lent him by the duke of Milan: This Peron de la Basche landed at Piombino, and left the fleet, which

was but small, under the command of the prince of Salerno, and the baron of Sernon in Provence, but being taken suddenly with a storm, their ship was much shattered, and driven upon the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica, where they lay a long time without doing us any service till they could be repaired, though they were at a vast expense, and came not to us, till the king was in Naples.

There were with the cardinal at Ostia about 500 men at arms, and two thousand Swiss, under the command of the count de Ligny, the king's cousin-german by the mother's side, the lord d'Allegre, and others. Their design was to have passed the Tiber, and inclose Don Ferrand in Rome, by the favour and assistance of the Colonni, of whom the chief were Prospero, and Fabritio Colonna, and the cardinal di Colonna; who had 2000 foot under his command, to pay whom the king remitted money by Peter de la Basche, though they had raised and mustered them at their own pleasure, at Sansonna, a town belonging to them.

We must observe that several affairs are co-incident in this place, and of every one of them something must be said. Before the king had made his entrance into Viterbo, he had sent the lord de la Trimoville his chamberlain, the president of Guiennay, who had the seal, and monsieur Bidaut, to Rome, to treat with his holiness, who was never without some underhand practices, according to the mode of the Italians. While they were at Rome, the pope in the night received Don Ferrand and his whole army into the town, so that some few of our people were seized, but dismissed the same day by the pope; only the cardinal Ascanio, vice chancellor and brother to the duke of Milan, and Prospero di Colonna were detained, some say by their own consent. I had news of all this immediately, by letters from the king; and the senate of Venice had a more ample account of it from their agents, and it happened before the king got into Viterbo, for neither side staid above two days in a place, and all things succeeded better for our interest than we could have expected or hoped; and no wonder, for God's providence appeared so visibly in our assistance, that nobody could deny it.

The badness of the weather had rendered this army in Ostia utterly unserviceable. You must understand, that the forces under the command of the lord d'Aubigny were marched back, and he himself had no further employment there. The Italians were likewise dismissed, which had been raised in Romania, and brought to the army by count Rodolphus de Mantua, the lord Galeot de la Mirandola, and Fracasse, brother to Galeas di St. Severino, who were well paid by the king, and were in all about 500 men. At his de-

parture from Viterbo, the king advanced to Naples, of which the cardinal of Ascanio was then governor. It is most certain, whilst our forces were in Ostia, twenty fathoms of the wall fell down at Rome, on that side where we designed to enter. The pope observing this young prince to advance so briskly, and with such unexpected success, consented to receive him into Rome, (and to speak the truth he could not help it), upon condition he would give safeconduct under his hand and seal to Don Ferrand duke of Calabria, and only son to Alphonso; but Ferrand marched away in the night towards Naples, and the cardinal Ascanio conducted him to the very gate. The king entered Rome in arms, as a prince who at that time might do what he pleased wherever he came. There came out to meet him several cardinals, and the governors and senators of the town, who attended him to his lodgings in the palace of Saint Mark, which belonged to the Colonni, who were then his creatures and friends, and the pope himself retired to his castle of St. Angelo.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning king Alphonso causing his son Ferrand to be crowned king; his flight into Sicily, and of the mischief his father old Ferrand and he had done in their reigns.

COULD any man have imagined that so imperious a prince as Alphonso, inured all his lifetime to wars, that his son and the Ursini having so great a party in Rome, should have been afraid to have made a stand there? especially when they perceived the duke of Milan and the Venetians wavering, and an alliance on foot underhand, which would certainly have been concluded, had any resistance been made either at Viterbo or Rome, that might have stopped the progress of the king's arms, though but for three or four days: but God was willing to demonstrate to the world that all these things were beyond the contrivance and comprehension of human wisdom. We said before, that above twenty fathoms of the city wall fell down; so now there fell down above fifteen of the castle of St. Angelo, as I have been told by several persons, especially by two cardinals who were there. But now we must say something of king Alphonso.

As soon as the duke of Calabria, called the young Ferrand, whom we have already often mentioned, was returned to Naples,

his father, king Alphonso, thought himself not worthy of the crown any longer, for the mischiefs and cruelties he had committed against several princes and lords who had trusted to his and his father's honour, causing them to be put to death, to the number of four-and-twenty, after the decease of his father, who had kept them alive some time after their wars against him. Two more he also caused to be executed, who had surrendered upon his father's security; one was the duke of Sessa, a person of great authority, and the other was the prince of Rossano, (who had married Ferrand's sister, and had by her a son of very great parts and understanding), to make sure of them; for the prince and lord of Rossano was engaged against him in a most abominable treason, and had deserved the worst punishment that could have been inflicted, had he not surrendered himself upon assurance of a pardon. As soon as he had done it, the king ordered him to be closely confined in a nasty stinking prison, where he continued for the space of four-and-thirty years, and whither he sent his son, when he was about fifteen or sixteen years old, to bear him company. Alphonso, immediately upon his accession to the throne, ordered all the prisoners to be removed to a small island not far from Naples, called Ischia, of which you shall hear further hereafter, and put all of them to death after a most barbarous and inhuman manner, except Rossano's son and the noble count di Popoli, whom he still kept prisoners in the castle of Naples. I inquired very carefully how they were murdered, because many people believed them alive when the king entered into Naples, but I was assured by their principal servants, that they were knocked on the head by a Moor of Africa, who, immediately after the execution, was dispatched into Barbary, that no notice might be taken of it. I was informed he did not excuse those ancient princes, some of whom had been kept in prison four or five-and-thirty years. Never was any prince more bloody, wicked, inhuman, lascivious, or luxurious, than he. Yet his father was more dangerous, because no man knew when he was angry or pleased; for he would betray people in the midst of his entertainments and caresses, nobody knew why or wherefore, as he served count James, whom he caused on a sudden to be apprehended and put to death, though he was in the quality of an ambassador at his court from Francis duke of Milan, whose natural daughter he had married: but to that barbarous action Francis was consenting, for they were both afraid of his interest with the Bracci, and being son to Nicolo Picinino. In the same manner, as report goes, he served several others, for this Ferrand had nothing of tenderness or compassion in him, as I have been

informed by his nearest friends and relations, nor ever was known to take the least pity of his own necessitous subjects in relation to their taxes. The whole trade of buying and selling he engrossed himself, and that quite throughout his kingdom. He delivered hogs to his people to feed, and required them to make them fat; and if any of them chanced to die, they were sure to pay for them. In Apulia and other countries which were plentiful in Olives, he and his son bought them all up, and almost at their own pleasure; the same they did with their corn, at a cheap rate before it was ripe, and then sold it again as dear as they could; but if the price of any of their commodities happened to fall in the mean time, they obliged the people to take it off their hands at the same price they bought it; and whilst they were disposed to sell, nobody durst buy of any one else. If a baron, or the lord of any country, was a good husband, and saved any thing out of his revenue, by management and industry, they sent presently to borrow it, and they were forced to comply with their unreasonable demands. They took away their breed of horses, in which in those parts people are very curious, and caused them to be managed and dressed for them and their use by the owners themselves; so that they had in horses, mares, and colts, many millions, which they sent up and down the kingdom to be kept for them, to the great detriment of the masters. Both father and son had ravished several women: they made no conscience of sacrilege, nor retained the least respect or obedience for the church. They sold their bishopries, as that of Tarento, which the father sold for thirteen thousand ducats to a Jew to give his son, whom the Jew pretended was a Christian. He gave abbies to his falconers, and several others for their children, telling them—"You shall keep me so many hawks, you shall mew them, and keep me such a number of soldiers at your own expense. The son never kept Lent in his life, nor so much as pretended to do it; he never was at confession, nor ever received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In short, it is scarcely possible that any prince could be guilty of greater villanies. Some will have the young Ferrand to be the worst of the two; though at his death he grew humble and civil, but then indeed he was in distress.

Perhaps the reader may think, that what I have written of these two princes proceeds from some particular pique against them, but upon my conscience that is not the motive that induced me to do it; for I have given you a short history of their lives, only to continue my memoirs, in the beginning of which I freely declared my opinion, that I thought it impossible for those who had the

management of our affairs, to have carried on this expedition so prosperously, had not God himself undertaken to conduct it for this young king; and whom he supplied with provisions in the extremity of his wants, and made him his instrument to scourge and chastise these Italian princes, who were wise, rich, powerful, and skilled in the affairs of the world; had a wise and able ministry to defend and take care of their dominions, and supported and engaged in a powerful alliance; and though they beheld the storm afar off, yet had not courage or wisdom enough at that time either to resist or avoid it: for except the castle of Naples, there was not one place in all Italy that made the least defence, or stopped the progress of the king's arms for a day; which occasioned pope Alexander VI. to say—"That the French came into Naples with wooden spurs, and only chalk in their harbingers' hands to mark out their lodgings, which they took up without any more trouble:" The wooden spurs he mentioned, because it was the custom at that time, when young gentlemen rode about the streets, for their pages to put a sharp piece of wood into the heel of their shoes, with which they pricked their mules forward. In short, this expedition into Italy was performed with so much ease, and so little resistance, that our soldiers scarcely ever put on their arms during the whole expedition, and the king marched with his army from Asti to Naples in four months and nineteen days; an ambassador with his retinue could hardly well have got thither sooner. I conclude therefore with several pious and religious men, and the general vote of the people, which is the voice of God, that God intended to make an example of these princes, that by this chastisement others might be excited to conform their lives according to the precepts of his holy gospel: for these princes of Arragon lost their honour, their kingdom, and their treasure, besides their rich furniture of all sorts, which was so strangely dispersed, it is hardly to be known what is become of it, or that they ever had any; and after all their tyranny and cruelties, they died themselves, three in one year, or a little more; but I hope their souls are in Paradise. King Ferrand, natural son to Alphonso the Great, who was a wise and an honourable prince, was highly concerned to see his kingdoms invaded with such a powerful army, and himself not in a condition to oppose it. He was also sensible of the notorious lives that he and his son had led, and of their having become odious to the people. And besides, in the pulling down of a chapel, as I have been assured by several of his nearest relations, there was a book found with this title—"Truth, with its secret counsel;" in which, by report, was contained the whole series of his misfor-

fortunes; but there were only three persons who had a sight of it, for as soon as he had read it, he committed it to the flames.

Another thing that troubled him was, that neither his son nor grandson could be persuaded of the king's coming into Italy; but they talked arrogantly and contemptuously of him, hectoring and threatening that they would go as far as the mountains to meet him: but some were so wise as to make it their solemn petition to God Almighty, that a king of France might never come into Italy; for they had seen a poor indigent prince of the family of Anjou, who had troubled all Italy before it could get rid of him, meaning duke John, king Renè's son. Ferrand laboured hard the year before by his ambassador Camillo Pandone to stop the king's expedition into Italy, before he left France; offering him a tribute of five thousand ducats a-year, and to do him homage for that kingdom: but finding he could neither purchase his peace with the king of France, nor compose the differences of Milan, he fell sick, confessed, and died, and I hope repented of his sins. His son Alphonso, who was so cruel and terrible, and in such reputation for his experience in military affairs, before the king of France's departure from Rome, renounced the crown, and was seized with such a panic fear, that in the night he would cry out he heard the French; and the stones and the trees sounded France, France; nor durst he ever stir out of Naples: but upon his son's return from Rome, he resigned the government of that kingdom to him, caused him to be crowned, and rode on horseback through the streets of Naples, attended by the chief persons of the city, as his brother Don Frederick, the cardinal of Genoa, (the new king riding betwixt them), and all the foreign ambassadors that were there; and after all this pomp and solemnity was performed, Alphonso fled into Sicily, and took with him the queen his mother-in-law, sister to Ferrand king of Castile, who is now reigning, and heir to the kingdom of Sicily, to a place where she had a strong garrison. This was looked upon as a very surprising turn of affairs, all over Europe, but especially at Venice, where I was then in quality of the king's ambassador: some said he was retired to the Turkish court, others that his resignation was only in favour of his son, who was less odious to the people; but I was always of opinion, it proceeded from nothing but cowardice: for never any person that was cruel was courageous, as all histories inform us; for so Nero and several other tyrants, when pressed by their subjects, fled from the administration of their affairs, and perished in despair. In short, Alphonso was in so great consternation, that, as I was informed by some who were about him, he told his mother in-law, the very day of their departure, that if she would not go, he would leave her: and when she entreated

him to put off his departure but for three days longer, that it might be said she had been a whole year in his kingdom, he replied, that rather than not go then, he would throw himself out of the window—"For do not you hear, (said he), how every body cries out, France, France?" Upon which they immediately went on board a vessel he had prepared on purpose. He took along with him all sorts of wines, which he loved above all things, and seeds for his gardens, without taking any care of his estate or rich furniture, which was left at random in the castle of Naples: some jewels and a little money he carried with him besides, and away they sailed for Sicily to the garrison above mentioned, and from thence to Messina, where he picked up and carried along with him certain monks, to whom he pretended and swore he would have no further conversation with the world. Among the rest, he took particular fancy to the monks of Mount Olivet, whose habit is white, as they told me at Venice, where the body of St. Helen is deposited in their cloister, and with them he lived a strict and austere life, serving God at all hours both of the day and night, as they did in their convents, spending his time in prayers, abstinence, and alms; by which austerity and severe way of living he contracted a sad distemper of excoriation and gravel: they told me they never saw any man in greater misery, and yet he endured it with abundance of patience, having resolved to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery at Valentia Major, and to have taken upon him the habit; but he was surprised with a violent fit, and died in a short time after. If we may judge from the greatness of his penitence, we may conclude his soul is in paradise. His son outlived him not long, for he died of a fever and a flux, and I hope they are better where they are. To conclude, in less than two years time, there were five kings crowned in Naples, three I have mentioned before, Charles VIII. of France, and Don Frederick, Alphonso's brother, who now reigns.

CHAP. XII.

Ferrand the younger is crowned king of Naples; he encamps with his forces at St. Germain, in order to oppose king Charles; and an account of the agreement king Charles made with the pope during his stay at Rome.

NOW, for the better understanding of all these affairs, you must know that king Ferrand, after his coronation was over, became a new man; supposing all the odium and resentment of past injuries were buried in oblivion, upon his father's abdicating the

throne. He assembled all the forces he could raise both of horse and foot, and marched with them to St. Germain, which is a strong place, though the French had passed it twice, upon the frontiers of that kingdom. Having encamped there, and put a strong garrison, with all manner of provisions into the town, his friends began to take heart. The town is defended two ways by a small river that is fordable sometimes, and by a great mountain which seems to hang over it.

The king in the mean time was at Rome, and continued there twenty days, during which time several affairs of importance were transacted: there were with him about eighteen cardinals, and others from several parts; among whom there were Seignior Ascanio, vice-chancellor and brother to the duke of Milan, and Peter ad Vincula, great friends to one another, but mortal enemies to the pope, the cardinals de Gurçe, St. Dennis, St. Severino, Savelly, Colonna, and others; all of them earnest for a new election, and that the pope might be deposed, who was then in his castle.

Twice our great guns were ready to fire, as I have been told by several persons of quality, but both times the king opposed it. The place is not defensible, being built upon a small hill, and that forced and artificial. It was alledged that the walls were fallen down by prodigy, and they charged his holiness with having given money for the papacy; but Ascanio was the principal merchant, for it was he that drove the bargain, and received most of the money, besides the house in which the pope lived when he was vice-chancellor, all the rich furniture, his vice-chancellorship, and several other places of St. Peter's patrimony besides; for they two were competitors for the popedom. However, I am of opinion they would both have consented to a new election at the king's pleasure, though it had been of a Frenchman. I will not pretend to say whether he acted well or ill, but I think the king's best way was to compose matters amicably as he did; for he was a young man and incapable of performing so important a work as the reformation of the church, though perhaps his strength might have been sufficient. Could he have undertaken and gone through with it, I question not but all men of wisdom and reason would have acknowledged it to have been a good work; but there were several things wanting: however, the king's intentions were good, and are so still, if he were vigorously assisted.

The king came to such an accommodation with the pope, as could not possibly last long; for it was too violent in some points, and gave great umbrage to the making an alliance, of which we shall speak more hereafter. By this agreement there was to be a peace

between the pope, his cardinals, and all their adherents; and the said cardinals were to receive all the rights and perquisites belonging to their dignities, as well absent as present; and that the pope should deliver four towns to the king, Terracina, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, which was in his hands already, and Spoletto; but this last he never delivered, notwithstanding his promise. All these towns were to be restored to the pope upon the king's return out of Naples, which was performed on the king's part, though the pope had not dealt fair with him. By this agreement he also delivered the grand seignior's brother to the king; for whom he received constantly every year of the Great Turk 60,000 ducats, lest he should attempt another rebellion against him. He promised not to put a legate into any place under the jurisdiction of the church without the king's approbation. There were other articles relating to the consistory, for which and the rest the cardinal of Valentia was given in hostage, who attended the king instead of a legate. The king on his part did his filial obedience with all imaginable humility, and the pope created two cardinals at his request; one was monsieur Brissonet, before made bishop of St. Malo; the other was the bishop of Mans, of the house of Luxemburgh, and then resident in France.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the king's departure from Rome to Naples, the transactions in that kingdom in the mean time; and an account of what places the king of France passed through in his march.

MATTERS being adjusted after this manner, the king left Rome seemingly in great friendship with the pope; but eight cardinals left the town in a huff, of which six were of the party of the vice-chancellor and the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula; though it was supposed but a copy of Ascanio's countenance, and that at the bottom he was agreed with the pope; but his brother had not then declared himself our enemy. The king marched with his army to Sansonna, and from thence to Velitri, where the cardinal of Valenza gave him the slip.

The next morning the king took Monte-Fortino by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The place belonged to James Visconti, who had entered into the king's service, and afterwards de-

serted him; for the Visconti are of the faction of the Ursini. From thence the king marched to Valmonton, which belonged to the Colonni, and thence advanced to a strong place within four miles of Mount St. John, battered it seven or eight hours with his heavy cannon, and then took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword: it was church land, and belonged to the marquis di Pescara; and there our whole army joined. From thence the king marched about sixteen miles to St. Germain, where the new king Ferrand was encamped, as I said before, with all the force he was able to assemble. There was now no remedy; this was the place for him to fight in, or nowhere; for it was the entrance into his kingdom, and he was advantageously posted, both in respect of the river and the mountain. He had also sent a strong detachment to secure the pass at Cancello, which is among the mountains, about six miles from St. Germain: but before the king's approach, Ferrand retired with great precipitation, and abandoned both the town and the pass. Monsieur de Guise commanded the van that day, for the lord de Rieux was ordered to take the pass at Cancello, which the Arragonians ought to have defended; but they had abandoned their post before he arrived there, so that the king entered St. Germain without any resistance. King Ferrand retreated to Capua, where they received him, and some few of his retinue, but refused to admit his whole army. He made no long stay among them at that time, but only entreated them to continue faithful to him, promising to return the next day; and away he posted to Naples, suspecting the defection which afterwards happened there. The greater part of his army he left behind, and commanded them to attend him at Capua; but when he came back the next day, they were all fled. Virgil Ursini and his cousin the count de Pettilane fled to Nola, where they and their party were taken by our men. They affirmed that they had a pass, and that we did them wrong; and it is true enough, but their passport was not come to their hands: however, they paid nothing for their ransom, only they were plundered; and to speak the truth, their loss was very considerable.

From St. Germain the king marched to Mignano and Tiano, and encamped at Caluy, two leagues from Capua, where the inhabitants of that city came to treat with him, and the king entered it with his whole army. From Capua he marched the next day to Aversa, in the midway between Capua and Naples, about six miles distant from both. The chief of the Neapolitans waited on his majesty there, and they came to an accommodation, by which their antient liberties and privileges were secured to them. The

king sent thither before him the marshal de Giè, the seneschal of Beaucaire, the president Gannay, who kept the seals, and his secretaries. King Ferrand, finding how matters went, and seeing the people and nobility in arms against him, and his stables plundered before his face, got immediately on board a galley, and made the best of his way for Ischia, which is a small island about eighteen miles from Naples. The king of France was received into the city with all possible solemnity and acclamations of joy; all the people came out to meet him, and those who had been obliged to the house of Arragon came first; as particularly the family of the Caraffi, who held at that time of the house of Arragon above 400,000 ducats a-year in lands and employments: for the kings in that country can dispose of their own demesnes as well as other people's; and I am of opinion there are not three considerable estates in the whole kingdom, but they consist either of crown-lands or other men's.

Never any people expressed so great a zeal and affection to any king or nation as they did to ours, supposing themselves delivered from all tyranny; so that every where they willingly submitted to us. The whole country of Calabria yielded, and the lord d'Aubigny and Peron de Basche were sent to command them without any forces of their own. Abruzzo revolted of its own accord, and the town of Aquila, which was always in the French interest, set them an example. In Apulia they did the same, all but the castle of Brindisi, which is strong and well manned, and the town of Gallipoli, which had also a strong garrison in it, or else the inhabitants would have revolted. In Calabria there were three places which held out for king Ferrand, two of them were Mantia and Tropea, antiently creatures of the house of Anjou, and had at first set up the arms of France; but because he had given them to monsieur de Persi, and would not make them of his own demesnes, they pulled down his arms, and erected the banners of Arragon. The third place was the castle of Reggio, which continued firm to the house of Arragon; but all that stood out did so for want of being summoned; for there were not a sufficient body of troops sent into Apulia and Calabria to have kept one castle for the king. Tarento surrendered both castle and town, and so did Otranto, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonia, Barletta, all but what I excepted before. They came three days journey to meet our army, and begged of them to receive their respective cities into our protection. They sent likewise all of them to Naples, and all the princes and great lords of that kingdom came thither to do homage to our king, except the marquis di Pescara; but his brothers and nephews came.

The count d'Acri and the marquis di Squillazzo fled into Sicily, because our king had given their estates to the lord d'Aubigny. There was lately arrived at Naples the prince of Salerno newly come from sea; but he had done nothing considerable. His cousin the prince of Bisignano was there also with his brothers, and the dukes of Melfi and Graveline, and the old duke of Sora, who heretofore had sold his dutchy to the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, and his brother enjoys it at this day. The counts di Monterio, di Fondi, di Tripaldi, and the count di Celano, who had been banished a long time, and was returned with the king, came also to Naples. The count de Troye, a young Scotch gentleman, but educated in France, was there also, and the count di Popoli, whom we found prisoner in Naples. The young prince of Rossano, who as we said before, was prisoner with his father, who had been confined thirty-four years, was released, and accompanied king Ferrand to Ischia; but whether voluntarily or by compulsion I cannot resolve. There came also to Naples the marquis di Venafro, all the Caldoresques, the count di Matalon, and the count di Merillano, they and their predecessors having always governed the house of Arragon; and in short, all the nobility of that kingdom, but the three persons whom I excepted before.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning king Charles being crowned king of Naples; the errors in his government of that kingdom; and of the discovery of a design in his favour against the Turks, by the Venetians.

KING Ferrand, when he fled from Naples, left the marquis di Pescara and some Germans in the castle, and sailed himself into Sicily to demand succours of his father. Don Frederick still kept at sea with some gallies, and came twice with a passport to treat with our king. His demands were, that some part of that kingdom might remain to his nephew, with the title of king; and that he himself might enjoy all the lands which belonged to him and his wife. His request was not unreasonable, for his own estate was but small: the king offered to give both him and his nephew an equivalent in France; and I am of opinion his majesty would have given them some considerable dutchy, but they did not think fit to accept it: besides, there was no trusting them in the kingdom of Naples; for they would have observed no articles of agree-

ment any longer than it had been for their advantage. We erected our batteries against the castle of Naples, and began to fire upon it. The marquis di Pescara was gone out of it, so there were only a few Germans in it. Had we sent but four of our great guns into the island, we had certainly carried it; and from thence our misfortunes returned: then all the rest of the towns, which were not above four or five, would have followed of course; but we spent our time in gaiety, entertainments, dancing, and tournaments, and grew so insolent and vain, we scarcely looked upon the Italians to be rational creatures. Our king was crowned, had his lodgings in the castle of Capoana, and sometimes went to Mont-Imperial: to the subjects of that kingdom he did many good acts, and abated their taxes; so that I believe of themselves the people would never have rebelled, though they are naturally inconstant, had we but obliged some few of the nobility; but they were slighted, and treated uncivilly at their very entrance into the gates. Those of the house of Caraffi, though friends to the house of Arragon, were used the best; yet they escaped not quite without loss, for every one was deprived of his offices and estate; and the partizans of the house of Anjou fared a great deal worse than the creatures of Arragon. Orders were sent into the county of Merillano, and the president Gannay, and the seneschal, lately made duke of Nola, and grand chamberlain of that kingdom, were suspected to have taken money for it: by these orders every one was to be confirmed in his possession, only the partizans of the house of Anjou were to be excluded, unless they could make good their titles by law; and for such as had entered of their own accord, as the count di Celano, they were to be ejected by force. All the estates and offices were conferred upon two or three Frenchmen, and all the stores of provision in the castle of Naples, which were found to be very considerable upon the taking it, were given to any man that asked, with the king's knowledge and consent.

During these transactions the Germans capitulated, and delivered up the castle, keeping all the goods that were in it, to a vast value, to themselves. Another castle called Castel del Ovo was taken by storm; by which it may be perceived, that what was done was not so much by the conduct or dexterity of the agents, as by the providence of God; but the great faults that were committed were the works of man puffed up by vain glory, and unwilling to acknowledge from whence their success and honour proceeded; and their misfortune, the pure product of their own depraved nature and experience: so that their fortune changed as suddenly and visibly as the day rises in Norway or Iceland, where

the days in summer are longer than in other parts; and one day is scarcely shut in, but within a quarter of an hour after the next begins to dawn. In the same manner a wise man might have observed the face of their good fortune alter, and that enterprise miscarry, which, if it had been ascribed to the true manager of it, would have contributed mightily to the honour and advantage of all Christendom; for the Turkish empire had been as easily shaken as Alphonso's kingdom; that emperor being still alive, who was a man of no reputation nor courage, and his brother in our king's hands, though he lived but few days after the cardinal of Valenza made his escape, and was supposed to have been poisoned, and the sultan dreaded him above all the persons in the world; besides, in the very heart of his empire, there were millions of Christians ready to take up arms; and from Otranto to Apollonia was not above sixty miles, and from Apollonia to Constantinople about eighteen days journey, as I have been informed by those who have often travelled between those places, and in all the way not above two or three strong towns, the rest having been dismantled. The countries that lie between are Albania, Sclavonia, and Greece, all of them very populous, and acquainted with the fame and character of our king by their correspondents in Venice and Apulia, to whom they wrote constantly, and expected nothing but their directions to rebel. The king sent thither to them the archbishop of Durazzo, who was an Albanian born, and discoursing with multitudes of the children and grand-children of several great lords, (as of Scanderoon, a son of the old emperor of Constantinople, several of the nephews of the lord Constantine, at present governor of Montferrat, and nephews or cousins to the king of Servia), he found them all inclinable to revolt. In Thessaly about five thousand men would have appeared, and Scutari would have been surprised, which I understood by my intelligence, and from the mouth of the lord Constantine, who lay concealed several days in my house at Venice, and certainly he had reason; for Macedonia and Thessaly, which formerly belonged to Alexander the Great, were his inheritance. Apollonia is situated in them; Scutari and Croia are not far off: in his time his father or uncle mortgaged them to the Venetians, who lost Croia, and Scutari was surrendered to the Turks upon articles of peace. The said lord Constantine was at that time within three leagues; and the enterprise had been begun, had not the archbishop of Durazzo staid at Venice some time after Constantine's departure. I pressed him hard to depart, for I thought him a person that could not keep a secret long; and he went up and down boasting that he

was about an affair which would make him be talked of all over Christendom, and enternize his name for ever. By ill fortune, the very day that the Venetians had news of the death of the Turk's brother, whom the pope had delivered to our king, the very same day they resolved to give notice of it to the sultan by one of their secretaries; and being assured, that whoever brought the first news would be certain of a great reward, they ordered that no vessel should pass between the two castles in the night, which castles commanded the mouth of their gulf; to prevent which they posted guards at both of them, being fearful of nothing so much as the small vessels, and grips as they call them, of which there are great numbers in the port of Albania, and their islands in Greece. The poor archbishop happening that very night to set out upon the lord Constantine's enterprise, and carrying along with him abundance of swords, bucklers, and javelins, for the use of his confederates who wanted them, as he passed between the two castles, he was stopped and taken, and himself and servants secured in one of them; but the vesssel had leave to go on. They searched him and found letters about him that discovered the whole plot; and the lord Constantine has told me since, that the Venetians sent immediate notice to all the Turkish garrisons, that were near, and an express to the Grand Seignior himself; so that had it not been for the grip, which they suffered to pass, whose master was an Albanian, that gave him notice, the lord Constantine had been taken; but he escaped by sea, and got into Apulia.

CHAP. XV.

A long digression of the author, concerning the state and government of the Venetians; and of the transactions which he saw and observed during his residence in that city, as ambassador from the king of France.

IT is now high time for me to say something of the Venetians; and of the occasion of my being sent thither on an embassy, while the king was employed in his affairs at Naples. I was sent from Asti to return them thanks for the civil and obliging answers they had given to two former ambassadors from his majesty, and to endeavour if possible to continue them in his friendship, and to cultivate a good understanding with them: for he saw their power and conduct was more like to disturb him than any other in Italy.

The duke of Milan hastened my dispatch, and wrote to his resident there, where he has constantly one, to assist me, and give me instructions to whom I should apply myself. His ambassador had an allowance from that senate of a hundred ducats a-month, his lodgings well furnished, and three gondolas to carry him about the town without a farthing of expense; and the Venetian ambassador has the same at Milan, excepting the boats; for there they visit on horseback, and at Venice in boats. In my journey thither I passed by several of their cities, as Brescia, Verona, Vincenza, Padua, and other places. They treated me very civily wherever I came, in honour of the person who sent me, and came out to meet me in great bodies, with their podestate, and their captain; not that both of them came out together, for the captain came no farther than the gate. When I had entered the town, I was conducted to my lodgings: the master of the house was commanded that I should want for nothing, and my whole charges were born, and mighty good words into the bargain; yet if you compute what is of necessity to be given to the drummers, trumpeters, and the officers in those ceremonies, the ambassador will be found to be but little a saver; but, however, my reception was honourable. The day that I made my entry into Venice, they sent to meet me as far as Liccia, which is five miles from Venice; there they leave the boats, which bring them down the river from Padua, and put themselves into little boats, covered with tapestry very neat, with fair carpets within, and velvet cushions to sit upon. To this place they come from Venice by sea, as being the next place to it upon the *terra firma*; but the sea, unless agitated by some storm, is very calm, which is the reason of their great plenty of all sorts of fish. I was extremely surprised at the situation of this city, to see so many churches, monasteries, and houses, and all in the water, and the people no other passage up and down the streets but in boats, of which I believe they have near thirty thousand, but they are very small. About the city within less than the compass of half a French league there are seventy religious houses both of men and women; all situated in little islands, very beautiful and magnificent both in building and furniture, with fair gardens belonging to them, without reckoning those in the city, where there are the four orders of mendicants, above seventy parishes, besides several fraternities; and indeed it is almost incredible to behold so many stately churches in the sea.

I was met and complimented at Liccia by five-and-twenty gentlemen richly dressed in their silks and scarlet; they received me with abundance of civility, and conducted me to St. Andrew's church

which was near the town, where the same number of gentlemen met and complimented me. They were accompanied by the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara, and after they had made another speech to me, I was conducted into other larger boats, which they called Plats, two of which were covered with crimson satin, and spread with tapestry at the bottom, big enough to hold forty persons; and placing me between the two ambassadors, the middle being the most honourable place in Italy, I was conducted through the longest street, which they call the Grand Canal, so wide that the gallies do frequently cross one another, and I have seen vessels of four hundred tons or more ride at anchor just by the houses. It is the fairest and best built street I think in the world, and goes quite through the city; the houses are very large and lofty, and built of stone; the old ones are all painted: those of about a hundred years standing are faced with white marble from Istria, which is about a hundred miles from Venice, and inlaid with porphyry and serpentine stone. Within, they have most of them two chambers at least, with gilt ceilings, rich chimney pieces, bed-steads of gold colour, their portals of the same, and gloriously furnished. In short, it is the most magnificent city that I have seen, the most respectful to all ambassadors and strangers, governs itself with the greatest wisdom, and serves God with the utmost solemnity; so that though in other things they may be faulty, I believe God blesses them for the reverence they shew in the service of the church. In the company of these fifty gentlemen I was conveyed to St. George's, which is an abbey of reformed black monks, where I had an apartment prepared for me. The next morning they came to wait on me again, and conducted me to the senate, where I delivered my credentials to the doge, who presides in all their councils, and is honoured as a king: all letters are addressed to him, but of himself he cannot do much; yet he has greater authority than any of his predecessors had, for he had been duke sbove twelve years; and I found him a prudent man, of great experience in the affairs of Italy, and civil and courteous in his person. The first day of my arrival was spent in receiving their compliments, and viewing three or four chambers in the duke's palace; in which the ceilings, beds, and portals, were all richly gilt, the apartments were very fine, but the court is not large. The duke from his own chamber can hear mass at the high altar in the chapel of St. Mark, which for a chapel, is the most magnificent piece of building in the universe, being built of Mosaic work, of which they pretend to be the inventors; and indeed it is a trade amongst them, as I have seen. In this chapel their treasure, so much talked of,

is kept, and intended only for the decoration of their churches; there are twelve or fourteen ballais rubies, the largest I ever saw, one of them weighs seven, the other eight hundred carats, but both unpolished; there are twelve other stones in cases of gold, the edges and forepart set richly with very fine jewels; there are also twelve crowns of gold, wherewith anciently, upon certain festivals in the year, twelve women of that city were crowned, and being styled and attended as queens, they passed in great pomp and solemnity through all these churches and islands; but at length certain thieves from Istria and Friuli, which are not far off, skulking about those islands, took their opportunity, and surprised most part of the women of the city: their husbands pursued, overtook and recovered them; upon which they offered up their crowns to St. Mark, and founded a chapel, to which the senate repairs every year upon the day of their victory. There is great store of rich ornaments for the church, several fair pieces of gold, many fine amethists and agates, and some emeralds. But this is not a treasure of equal value with ready money, and indeed they have not much of that kind of treasure; for the duke told me in the senate house, that it is a capital crime among them to mention any such thing as a treasure of that nature; and they have reason, lest it might cause dissension amongst them. After they had shewed me their treasure, I was carried to see their arsenal, where their gallies are equipped, and all things necessary provided for their navy; which perhaps is the finest in the world, and under the best order and regulation.

In short, I resided there eight months at their expense, and all the other ambassadors who were there did the same; in which time I can assure you I found them so wise, and so intent upon the enlarging their territories, that if it be not prevented in time, all the neighbouring states may lament it too late: for since our king's expedition into Italy, which taught them the use of artillery, they are much more dexterous and skilful in attacking, and defending themselves, than formerly; for they are still at war with him, and yet they have extended their dominions, and lent money upon seven or eight cities in Apulia, which I am not sure will ever be restored. Besides, at the king's first coming, they did not imagine towns could have been taken so easily, contrary to their custom, nor in so short a time; but since they have been better instructed in the art of war, have fortified their towns very strongly, and other commonwealths have done the same. It is not to be expected that they should arrive at the perfection and grandeur of the old Romans, for their bodies are not so able to bear

the fatigues of war, neither are they of such a martial genius; for they never make war upon the continent in their own persons, as the Romans did; but they send their proveditori, and their officers, with their general, to furnish him with provisions, and assist him in his councils of war. But their naval expeditions are wholly managed by their own people: their fleet, both gallies and ships, being manned with their own subjects, and commanded by their own nobility. Another great advantage they have by not going in person to the wars, upon the *terra firma*, and that is, there is no man of that boldness or interest, as to dare to make any attempt upon the government, as they did in Rome; which is great wisdom, and prevents many civil contentions, against which they have provided several ways, and all very wisely. They have no tribunes of the people, as they had in Rome, and those tribunes were in part the cause of its destruction; the people among them are of no authority, consulted in no affairs of state, and incapable of bearing any office; for all their officers, except the secretaries, are chosen out of the gentry; and besides, they are generally strangers. Titus Livius has acquainted them perfectly with the defects of the Roman government, they have his history in great esteem, and his bones are preserved in their palace at Padua; so that for these and many other reasons which I observed amongst them, I do once more affirm, that they are in a fair way to be a very powerful people hereafter.

But to come to the business of my embassy: I was to thank them for their civil answers, which they had given to two of our king's ambassador's, who had been sent to them before; by which answers, he was encouraged to go on boldly in his enterprise; and all this passed before his majesty left Asti. I gave them a large remonstrance of the old alliances between the king's of France and their republic, and offered them Brindisi and Otranto, upon condition they would engage to restore them, when my master should deliver them two better towns in Greece. They spoke very honourably both of him and his affairs; for they did not imagine he would have proceeded so far. As to the offer which I made them, they replied, that they were his friends and well-wishers, and would not permit him to purchase their alliance, for our king had not yet these towns in his power: they told me that they were not altogether unprovided for war, if they thought fit to engage; but they were resolved not to do it, though the Neapolitan ambassadors solicited it daily, and offered them very advantageous terms. King Alphonso, who then reigned, confessed he had behaved very ill towards them; and laid before them the ill consequences of our

master's succeeding in his designs. The Turk, on the other hand, sent an ambassador immediately to them, and I saw him several times, who at the pope's request threatened them heavily, if they did not declare war against our king. Thay gave fair answers to all the ambassadors; but they had no apprehension of us at that time, and did but laugh at our expedition. The duke of Milan told them by his ambassador, that they should not concern themselves in this affair, for he knew how to send our king back again, without getting any footing in Italy; and he sent the same message to Peter de Medicis, as he told me afterwards. But when they and the duke of Milan saw he had got those towns of the Florentines in his possession, and especially Pisa, they began to grow jealous of his designs, and to contrive how they might hinder him from advancing farther; but their consultations were tedious, and in the mean time his majesty's affairs went prosperously on. However, messengers passed constantly from one to the other, and the king of Spain began to be afraid of his isles of Sicily and Sardinia. The king of the Romans began also to be jealous of the imperial crown, upon which he was persuaded by some persons that our king had a design, and that he had requested it of the pope; but there was nothing in it. For these reasons the two kings sent their formal ambassadors to Venice during my residence there. The king of the Romans, being their neighbour, first sent the bishop of Trent as the chief in that embassy, and with him there were two gentlemen, and a doctor at law; they were received with great ceremony and respect, entertained as handsomely as myself, had ten ducats a-day allowed them for their expenses, and the charge of their horses, which were left at Trevi, born besides. Not long after this, there arrived a person of quality from Spain, with a numerous retinue, and in a very splendid equipage; who was received as the other, and his charges also born. The duke of Milan, besides the ambassador he had there already, sent the bishop of Coma, and seignior Francisco Bernardino Visconti. They began to have private conferences in the night, and at first by their secretaries; for they durst not declare publicly against the king, especially the duke of Milan and the Venetians, not knowing what the success of this confederacy might be. The duke of Milan's ambassadors made me a visit, brought me letters from their master, and told me their coming was in return for two ambassadors which the Venetians had sent to Milan, whereas the custom was only to have a resident there, and at last they had no more. But this was only artifice and cunning: for they all came on purpose to make an alliance against our king; and so many secret cabals could not be

carried on long, without being known. They asked me if I did not know what was the cause of the coming of the ambassadors from the two kings, that they might give their master an account of it. But I was informed before, both from the servants, ambassadors, and others, that the Spanish ambassador passed through Milan in disguise, and that the Germans were wholly managed by the duke. Besides, I had notice that the Neapolitan ambassadors delivered several packets of letters hourly from their master, for all this was before our king's departure from Florence. I was at some charge for my intelligence, but what I had I could depend on. I had notice of the treaty that was on foot, and what were the first proposals that were made, but not agreed to; for in such consultations the Venetians are very tedious. For these reasons, and seeing the alliance go on, I would not pretend ignorance; but answered the Milan ambassador, that since they carried things so secretly, I would let them know, that my master would not lose the friendship of the duke of Milan, if there was a possibility of preserving it; that I would acquaint myself as an ambassador, and excuse whatever ill reports might have been made to the duke of Milan against my master; that the duke, I did presume, was misinformed, and that he would act wisely to consider, before he lost the recompense of so great a service as he had already done the king, that the kings of France did not use to be ungrateful; that a rash or inconsiderate word ought not to break a friendship which was of such importance to both of them; and then I desired that they would inform me of their grievances, that I might acquaint my master with them before they proceeded any further. They swore to me, all of them, and wished many imprecations, if they had any such thoughts; but they only equivocated, for they came thither on purpose to negotiate this alliance.

The next morning I went to the senate to expostulate with them about it, and to say what I thought proper in the affair; among other things I told them, that by their alliance with my master, and their former alliance with his father, it was mutually provided that neither should support the enemies of the other; and that therefore this new league that was so much talked of, could not be entertained by them, but by infraction of the former. I was desired to withdraw, and being called in again by and by, the duke told me, that I ought not to believe all the flying reports of the town; and that in Venice all people had the liberty of saying what they pleased. However, he assured me they never had any thoughts of entering into an alliance against the king, nor ever had heard of it; that their designs were quite contrary, and rather to make

a league between my master, the two other kings, and all Italy, against the Turk, and that each might bear his proportion in the charge of the war; and that if in Italy there should be any state or prince that refused to pay his share, that the king and they should join to compel him to do it. As to the war in which my master was at present engaged, they told me they would endeavour to make an honourable peace for him; and the terms which they proposed were, that my master should accept of a good sum of ready money, which they would advance upon the security of certain towns in Apulia, which are now in their possession; that the kingdom of Naples should be held of him by the pope's consent, and pay him an annual tribute; and that my master should keep three towns in his hands as a security. I wish to God he had accepted those advantageous offers. I replied, that I had no instructions to enter into any such treaty: I desired that they would not be over hasty in the conclusion of their alliance, that I might have time to acquaint my master with their proceedings, and receive his orders; requesting, as I had done to the other, that they would acquaint me with their jealousies, and not conceal them as the ambassadors of Milan had done. Then they plainly told me, that they were not pleased with the king's having seized upon the pope's towns, much less with what he had taken from the Florentines, and particularly Pisa; alleging, that my master had written to several places, and to them among the rest, that he would meddle with nothing in Italy but the kingdom of Naples, and that having conquered that, he would undertake something against the Turk; that, however, he seemed desirous to get all he could conquer in Italy, and not meddle with the Turk at all. They told me also that the continuance of the duke of Orleans at Asti was a great terror to the duke of Milan; and that the ministers of the duke of Orleans had threatened him highly: however, they promised to conclude nothing before I had an answer from my master, or at least before a convenient time to receive it was past; and they shewed me more respect than they did the ambassadors of Milan. I acquainted his majesty with every particular, but his answer was but cold; after which they had conferences every day; for they knew their designs were discovered. The king of France was at Florence in the mean time; and if he had met any opposition at Viterbo, as was expected, they had sent forces to Rome; or if king Ferrand had continued there, which they could not imagine he would have abandoned; but when they saw he was retired, they began to be afraid: yet the ambassadors from the two kings pressed them hard to come to some resolution, declaring they would otherwise be gone; for they had been there four months,

every day soliciting the senate; and I was as diligent in making an interest against them.

When the Venetians understood that several towns in Italy were surrendered, and were informed of the king's being at Naples, they sent for me to tell me the news, and pretended to be extremely pleased with it; yet gave me to understand, that the castle held out still against him; that there was a strong garrison in it, and provided with every thing necessary for its defence: and I could perceive they had great hopes it would never be taken; upon which score they had consented the Neapolitan ambassador should raise forces in Venice to be sent to Brindisi, and were just on the conclusion of their league, when their ambassadors acquainted them by letter of the surrender of the castle of Naples. They sent for me again one morning, and I found about fifty or sixty of them assembled in their duke's chamber, who was at that time ill of the cholic. The duke, with a composed countenance, or rather inclining to joy, told me the news; but there was none in all the company could counterfeit so well as himself: some of them sat upon low seats, with their elbows upon their knees, and their heads between their hands; others in other postures, but all expressing great sorrow at the heart; and I believe after the battle of Cannæ there was not more terror upon the senators of Rome, for not one of them had courage enough to look upon me, or speak to me, but the duke himself, which I thought was very strange. The duke asked me whether the king my master would observe now what he had always promised, and I always told them? I assured them he made them certain overtures; and promised them to use my utmost endeavours, by way of mediation, in hopes by this means to pacify their fears and jealousies; and then I took my leave of them.

Their league as yet was neither broken off nor concluded; but the Germans in their passion pretended to be gone. The duke of Milan would not consent to some of the articles; but at length he sent instructions to his ambassadors to dispatch, and in a short time the league was concluded. Whilst this affair was in agitation, I wrote constantly to our king, advising him to a peace, or else that he would continue in that kingdom, and provide himself better with men and money; but if he did not approve of my advice, that he would be pleased to make his retreat towards France, before the confederates had assembled their forces; and putting strong garrisons into the chief towns of Italy, would dismantle the rest. I wrote also to the duke of Orleans, who was at Asti, but attended with his own domestics only, for his forces were with the king, that he would throw more men into that town, as-

suring him that he would suddenly be besieged in it. I sent likewise to the duke of Bourbon, whom the king had left to be his lieutenant in France, to send what forces he could spare to reinforce the garrison of Asti; for if that were lost, no supplies could be sent to the king. I gave notice of it to the marchioness of Montferrat, who was true to the French, and a great enemy to the duke of Milan, that she might be ready to assist the duke of Orleans with her forces, if there should be occasion; for the taking of Asti would be the loss of the two marquisates of Montferrat and Saluzzo.

The league was concluded one night very late; the next morning I was sent for to the senate, and something earlier than formerly. As soon as I came thither, and had taken my seat, the duke told me, that in honour to the Holy Trinity they had entered into an alliance with the pope, the kings of the Romans, and Castile, and the duke of Milan, upon three principal ends; one was to defend Christendom against the Turk; the second for the defence of Italy; and the third for the preservation of their territories; which they desired I would notify to the king my master. They were in all about a hundred, or more, looked very gay, their noses tossed up into the air, and no such sadness in their countenances, as upon the surrender of the castle at Naples. They also told me that they had written to their ambassadors, who were attending our king, to take their leave, and come to Venice. One of their ambassadors' names was Dominick Loredan, and the other Dominick Trevisan. I was extremely troubled and concerned for my master's person, as being fearful that he and his whole army were in great danger; for I thought the confederates were much forwarder than they were, as they also thought themselves, and that some German troops had been near at hand. If it had been so, the king could never have got out of Italy. I resolved within myself to speak little in my passion, but they provoked me beyond the bounds I had set myself: I told them that the night before I had given my master notice of their alliance, as I had done often, and that he wrote me word he had news of it before both from Milan and Rome. The duke seemed to be surprised at what I had written concerning the alliance the night before; for there are no people in the world so jealous, nor keep their counsels so secret as they; and, upon bare suspicion, they many times imprison their dearest friends.

Upon that consideration I told them, that I had written to the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to take care to reinforce the garrison of Asti; and said so, in hopes to discourage them from attempting to surprise it, which they might certainly have done,

had they been as ready as they pretended; for it was in a weak posture of defence a long time after. They replied—That they had no intentions against the king; that what they had done, or should do, would be only in defence of themselves; and they could not suffer, that my master should amuse all Europe with his fair words, as he had done; and that when he had promised to concern himself with nothing but the kingdom of Naples, and then to turn his arms against the Turk, he should falsify his word, act quite contrary, possess himself of what he could in the territories both of the Florentines and the pope, and endeavour to destroy the duke of Milan. To which I answered—That the kings of France had been so far from defrauding the church of any of their revenues, that on the contrary they had always augmented them, and defended their rights: that those could not be the reasons for their league, as they pretended; but that they had a desire to involve Italy in new troubles, to make their advantages out of them, and that I thought they intended to do it. They resented that expression of mine, as I was informed afterwards; however, it proved true, as appeared by what king Ferrand engaged to them in Apulia, to assist him against us. I rose up to have been gone, but they made me sit down again; and the duke asked me, if I had any overtures of peace to make, because the day before I had said something to that purpose; but that was in case they would have protracted the conclusion of the league for fifteen days longer, that I might have had time to have written to his majesty, and have received his answer. After this I retired to my lodgings, and they sent for the rest of the ambassadors one after another. At my coming out of the senate I met the Neapolitan ambassador in a new gown, and very gay; and indeed he had reason, for this was a lucky turn of affairs for him. After dinner all the ambassadors of the league met together upon the water, which in Venice is all their recreation; the whole number of their boats, which are provided at the senate's charge, and proportioned to every man's retinue, were about forty, every one of them adorned with the arms of their respective masters; and in this pomp they passed under my window, with their trumpets and other instruments of music. The ambassadors of Milan, (at least one of them), who had often visited me, and was my particular acquaintance, would take no notice of me now. For three days together I and my domestics kept within doors; though indeed I cannot say either they or I were affronted all the while. At night there were extraordinary fireworks upon the turrets, steeples, and tops of the ambassadors' houses, multitudes of lights were placed, and the cannon all round the city were fired. I was in a covered boat

rowing by the bank side, to see this triumphal sight, about ten o'Clock at night; especially before the ambassadors' houses, where the hubbub was extraordinary. But this was not the day in which the peace was proclaimed; for the pope had sent to them to defer it for some days, till Palm-Sunday, at which time he had ordered that every prince in whose dominions it was published, and all the ambassadors then with him, should carry an olive branch in their hand in token of their alliance and peace; and that upon the same day it should be published both in Germany and Spain. At Venice they made a gallery or large scaffold of wood, a good height above the ground, as they were accustomed to do at the inauguration of their dukes, which reached from the palace to the end of the piazza of St. Mark; upon which, after mass was sung by the pope's nuncio, and all people absolved who were present at the solemnity, they marched in procession; the senate and the ambassadors all very splendidly dressed, several of them in crimson velvet gowns, which the senate presented them, especially the Germans, and all their train in new gowns, but a little of the shortest. After the procession was ended, a great many pageants and pictures were exhibited to the people; as first of all Italy in one, and then the several kings and princes, and the queen of Spain. At their return, at a porphyry stone, where such things are usually done, proclamation was made, and the alliance published.

There was at that time a Turkish ambassador, who looked privately through a window, and saw the solemnity: he had his dispatch, but would needs stay to see this formality, and at night, by the assistance of a Greek, he gave me a visit, and staid four hours in my chamber; and his great desire was to cultivate a friendship between his master and mine. I was twice invited to this feast, but desired to be excused; yet I staid a month after in the town, and was all the while civilly entertained, as before the publication of this alliance. At length I was recalled, and having had my audience of leave, they gave me a passport, and conducted me to Ferrara at their own expense. The duke of Ferrara came in person to meet me, and entertained me two days very handsomely at his own charge. The same civility I received at Bologna from John Bentivoglio; and being sent for to Florence, I continued there in expectation of my master's coming, in the relation of whose affairs I shall now proceed.

END OF BOOK VII.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

The order in which the king left his affairs in the kingdom of Naples upon his return into France.

TO continue my memoirs, and for your better information, we must return to our discourse of the king; who from his first arrival at Naples to his departure, minded nothing but his pleasures, and his ministers nothing but their own advantage. His youth might excuse him in some measure, but nothing could excuse them; for the king referred all to their management, and if they had had the discretion but to have advised him to have put strong garrisons into three or four of the chief castles, and furnished them well with provisions; nay, if it had only been the castle of Naples, whose magazines and furniture were given away and embezzled as you have heard, the kingdom of Naples had been his at this day; for if he had been master of that castle, the town would never have revolted, nor by consequence the kingdom. Upon the conclusion of this alliance, he assembled all his forces together, and ordered five hundred French men at arms, two thousand Swiss, and some French foot for the guard of the kingdom; and with the rest he resolved to march back into France by the same way he came, while the confederates were as busy to stop him. The king of Spain had sent, and was still sending his caravels into Sicily, though but few men on board them. However, before our king's departure, they had garrisoned and furnished with ammunition and provisions Reggio in Calabria, which is the next town to Sicily. I had often acquainted my master with their designs of sending supplies thither, for the ambassador of Naples had told me so, supposing they had been there

already; and if the king had sent any forces thither in time, he would certainly have taken the castle; and the town had declared for him before. For want of sending thither, they landed forces at Mantia and Tropea. The townsmen in Otranto and Apulia had set up our king's colours; but being informed of the new alliance, and considering what near neighbours they were both to Brindisi and Gallipoli, and how difficult it would be to furnish themselves with troops, they pulled them down again, and erected the standard of Arragon: and Don Frederick being at Brindisi supplied them with a garrison. There was an universal change in the minds of the people through the whole kingdom; and fortune, which had been so propitious but two months before, began now to frown upon us, both in relation to the alliance, the king's departure, and the great want in which he left the kingdom, and that rather in respect of officers than soldiers. The supreme care was committed to monsieur de Montpensier, of the house of Bourbon, a brave soldier and a fine gentleman, but his valour was greater than his wisdom; besides, he was so intolerably lazy, he would never rise till noon. In Calabria he left the lord d'Aubigny, a Scotchman, a brave and worthy person, to command in chief. The king had made him constable of that kingdom, and given him, as I said before, the county of Aen, and the marquisate of Squillazzo. At his first coming thither, the king had made the seneschal of Beaucaire, Stephen de Vers, governor of Cajeta, duke of Nola, lord high chamberlain; and all the money in that kingdom passed through his hands: he took more upon him than he was able to perform; yet he was very desirous of keeping the kingdom of Naples. The king created Don Julian of Lorrain a duke, and made him governor of Saint Angelo, in which situation he behaved himself with a great deal of honour and reputation. He left Gabriel de Montfaucon at Manfredonia; a person for whom the king had a great esteem; but he managed things imprudently there; for though he found it well provided with corn, and every thing else, yet he delivered it up in four days for want of provisions; and to all these the king gave great estates in land, for several sold whatever they met with in the castle: and it was reported, that Gabriel stole away in the night, and left William de Villeneuf to defend the town; but being betrayed and sold by some of his own servants to Frederick, he was kept by him a long time in the gallies. He left Taranto to the command of George de Suilly, who behaved himself well, and held it out till he was forced by famine to surrender, and then died there of the plague. In Aquila he placed the bailiff de Vitry, who dis-

charged his duty as he ought to do; and Gratian des Guerres did the same in Abruzzo: he left them very little money, only assignments upon the revenue, and of that but very little was ever raised. The king took care to make an handsome provision for the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, who served him faithfully, as long as it was in their power to do so. He also gratified the Colonni in whatever they demanded, and gave them and their friends the possession of about thirty towns; which if they had defended as they ought, and as they swore to do, they had done his majesty singular service, and reaped the honour and advantage of it themselves; for I do not believe they had been so great in a hundred years before: but they had not patience to stay till the king had left Italy, but fell to caballing. It is true, they were engaged with us on the duke of Milan's account, for they are naturally Ghibellines: however, they ought not to have broken their oaths, especially having been so civilly treated; besides, the king had obliged them further than all this; for under pretence of friendship he carried prisoners with him the lord Virgil Ursini, and the count de Petillane, and several others of the Ursini, who were their enemies; which indeed was a little severe; for though they were prisoners of war, yet the king knew they were to have had passports; for he had signed and intended it so himself, and declared his resolution as to that point to all people: but his intention was to carry them no farther than Asti, and then to dismiss them upon their parole of honour. This he did at the request of the Colonni; and yet before he could get thither, they revolted, and appeared the first against him without the least pretence or occasion.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the king's departure from Naples, and his return to Rome, from whence the pope fled to Orvieto; the conference the king had with the lord of Argenton, upon his return from Venice; his deliberation about the restitution of the Florentine towns, and the memorable predictions of Friar Jerom of Florence.

AS soon as the king had settled his affairs as he designed, he began his march with what forces he could spare; which I believe were about nine hundred men at arms, including his guards, and 2500 Swiss; in all of his standing army about seven thousand men: besides, about fifteen hundred more which followed the camp, as

servants, and were able to bear arms. The count de Petillane, who had reviewed them, and knew their number better than I did, told me since the battle, that they were nine thousand effective men. The king bent his march directly towards Rome, where his holiness, having no mind to attend him, determined to go to Padua, and put himself under the protection of the Venetians, and lodgings were assigned him; but afterwards they changed their minds, and both they and the duke of Milan sent forces to him to Rome, for the defence of the town, which arrived time enough; yet the pope durst not stay, though the king had done him all imaginable honour and service, and sent an ambassador on purpose to desire him to stay: but he retired to Orvieto, and from thence to Perusia, leaving the cardinals to attend his majesty at Rome. The king was received very honourably by them, but he made no stay among them, nor suffered the least injury to be done to any body. From thence I was sent for to attend him at Sienna, where I waited on his majesty, who received me graciously. He asked me in a jesting way whether the Venetians had sent any forces to fall upon his rear? for his men were all young, and he thought no troops were able to engage with them. I humbly replied, that upon my leaving Venice, the senate informed me in the presence of one of their secretaries called Loridano, that they and the duke of Milan would bring 40,000 men into the field, not to molest him, but to defend themselves; and the same day I set out from Venice, they ordered one of their proveditori who was employed against us, to inform me at Padua, that their army should not pass such a river near Parma, which if I mistake not was called Oglio, unless his majesty invaded the duke of Milan; and the said proveditor and I took private tokens and directions how we might correspond with each other, if there should be any occasion upon a treaty of peace; for I was unwilling to refuse any overture of that nature; because I knew not how my master's affairs might succeed. There was present at our conference one monsieur Lewis Marcel, who, as a kind of treasurer, had that year the command of the Mont-vieil, and was sent by them to conduct me. There were besides in the company some of the marquis of Mantua's servants, who carried him money; but they were at a distance, and heard nothing of our discourse. From these or somebody else I procured a list of the confederate army, their horse, foot, and estradiots, and the chief officers that commanded them, but few about the king believed what I told him.

After the king had halted two days at Sienna to refresh his troops, I earnestly pressed his majesty to march, for the enemy was not yet joined, and I feared nothing till the Germans came up; and

the king of the Romans was mighty busy in raising both men and money. But whatever I said to the contrary, two things must be solemnly debated in council, which took up but a little time. One was, whether he should restore all the Florentine towns, and receive thirty thousand ducats, which was an arrear of a former gift, and ninety thousand more which they offered to lend him; besides a reinforcement of three hundred men at arms, under the command of Francisco Secco, an experienced and brave commander, and one in whom the king put great confidence, and 2000 foot to secure his passage into his own kingdom. It was my opinion, and several others agreed with me, that the king should restore all but Leghorn, which he should keep till he had reached Asti. If he had followed our advice, he would have been able to have paid his army, and had enough to have bribed the enemy, and then might have fought them as he pleased: but we could not be heard. Monsieur de Ligny obstructed it, who was a young gentleman and cousin-german to the king, but he scarce knew why he did so, unless it were in compassion to the Pisans. The other point to be debated was set on foot by monsieur de Ligny himself, and proposed in council by one Gaucher de Tinteville, and by a party in Sienna, who would needs have monsieur de Ligny for their governor; for that town was divided into factions, and governed the worst of any in Italy. My judgment was demanded first, and I answered, that I thought it would be better for the king to march forward, than to amuse himself with things of so little importance, which could not be any service to him a week hence; besides, that town belonged to the emperor, and to dispose of it in that manner was to pull the whole empire about our ears. Every body gave into my opinion, and yet it was carried against us, and monsieur de Ligny was made their governor, with large promises of a revenue, but he never received any. Upon this trifling debate we stayed six or seven days; during which time the king diverted himself among the ladies, having left in this town above three hundred of his choicest troops, to the great weakening of his army. He advanced towards Pisa by the way of Poggibonzi, a castle belonging to the Florentines; but those who were left at Sienna were driven out in a month.

I had almost forgotten to tell you, that while I was at Florence, in my way to the king, I went to pay a visit to a certain friar called Friar Jerom, who by report was a very holy man, and had lived in a reformed convent fifteen years; there went along with me one John Francis, a very prudent person, and steward of the king's household. The occasion of my going to visit him was, upon the

account that he had always, both in the pulpit and elsewhere, spoken much in the king's favour, and his words had kept the Florentines from confederating against us, for never any of his profession had so much authority in that town. Whatever had been said or written to the contrary, he always affirmed our king would come into Italy, that he should be sent by God himself to chastise the tyranny of the princes, and that nothing should be able to oppose him. He foretold likewise that the state of Florence should be dissolved on the very same day that his majesty entered the town, and so it fell out; for Peter de Medicis was driven out that very day. Many other things he presaged long before they came to pass, as the death of Laurence de Medicis; and he openly declared that he had it by revelation; as likewise that the reformation of the church should be owing to the sword. This is not yet accomplished, but it escaped very narrowly, and he still maintains that it shall be. Many persons blamed him for pretending to divine revelations, but others believed him; for my part I think him a good man. I asked him whether our king would return safe into France, considering the great preparations of the Venetians against him? of which he gave a better account than I could, that had lately come from Venice.

He told me he would meet with some difficulties by the way, but he would overcome them all, and gain immortal honour by it, though he had but a hundred men in his company; for God, who had conducted him thither, would guard him back again. But because he had not applied himself as he ought, to the reformation of the church; and because he had permitted his soldiers to rob and plunder the poor people, as well those who had freely opened their gates to him as the enemy who opposed him; therefore God had pronounced judgment against him, and in a short time would execute it. However, he bade me tell him, that if he would have compassion of the people, command his army to do them no wrong, and punish them when they did, as it was his office to do, that then God would mitigate, if not revoke, his sentence. He told me it would not be sufficient for him to plead—"He did them no wrong himself:" and that he would meet him when he came, and tell him so from his own mouth, and so he did, and pressed hard for the restitution of the Florentine towns. When he mentioned the sentence of God against him, the death of the dauphin came very fresh into my mind; for I knew nothing else that would touch the king so sensibly. This I have thought fit to record, to make it the more manifest that this whole voyage was a mystery conducted by God himself.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the king's retaining Pisa and several other towns in his hands, while the duke of Orleans on the other side entered Novara, in the dutchy of Milan.

WHILE the king, as I said before, was at Pisa, the people of the town, both men and women, begged of us that for God's sake we would intercede for them to the king, that they might not again be subject to the tyranny of the Florentines, who indeed treated them very barbarously; but they fared as well as their neighbours. Pisa and Florence had been at war three hundred years before the Florentines subdued them. These supplications being delivered with tears in their eyes, wrought strangely upon our soldiers; so that, forgetting what our king had promised and sworn before the altar of St. John in Florence, they all unanimously, to the very archers and Swiss, interposed in their behalf; and threatened all such as were for the king's keeping his oath, and particularly the cardinal of St. Malo, who in another place I called general of Languedoc; and him I heard an archer threaten myself, and others talked as boldly to the marshal de Giè. The president Gannay for three nights together durst not lie in his own quarters; and the great promoter of all this was the count de Ligny: the Pisans made sad complaints to the king, and moved us all to compassionate, though we had no reason to relieve them. One day after dinner, as the king was playing at tables with the lord de Piennes, and only two or three of the gentlemen of the bedchamber waiting on him, forty armed gentlemen of his court entered the room, and in the name of the rest, the son of Sallezard the elder made a speech to the king in favour of the Pisans, and charging some of the persons above named of no less than betraying him; but the king reprimanded them severely, and never afterwards did any thing of the kind occur.

Six or seven days the king spent to no purpose at Pisa; and having altered the garrison, he put into the castle one Entragues, a servant to the duke of Orleans, but an ill-humoured man: monsieur de Ligny had recommended him to the king, and by his interest a detachment of the infantry of Berry was left with him. This Entragues managed his affairs so well, I suppose by his money, that he was made governor of Pietro Sancto, and another town not far off, called Motrone; besides all which, he had ano-

ther government at Librefacto near Lucca. The castle of the town of Sarzana was extremely well fortified, and by the interest of monsieur de Ligny, the command of it was given to the bastard of one Roussi, who was the count's servant. Another castle called Sarzanella he put into the hands of one of his own domestics; so that the king of France left great bodies of his forces in these places, (though he will never have so much need of them again), and rejected the assistance and proffers of the Florentines, who upon his refusal grew desperate; and yet at the same time he had intelligence that the duke of Orleans had taken the city of Novara from the duke of Milan, and was certain the Venetians would declare war against him; for they had sent him word, that if he invaded the duke of Milan, they should be obliged, by the alliance they had lately made, to assist him; and their army, which was numerous, was ready to take the field. But you must understand, that just upon the conclusion of the league, the duke of Milan had a design upon Asti, supposing he should have found no troops in it. But my letters prevented him, and hastened the supplies which the duke of Bourbon sent thither; and first there arrived forty lancers of the marshal de Giè's troops, which were left behind in France, all very well appointed; and after them five hundred foot from the marquis di Saluzzo. The arrival of these forces diverted the duke of Milan's army, commanded by Galeas di St. Severino, who was posted at Nom, a castle belonging to the said duke, within two miles of Asti. Some time after, they were joined by three hundred and fifty men at arms, with the gentry of Dauphinè, and all the frank-archers of that country, and two thousand Swiss: so that they were in all 7500 fighting men. It was a prodigious expense and trouble to assemble these forces, and when that was done they did not answer the end for which they were designed; for they were sent for to have assisted the king, and instead of that he was forced to support them. The king had written to the duke of Orleans and the chief officers, that they should attempt nothing upon the duke of Milan, but only take care to secure Asti, and come to meet him as far as the river Tesino, where they were to assist and favour his passage, there being no other river where he could be stopped; for the duke of Orleans was left at Asti, and never went farther with the king. However, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary, he was so pleased with the honour of having Novara delivered into his hands, which was only ten leagues from Milan, that he could not contain, but entered it in a triumphal manner, and the whole city, both Guelphs and Ghibellines, received him with all the demonstrations of joy imaginable, and

the marchioness of Montferrat was a great instrument in the plot. The castle held out two or three days; but if he had gone or sent to Milan, where his party was great, he had been received with more joy, (as I have been told by great persons of that dutchy), than at his own castle at Blois; and the first three days he might have done it with ease, for the duke of Milan's forces were at Nom near Asti when Novara was surprised, and came not up till four days after; but perhaps he durst not rely upon his intelligence.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning king Charles's dangerous passage over the mountains between Pisa and Sarzana; of the Germans burning Pontremoli, and the behaviour of the duke of Orleans at Novara in the mean time.

FROM Siena the king was come to Pisa, as you have already heard, and from Pisa he marched to Lucca, where he was well received by the town, and stayed with them two days; and from thence to Pietro Sancto, where monsieur Entragues was governor, neither he himself nor any that were about him having the least fear or apprehension of the enemy. Yet he found great difficulty in his march over the mountains, betwixt Lucca and that place, where there were several passes very easy to have been defended by small bodies of foot, but the confederates were not joined as yet. Not far from Pietro Sancto on one side there is the pass of Sierre or Salto della Cerva, and on the other that of Roctaillè or Rotaio, with a deep marsh at the foot of it, over which we were forced to march upon a causey, as if it had been through a standing pool. This was the pass of which I had heard so much talk, and which I dreaded more than all the rest between Pisa and Pontrema; for a small body of troops with a cart overturned in the midst of it, and two pieces of cannon, would have stopped our passage, had our army been ever so numerous. From Pietro Sancto the king marched to Sarzana, where the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula met him, and offered, if he pleased to send some of his forces thither, to make Genoa revolt to him. It was referred to a council of officers, among which I was one, and concluded by all that it should not be meddled with; for if the king gained the victory Genoa would surrender of course, if he lost it, it would do him no good, and this was the first time I ever heard them mention

fighting. Our resolution was reported to the king, but for all that, he sent for the lord de Bresse, since duke of Savoy, the lord de Beaumont de Polignac my brother-in-law, and the lord d'Aubijoux of the house of Amboise, with six score men at arms and five hundred archers, newly sent him by sea out of France. I wondered a prince of his age should not have one minister of state about him that durst be plain with him, and tell him the danger to which he exposed his person; but indeed he put no confidence in what I said. We had a few forces at sea which came from Naples, under the command of monsieur de Miolans, governor of Dauphinè, and one Stephen de Neves of Montpelier; they were in all about eight gallies, and had arrived at Spezzia and Rappallo, where they were defeated at the time I speak of, and in the same place where our men had beaten king Alphonso's forces in the beginning of this expedition, and by the same party who had been on our side at that battle, that is to say, seignior John Lewis di Flisco, and seignior John Adorni, and all of them carried prisoners into Genoa. It had been better management to have had them with the king, and all little enough. Monsieur de Bresse and the cardinal advanced into the suburbs of Genoa, expecting their party in the town would have raised some disturbances; but the duke of Milan had taken care to prevent any insurrection; and the Adorni and seignior John Lewis di Flisco had given such orders about that affair, that our forces were in great danger of being handled as they had been at sea, considering the smallness of their numbers; nor did any thing prevent it but the fear the prevailing party in Genoa had, that if they should have sallied out of the town, the Forgosi would have risen up in arms and shut the gates upon them; however, our men met with difficulty enough before they got to Asti, to which they marched directly, and were not at the battle, where they might have been more serviceable, and better employed. From Sarzana the king marched on towards Pontrema, which he was forced to pass, it being the entrance into the mountains. The town and castle were strong, and the country about it almost inaccessible; and had they been well garrisoned, they could never have been taken; but what friar Jerom told me proved true, that God would lead him by the hand, as it were, till he was out of danger; for the enemy was blind and stupid, and had not put above three or four hundred men to defend that important pass. The king sent his vanguard to Pontrema under the command of marshal de Giè and seignior John James di Trivulce, whom he had entertained in his service ever since king Ferrand's flight out of Naples; this John James was a gentleman of Milan, of a noble family, a good officer, a rich man, and a great enemy

to the duke of Milan, as having been banished by him; and by his means the place was presently delivered, and the garrison marched out; but a great inconvenience ensued upon this; for as I have already mentioned, when the duke of Milan was there last, there happened to be a dispute between the townsmen and some of the Germans, forty of which were slain by the townsmen, so that the Swiss in revenge, and contrary to their articles, put all the men to the sword, plundered the town, set it on fire, and burnt it and all their magazines, with about ten of their own men, who being drunk, could not get out; and it was not in the marshal de Giè's power to prevent it.

After they had committed this outrage, they besieged the castle, in order to have used them after the same manner, though the garrison consisted of none but seignior John James di Trivulce's troops, which were put into it when the enemy marched out; neither would they give over their attack till the king himself came in person, and commanded them to desist. The destruction of this place was a great inconvenience to the king, not so much for the dishonour, though that was considerable, as for the provisions that were spoiled, of which there was great plenty, and we in extremity of want: yet the people were not much against us, only those about the town who had suffered more particularly; but if the king had hearkened to the overtures made him by seignior John James di Trivulce, several places and persons of importance would have surrendered and come into him; for he advised him to set up the young duke's standard, who was son of John Galeas, the last duke of Milan, that lies buried at Pavia, as you have heard; which young duke was in count Lodowick's power. But the king would not be persuaded to do it, out of kindness to the duke of Orleans, who pretended to the dutchy. Upon which the king marched from Pontrema, and encamped in a small valley, where there were not ten houses, and the name I have forgot. He lay in that camp five days, I know not why, his army in great distress for provisions, the main body thirty miles behind the van, which was marched before, and to march over high and steep rocks, where such great cannon was never seen till then; for those which duke Galeas had passed that way with were but four, and they small, and not above five hundred weight apeice, and yet that was then looked upon as a miracle.

But to return now to the duke of Orleans: as soon as he had taken the castle of Novara, he lay still for some days, and did nothing, and at length marched to Vegievene. Two little towns hard by sent to him, and offered to receive his troops, but he wisely re-

fused the overtures they made him. The citizens of Pavia sent twice to him likewise, and there he was mightily to blame in refusing their offer. In short, he drew up in battalia before the town of Vegievene, where the duke of Milan's whole army was encamped, and commanded by the sons of Galeas St. Severino, so often mentioned before: the town is worth nothing, not a jot better than St. Martin de Candie: I came thither not long after, when the duke of Milan and all his chief officers were there, and they showed me the places where their armies were drawn up both within and without the town, and if the duke of Orleans had advanced but a hundred paces farther, the enemy had retreated over the river Tesino, where they had made a large bridge of boats and were drawn up on the bank; besides, I saw them demolish a fort which they had built on the other side to secure their pass; for they had resolved to quit both the town and the castle, which would have been a great disadvantage to them. This is the place where the duke of Milan generally resides, and indeed it is the best seat for hunting and hawking, and all kinds of sports, that I ever saw. But perhaps the duke of Orleans thought the town stronger than it really was, and that he had done enough already, without attempting any thing further; and therefore he marched off to a place called Trecane, the lord of which place had a conference with me not long after, and he had something in charge from the duke of Milan. To the town of Trecane they sent the chief citizens of Milan to invite him thither, and tempt him into the town; offering their children as hostages, and they could easily have put him into the possession of it, as I have been credibly informed since, by persons of great authority, who were there at that time; for the duke of Milan would not have found men enough to have defended the castle, and the nobility and commons conspired the destruction of the house of Sforza. The duke of Orleans also, and his men have told me the same, but they durst not trust them; and they wanted a person that understood them and their ways better than they; besides, his great officers were not all of the same opinion in relation to that affair. A body of two thousand Germans sent by the king of the Romans, and about a thousand horse under the command of monsieur Frederick Capelare born in the county of Ferette, joined the duke of Milan's army; with this reinforcement Galeas and the rest of the officers were so mightily encouraged that they marched directly to Trecane and offered the duke of Orleans battle; but he was advised not to fight, though his army was more numerous than their's; perhaps the officers were unwilling to hazard this army, lest the loss of it should be the ruin of the king, of whom they

could have no intelligence, by reason of all of the couriers being detained: upon this, the duke of Orleans retreated with his whole army, having with great indiscretion neglected the favourable opportunity of supplyiug the town with provisions, or preserving, as they ought, what was already in their magazines, though they might have had enough at that time in the country round about it, without money, and for fetching; but when they wanted it afterwards, the enemy was within half a league of the town.

CHAP. V.

The king passes the Apennine mountains with his train of artillery, by the assistance of the Swiss; the great danger which the marshal de Giè and his whole vanguard was in; and the king's arrival at Fornova.

WE left the king encamped in a valley on this side Pontrema, in great want of provisions; and yet he stayed there five days without any manner of occasion. Our Swiss, who had committed the great fault at Pontrema, did us a singular piece of service at this time; they were fearful their crime should give the king a displeasure against them, that his majesty would never endure them more; and therefore, to atone for what was past, they came to him of themselves, and offered to convey his great guns over those almost unpassable mountains, and well I may call them so, for their height and steepness, there being no tract or path to direct them. I have seen most of the chief mountains both in Italy and Spain, but none of them are to be compared to these; and this offer they made upon condition the king would forgive them, which he did. Our train consisted of fourteen extraordinary great guns. At the farther end of the valley we began to climb up a steep way, where our mules could scarce get up; these Swiss corded themselves two and two together, and drew a hundred, sometimes two hundred in a company, till they were weary, and then they were relieved by as many more; besides these, there were the horses belonging to the train, and the waggons; for every one of the courtiers who had any carriage, lent a horse to hasten their passage, but had it not been for these Swiss, their horses would never have done it; and to speak truth, they helped over not only the artillery, but the whole army; for had it not been for them, not a man could have passed the mountains. Finding themselves so necessary, it en-

couraged them exceedingly; and besides, they had as great a desire to be over as the rest of the army; they had committed many faults, but this good action did sufficiently atone for all: however, the greatest part of the difficulty was not to get the artillery up, for as soon as they were at the top, they saw great deep vallies below them, to which there was no way but what nature had prepared; for they never had been passed before; so that our horses and men were forced to draw backward, and the letting it down was infinitely more trouble than the hauling it up; and besides, the smiths and the carpenters were forced to be constantly by; for if any of the guns slipped, they were to be mended before they could go on. Many advised the king, for expedition sake, to break his great guns, but he would by no means consent to it.

The marshal de Giè lay thirty miles before us, and pressed the king to hasten his march: and yet it was three days before we could reach him, and by that time the enemy was advanced within sight. Their army was encamped in a large field, about half a league from him: and if they had attacked him, he had certainly been defeated. The marshal afterwards took up his quarters at Fornova, a strong town at the entrance into the plain, and this he did, to keep them from assaulting us on the mountains; but we had a better guardian than he to protect us, for God put other thoughts into the heads of our enemies, and so blinded their understandings with avarice, that they were resolved to wait for our coming into the plain, that they might cut us all to pieces; for they thought if they should attack us upon the mountains we might retreat to Pisa, or some of the towns we kept in Florence; but they were mistaken; for those places were too remote, and if they had beaten us, they might have pursued us as fast as we could have fled, and they would have had the advantage of knowing the country better than us. Thus far on our side the war was not begun; but the marshal de Giè sent the king word that he had passed the mountains, and that having sent out a party of forty horse to discover the enemy, they had been charged by their Estradiots, and one of them, called le Beuf, being slain, the Estradiots cut off his head, put it upon the top of a lance, carried it to their proveditor, and demanded a ducat. These Estradiots are of the same nature with the Janizaries in Turkey, they are horse and foot, and habited like Turks, only they wear no turbans upon their heads. They are a hardy people, and lie abroad all the year round, like their horses; they were originally Greeks, from the places which the Venetians have in their hands in those parts, some of them from Naples, and Romagna in the Morea, others from Albania and Durazzo; their horses are all Turkish, and very

good. The Venetians employ them often in their wars, and put great confidence in them; I saw them all upon their first landing at Venice, and mustered in the island where the Abbey of St. Nicholas is built, and their number was near fifteen hundred: they are stout nimble fellows, and will plague an army terribly, when they once undertake it. These Estradiots, as I said before, having beaten our party, pursued them to the marshal's quarters, where the Swiss were posted, of whom they killed three or four, and carried away their heads, according to their custom. For the Venetians having war against the Turks formerly, in the time of Mohomet, this great Turk's father, that sultan Mahomet would not suffer his soldiers to give quarter, but allowed them a ducat a-head, and the Venetians did the same. My opinion is, they did it on purpose to terrify us, and indeed so they did; but the Estradiots themselves were no less affrighted with our artillery; for a shot from a falcon having killed one of their horses, they retired with great precipitation; but in their retreat, they took one of our Swiss captains who was on horseback, and following to observe their motions, and being unarmed, was run through the body with a lance. The captain was a wise man, and they carried him before the marquis of Mantua, who was captain-general of the Venetians; and his uncle the lord Rodolphus of Mantua, and the count di Cajazzo, who commanded for the duke of Milan, knew him extremely well. The enemy's army had taken the field, at least all that were joined, for some were still to come up, about eight days before, but lay still in expectation of their confederates; so that the king might have gone back into France without any impediment in the world, had he not squandered away his time to no purpose by the way, as you have heard: but God had ordered it otherwise.

The marshal de Giè fearing to be attacked, retired to the mountains. He had with him, as he told me, about eight score men at arms, and eight hundred Swiss, and no more; and from us he could not expect any assistance; for, by reason of our heavy cannon, we could not join him in less than a day and a half. The king in his march, lay at two little marquisses houses: our vanguard being posted upon the mountain, was afraid of being attacked by the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle, at a good distance in the plain; but God, who had always preserved our army, infatuated our adversaries understanding. The Swiss captain being examined by the count di Cajazzo, who commanded their army, and was then in their van, was asked what number of men at arms were with the marshal, and the count knew our strength as well as we did ourselves; for he had been with us the whole campaign.

The Swiss magnified our forces, represented us much stronger than we were, and told him the marshal had with him 300 men at arms, and 1500 hundred Swiss. The count told him plainly, he lied; for in the whole army we had not above 3000, and it was improbable we would send half of them before; upon which the captain was sent prisoner to the marquis of Mantua's tent, where a council of war was called, in order to consult how to attack us. The marquis believed what the Swiss captain had said, urged that their infantry were not so good as the Swiss, that all their forces had not joined them, that it would be a great injury to the allies to engage without them, and that if they should lose the battle, the senate would have just reason to blame their conduct; that it would be better therefore to wait for our coming into the plain, where we could not pass but under their noses; and the two proveditors being of the same opinion, they durst not oppose. Others affirmed, that if they routed this vanguard, the king must of necessity be taken prisoner; but for all that, it was concluded to expect us in the plain, and they confidently believed that none of us could escape. This I have been informed of since, by the very persons whom I have mentioned; for after the fight we discoursed together, and the marshal de Giè and I had this relation from their own mouths. Upon this, they retired with their army into the plain, being assured that within a day or two the king must of necessity come to Fornova, and in the mean time, the rest of the confederate forces arrived in their camp, and the way was so narrow, we were obliged to march close by them.

Upon our descending from the mountains, we had the prospect of the plain of Lombardy, which is the pleasantest and best country in the world, and most plentiful in every thing: yet though I call it a plain, it is scarce passable for a horse, for it is as enclosed as Flanders, or rather more, but much better, and more fruitful, both in corn, wine, and fruit; and their ground never lies fallow. It pleased us exceedingly to see so fine a country, after the wants and hardships which we had suffered since our departure from Lucca; but our train of artillery was our greatest trouble, especially to let down, so steep and difficult was the way. In the enemy's camp, there were great numbers of tents and pavilions, which represented it very large; and indeed so it was; the Venetians having made good their message by me to the king, when they promised that the duke of Milan and they would bring forty thousand men into the field, and if they had not their full number, they wanted not much of it, for they were five-and-thirty thousand effective men, and of them four parts in five were in the Venetian pay.

They had at least two thousand men at arms barbed, every one with his bowman on horseback, or some other person in livery, and four horses attending him: their Estradiots and other light horse were about five thousand, the rest were all infantry, encamped very strong, besides a large train of artillery with them.

The king descended from the mountains about noon, and took up his quarters in Fornova, the fifth of July, being sunday, in the year 1495. We found good store of provision both for our horses and ourselves. The people received us very kindly, for nobody of any fashion did them the least injury. They brought us victuals and bread, but their bread was small and black, and they sold it very dear, and their wine was three parts water; they brought us likewise some of their fruits, and were mighty diligent in attending our army. I ordered them to bring me a little of every thing, which I laid before me, but durst not venture to eat any of it, for we had a great suspicion that this plenty of provisions was left there on purpose to poison us; so that at first nobody touched them; and our jealousy was much increased by the death of two of our Swiss, who were found dead in a cellar, having killed themselves with excessive drinking, or else died with cold afterwards; but before night our horses began to eat, and at last the soldiers following their example, we refreshed ourselves very well. I must say this in honour of the Italians, we never found that they endeavoured to do us any mischief by poison; if they had, we could have hardly secured ourselves in this march. On the sunday, as I said before, we arrived about noon at Fornova, most of our people of quality eat nothing but a crust of bread at the place where the king alighted and drank; and indeed at that time there was little else to be got; for the provisions that were in the town nobody durst venture on.

Presently after this refreshment, their Estradiots sallied out of their camp, and pickeering up to our very army, gave us a strong alarm. Our men being unacquainted with their way, drew out into the field, and put themselves very formally in order of battle, with a van, a body, and a rear, so exactly well distanced that they were not a bowl's cast from one another, so that upon any disaster they might easily be supported; but no action happened at that time, and both parties retired to their camp. Our tents were but few, and our camp extended so near to their's, that twenty of their Estradiots were enough to give us an alarm, at any time; wherefore they still lay in our front, having the benefit of a wood through which they might march up to us before they were discovered. We lay betwixt two hills in a valley, divided by a small river, called

Tarro, fordable sometimes on foot, unless it was swelled by the waters from the mountains, which fall suddenly, and are as suddenly gone. The valley in which we lay encamped, being full of gravel and great stones, was very incommodious for our cavalry; it was about a quarter of a league over, and upon the hill on our right hand, within half a league of us, the enemy was posted; so that we were obliged to pass in sight of their whole army, and only that river between us. There was on that side we were quartered, beyond the hill on the left hand, another road by which we might have marched, but then we should have seemed to be afraid of them. About two days before, it was proposed by some prudent persons in our army, who now began to be apprehensive of their danger, that I should go and desire a parley with the enemy, and should take another along with me to observe their number and situation of their camp. I had no great inclination to undertake this affair, and without a safeconduct there was no going at all, wherefore I told them, that at my departure from Venice, and at Padua, I had taken my leave very kindly of the proveditors, and that we had promised correspondence upon occasion, and therefore I did not question but upon any overture of a treaty they would meet me half way; whereas, if I should condescend to go to them, it would only make them the more arrogant; besides, I feared it was too late. The same Sunday I wrote to the proveditors, one of them was called Luques Pisano, and the other Melchior Trivisano, desiring that, according to the agreement between ourselves at my departure from Padua, they would send me a passport in order to have a conference with them. They sent me word, they would have done it with all their hearts, had we not begun a war against the duke of Milan; however, one of them, as they should agree, would meet me in some place in the midway between the two armies. I had their answer the same night, but none of those who were great with the king took any notice of it. I was fearful of meddling too far, lest they should have interpreted it cowardice; so that I pressed it no further that night, though I would willingly have done any thing to have delivered the king and his army out of danger, with any safety to myself.

About midnight the cardinal of St. Malo being come from the king, and his tent being near mine, came to me, and told me, that the king would march the next morning; that he was resolved to pass by them, and when he began to march, that he would fire some of his great guns into their army by way of defiance, and then march on in as good order as they could. I am of opinion this was the cardinal's own advice, for he was ignorant in such cases, and knew

not what counsel to give; and it had been much more prudent in the king to have called a council of his officers, and all the grave men about him, to have consulted what measures had been proper to have taken in that exigence of affairs; but the case would have been the same, for in this very march I had seen many things concerted in council with very great prudence, but managed quite contrary when they came to be executed. I told the cardinal that if we came so near as to fire into their camp, they would certainly come out and skirmish with us, and that then it would be impossible to avoid a general battle; besides, it did not consist with the overture I had made, so that I was extremely concerned to hear the resolution the king had taken. However, such was my condition from the beginning of this king's reign, that I durst not intermeddle, for fear I should disoblige his favourites, and make them my enemies, who had indeed greater authority with him than they ought to have had.

That night we had two great alarms, and all through our own negligence, in not having taken the same precaution to secure ourselves against the incursions of the Estradiots, as we used to do against the light horse, for twenty of our men at arms with their archers would have stopped two hundred of them, but they were new to us then. We had great rains that night also, and such claps of thunder and lightning, as if heaven and earth were coming together, or that this was an omen of some impending mischief.—But we were at the foot of great mountains, in a hot country, and in the height of the summer, so that the thing was natural enough; however, it was very terrible, and our consternation was increased by our enemies being so numerous before us, and no possibility to pass without fighting them, which must be done upon great disadvantage; for our army was but small, not amounting to above nine thousand men in the whole, and of them I believe two thousand were servants, and such as followed the camp, without reckoning pages and footmen belonging to the officers.

CHAP. VI.

The battle of Fornova, in which the French defeated their enemies; and of the escape of the count de Petillane from his imprisonment during the fight, and his rallying their army.

THE next morning, being on a Monday the 6th of July 1495, by seven o'clock, the king mounted on horseback, and called for me several times; I went to him, and found him completely armed,

and mounted on the best horse I ever saw in my life. The horse was called Savoy, of the Bressian breed, and presented him, according to common report, by Charles duke of Savoy: it was a black horse with only one eye, of no extraordinary stature, but tall enough for him that was to ride him. This young prince seemed that day quite another thing than what one would take him to be by his nature, proportion, and complexion. He was exceedingly bashful, especially in speaking, and is so to this day; and no wonder, for he had been brought up in great awe, and in the company of inferior people; but now being mounted on his horse, his eyes sparkled with fire, his complexion was fresh and lively, and all his words shewed wisdom and discretion: so that I partly believed the predictions of friar Jerom, and I thought of it at that time, when he told me that God would conduct him as it were by the hand, and that he should meet with some difficulties in his return to his own dominions, but that he should overcome them all, and gain immortal honour by it. The king's business with me was—"That if those people were willing, I might go and treat with them;" and the cardinal being by, he nominated him to go along with me, as also the marshal de Giè, (who at that time was in a violent passion, occasioned by a dispute between the counts de Narbonne and de Guise, both of whom pretended to the command of the van that day). I replied—"Sir, I shall observe your commands; but I never saw two great armies so near, but they fought before they parted."

Our whole army marched out of their camp in good order, the battalions as near each other as the day before; but yet methought they did not make so fine an appearance as those I had formerly seen under Charles duke of Burgundy, and his father Louis XI. nor indeed were they half so numerous. The cardinal and I withdrew a little, and dictated a letter to the two proveditors, which was written by one monsieur Robert, one of the king's secretaries, in whom he had great confidence. The substance of the letter was, that it was the cardinal's duty, by virtue of his quality and function, to procure peace, if it lay in his power; and mine also, for having been ambassador lately at Venice, it would not be improper to be a mediator now. We signified to them that the king's resolution was only to march through the country in his way to France, without committing any hostilities; and therefore if they desired a conference, as was proposed the day before, we were ready to meet, and would employ all our interest to accommodate matters. By this time the fight was begun, and there was skirmishing in all places. As we were marching on slowly, with the river between us, we came within a quarter of a league of each other, they being

also drawn up in order of battle; for it is their custom to make their camp so large, that they can put themselves into battalia within it.

They sent out a party of their Estradiots and bowmen on horseback, and some few men at arms; which marched directly, by private roads, to the village of Fornova, which we had just left, with a design to pass the river Tarro in that place, and fall upon our carriages, which were very numerous, in all I believe, besides waggons, about six thousand sumpter-horses, mules, and asses. Their army was drawn up in as good order as possible, which they had practised several days before; and they relied much on their superiority of forces. They attacked the king's army on every side, so that if we had been beaten, not a man of us could have escaped, considering the country we were in. Those which I mentioned before, fell upon our baggage. On the left hand there were the marquis of Mantua, his uncle the lord Rodolphus, the count Fortebracio di Montone, with the flower of their army, consisting of six hundred men at arms, as they told me since; and these charged our rear. All the men at arms were well barbed, with their plumes of feathers, their Bourdonasses, their cross-bowmen on horseback, their Estradiots, and their infantry to support them. Against the marshal de Giè and our vanguard, the count di Cajazzo advanced with about four thousand men at arms well accoutred, and supported also by a good body of foot. There was also another brigade of men at arms commanded by seignior John Bentivoglio of Bologna, a young gentleman who had never been in a battle; and, to speak the truth, they wanted good officers as well as us. These were to second the count di Cajazzo, and fall upon our van; there was also another squadron in the nature of a corps de reserve to the marquis of Mantua, which was commanded by Anthony d'Urbin, a bastard to the late duke d'Urbin; besides all which, there were two great bodies left firm in their camp. This I understood afterwards from themselves, and the next day I saw it with my eyes; for the Venetians would not venture all at one stake, nor leave their baggage unguarded, for fear of being plundered; yet, in my judgment, they had better have put all to a push, since they were so far engaged.

I shall now acquaint you with what became of the letter which the cardinal and I sent by a trumpeter. It was received by the proveditors, and as soon as they had read it, our great guns began to play, and they answered us; but their's were not so good as our's. The proveditors sent the trumpeter back, and the marquis sent another of his with this message—That they would willingly treat, and

upon condition we would give over cannonading, they would do so too. I was then at a distance from the king, who was riding up and down from rank to rank: I sent back the trumpeters to let them know that our cannon should cease firing; and sending to that purpose to the master of the artillery, both sides gave over for a time; but on a sudden they fired a gun among us, and ours began to play more fiercely than before, with three fresh pieces which we had levelled against them. As soon as our two trumpeters were arrived in their camp, they were conducted to the general's tent, where it was solemnly debated whether they should treat or engage. The count di Cajazzo, (as they who were present told me), urged that we were half vanquished already, that this was no time for a treaty: and one of the proveditors, who told me the story, was of his judgment, but the other was not. The marquis was of that mind too, but his uncle was against it, and being an honest and discreet man, strenuously opposed it; for he loved us well, and served against us unwillingly; at length, however, they were unanimous in their opinion for fighting.

You must know that the king had placed his greatest strength in his van; for in it there were about three hundred and fifty men at arms, three thousand Swiss, (the hopes of the whole army), three hundred archers, and two hundred cross-bowmen of his own guard, which was exposing his royal person more than he ought to have done, and these he ordered to fight among the infantry. Besides these Swiss we had very few foot, but what we had were distributed among them. There fought on foot, among the Swiss, the lord Englebert, monsieur de Cleves, brother to the duke of Cleves, Lornay, and the bailiff of Dijon, who commanded them; and the artillery was placed in their front. The forces that were left in the town of Florence, and those which were sent to Genoa against the judgment of all people, would have been of great service to us at that time. Our vanguard had by this time marched on as far as the enemy's camp, and every body expected that they would have attacked us; but our two other bodies were neither so near, nor so well ordered as the day before; and because the marquis of Mantua, who had already passed the river and entered the plain, was within a quarter of a league of our rear ready to attack them, but marching slowly on, and in such close order that it was a very fine sight to behold, the king was forced to turn his back upon his own vanguard, and face about to the rear. I was at that time with the cardinal attending an answer; but I told him it was no time to wait any longer, and so I passed by the Swiss squadron, and went to find out the king. In my passage I lost a

page, who was my cousin-german, a valet-de-chambre, and a foot-boy, who followed at a distance, and I did not see when they were slain.

I was not come a hundred paces, when I heard a great noise in the place from whence I came, or a little behind it; it was the Estradiots, who were gotten into the king's quarters, where there were not above three or four houses, and they rifled his baggage, and killed or wounded four or five men which belonged to them, the rest escaped; they killed about a hundred foot-boys and servants belonging to our carriages, and put our whole train in very great disorder. When I came where the king was, I found him making of knights. The enemy being come very near him, he was advised to give over: I heard Matthew the bastard of Bourbon, who was in great favour with the king, and one Philip du Moulin, a private, but a very brave gentleman, call to the king, and say—"On, Sir, on;" upon which he went to the head of the army, and placed himself directly before his standard, so that there was not a man nearer the enemy, unless it were the bastard of Bourbon. I had not been with the king a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was advanced within a hundred paces of his majesty, who was as ill guarded and attended as any prince that I ever saw; but he is well guarded who is guarded by God: and it was true what friar Jerom had presaged, who said, that God would lead him as it were by the hand. His rear was posted on the right, drawn up a little behind him. The next battalion to him on that side were the troops of the duke of Orleans, consisting of about eight hundred lancers commanded by Robinet de Frainezelles, about forty more by the Sieur de la Tremoville, and the Scotch archers about one hundred, who put themselves into as close order as if they had been men at arms. I was on the left among the gentlemen des Vingt Escus, the pensioners, and others of the king's household: I will not mention their several captains, for brevity sake; but the rear was commanded by monsieur de Foix.

About a quarter of an hour, as I said before, after my arrival, the enemy being advanced as near the king as you have heard, began to couch their lances, advance upon a gentle gallop, and in two bodies charged our two squadrons on the right of them, and the Scotch archers; our's advanced towards them, and the king as bravely as any. On the left, where I was posted, we charged them on the flank much to our advantage; and indeed, to say the truth, never charge was brisker on both sides. Their Estradiots, who were in the rear of that division, seeing our mules and sumpter-horses making all speed to our vanguard, and their comrades be-

ginning to plunder, quitted their men at arms, and ran to them to have their share of the booty; but certainly if the weakest regiments in their army had but attacked us with only their scimitars in their hands, (which is a terrible weapon), considering the smallness of our number, we must needs have been beaten; but God assisted us; for no sooner had they charged us with their lances, but their Italian men at arms fled; and all their infantry, or the greater part of them, gave ground also. At the same time that this squadron charged us, the count di Cajazzo attacked our van; but they came not so close, for when they should have rested their lances, their hearts failed, and they put themselves in disorder, and the Swiss took fifteen or twenty of them in a company, and put them to the sword: the rest fled, and were but indifferently pursued; for the marshal de Giè with much ado kept his forces together, for he perceived another great body of them not very far off. However, some followed the chase, and the enemy fled over the ground where we had charged, along the highway with their swords only in their hands; for they had thrown away their lances. But you must know that that brigade which charged the king was warmly pursued, for all of us made after them: some of them fled to the village from whence we were come, others made to their camp, and all of us after them; only the king staid behind with some few of his troops, and put himself in no little danger by doing so. One of the first men of the enemy which was slain was the lord Rodolphus of Mantua, the marquis's uncle, who was to have sent orders to the lord Anthony d'Urbin, when it was time for him to march, for they thought the battle would have lasted a long while, according to the custom of Italy, and the lord Anthony excused himself upon that score; but I believe he saw nothing to encourage him to advance. We had a great number of grooms and servants with our waggons, who flocked about the Italian men at arms, when they were dismounted, and knocked most of them on the head. The greater part of them had their hatchets, which they cut their wood with, in their hands, and with them they broke up their head-pieces, and then knocked out their brains; otherwise they could not easily have killed them, they were so very well armed; and to be sure, there were three or four of our men to do their business. The long swords also which our servants and archers wore, did very great execution. The king continued on the ground where he was charged, declaring that he would neither follow the chase, nor retire to our vanguard, which was at too great a distance. He had appointed seven or eight young gentlemen to attend constantly about him. He had escaped very well the first

charge, considering how near he was to the enemy: for within twenty paces of him the bastard of Bourbon was taken prisoner, and carried off to their camp.

The king, as I said before, remained in the same place, and so ill attended, that of all his squadron he had none left him but Anthony des Ambus, a gentleman of his bed-chamher, a little man, and but ill armed; the others were all dispersed, as he told me himself at night before their faces, and they ought to have been ashamed: but they came to his assistance very seasonably; for a small party of the routed enemy coming by upon the road, and perceiving it so thin of men, fell upon the king and the gentleman of his bed-chamber; but the king by the activity of his horse, which was the best in the world, kept them in play, till others of his men came up, which were not far off; and then the Italians were all cut in pieces. Upon this, the king took their counsel, and retired to his van, which had never stirred from its ground. Thus the king came off victoriously with the main battle, and if the van had advanced but an hundred paces, the whole army of the enemy had fled; some said they ought to have advanced, and others that they ought not.

Our troops which pursued, followed them to their very camp, which was extended towards Fornova; and I saw none of our men touched, but one Julian Bourgneuf, who fell down dead with a blow that was given him by an Italian man at arms, who passed by him: for he was very ill armed. Upon that accident we stopped, and cried let us return to the king; and that very word stopt the whole party to give our horses breath, which had been very hard ridden, and were tired with the length of the way, which was full of sharp stones and gravel. Not far from us we saw a party of about thirty men at arms march along; but we were in disorder, and suffered them to pass. When our horses had taken a little breath, we went in search of the king, not knowing where he was; we marched a good trot, but we had not gone far before we perceived him at a great distance. We caused our servants to alight and gather up the lances, which lay very thick upon the field, and especially the Bourdonasses; but they were good for nothing, for they were hollow and light, and weighed no more than a javelin, yet finely painted; so that we were better furnished with lances than the day before, and marched directly towards the king. In our way we fell in with several bodies of the enemies' foot, who were of the marquis's division, and had hid themselves behind the hills, when he made his charge upon the king. Several of them were slain, but others got over the river, and escaped, and we ne-

ver troubled ourselves about them. Some of our men in the heat of the action cried out to them—"Remember Guinegate"—which was a battle we had lost in king Louis's time in Picardy against the king of the Romans, where our people fell a-plundering the waggons, though our men had got nothing there; but here, their Estradiots took what they thought good, and pillaged as they pleased; but they carried off only five-and-fifty of our richest sumpters, which belonged to the king, to the two chamberlains, and to one of the king's gentlemen of his bed-chamber called Gabriel, to whose care were committed all the relics and curiosities, which of a long time belonged to the kings of France, and were then in the army, because the king was there in person. Several other of our sumpters and waggons were overturned, lost, and plundered by our own men; but the enemy had no more than I have already mentioned. We had indeed several rogues and wenches which followed the camp on foot, who stripped the dead, and did a great deal of mischief. To speak the truth, upon impartial information on both sides, we lost only Julian Bourgneuf, the captain of the king's gate, nine of the Scotch archers, a gentleman of the household, about twenty horses of the vanguard, and seventy or eighty servants belonging to our baggage. On their side, they lost 350 men at arms upon the place; for no prisoners were taken, which perhaps never happened before. Few of their Estradiots were slain, for they were busy in plundering when they should have been fighting. In the whole, as I have been informed by several of their nobility, they lost three thousand five hundred men, others say more, and among them several persons of quality. I myself saw a list of eighteen, all of them considerable persons, and among the rest four or five of the Gonzagues, which is the marquis's own family. The marquis of Mantua in this battle lost sixty gentlemen of his own subjects, all horse, and not one foot among them. It is strange, that so many should be killed with the sword, for our artillery killed not ten in both armies, and the battle held not a quarter of an hour; for as soon as the enemy had broke their lances, they fled, and the chace lasted about three quarters of an hour. But their battles in Italy used not to be managed at this rate: their custom was to fight squadron after squadron, and the fight lasted sometimes a whole day together, and at last neither won the victory.

The rout was great on their side: three hundred of their men at arms, and most part of their Estradiots ran away, some to Reggio, and others to Parma, which was about eight leagues from the field of battle. When our army was first engaged in the morning, the count de Petillane and the lord Virgil Ursini fled from us; the

lord Virgil only retired to a gentleman's house of his acquaintance hard by, and staid there upon his parole; but the truth is, we had done him an injury. The count de Petillane ran quite to the enemy; he was a person well known in their army, for he always had a command under the Florentines, or king Ferrand; he began, as soon as he got amongst them, to cry out—"A Petillane, à Petillane"—following those who fled above three leagues, calling out to them, and assuring them that there was no danger, and that if they faced about, the day would still be their own; by which means he rallied a great part of them, and gave them good hopes; and if it had not been for him, it had been a total defeat; for it was a great encouragement to have such an officer escape from us, and come in to their asisstance. He was eager for attacking us again that very night, but all the rest of the officers opposed it. He told me so since himself, and the marquis of Mantua confirmed it, and owned that advice to be his; and this is certain, had it not been for him, their army would not have kept together till morning.

As soon as we were got up to the king, we discovered a great body of men at arms drawn up in order of battle without their camp with some foot; but we could only discover their heads, and the tops of their pikes and lances. They had stood there all day, but they were farther off than we imagined; before we could have come at them, we must have passed the river, which was deep, and increased every hour; for it had thundered, lightned, and rained most prodigiously all that day, especially during the fight, and while we were in the pursuit. The king immediately called a council of war, in which it was debated whether he should advance against this new body or not. There were then with him three Italians, persons of very good quality and conduct; one of them was seignior John James di Trivulce, who is yet living, and behaved himself very well that day; another was Francis Secco, a brave man, of 72 years of age, and bred a soldier under the Florentines; the third was seignior Camillo Vitelli, who, with three of his brothers, was then in the king's service, came unsent for, from Civita-del-Castello as far as Sarzana, which is a great way, to be at this battle; and finding that it was impossible to come time enough with his troops, he left them to march slowly after, and advanced before with all speed to overtake the king. The two last were of opinion that we should attack the body that was still unbroken; but the French officers being consulted, gave their judgment against it, pretending we had done enough, that it grew late, and was time to think of quarters. Secco persisted, and pressed hard to have that body charged, he shewed them people passing to

and fro upon the great road that led to Parma, which was the next town they had to retreat to, assuring them that the enemy was either flying, or rallying again, and as we heard afterwards, he was in the right of it. His behaviour and council denoted him to be a great man; for all the officers told me afterwards, and some of them before the duke of Milan's face, that if we had but advanced against them, we had certainly obtained the greatest and most glorious victory that the French nation had won in ten years before; for had we known how to have improved it, and obliged the people by our civil treatment of them, in eight days time the duke of Milan would not have had any thing left but the castle of Milan, so inclinable were his subjects to revolt from him. And the Venetians had been much in the same condition; so that he needed not to have concerned himself any further about Naples: for the Venetians would have been able to have raised men only in Venice, Brescia, and Cremona, which is but a small district; for all the rest of their territories would have been lost. But God dealt by us as friar Jerom had foretold, and we had the honour of the day, though to speak truth our ill conduct did not deserve it, nor did we know then how to manage our victory; but now, it being in the year 1497, if such good fortune should happen to the king, I suppose he could order it better.

Whilst we were in this suspense, the night drew on, and the enemy that had faced us marched off into their camp. We on the other side took up our quarters about a quarter of a league from the field of battle. The king lay in a farm house, or, by the meanness of the building, a cottage; but the barns belonging to it were full of unthrashed corn, which served as provender for our horses. There were a few houses besides that in which the king lay, but worse than the other, so they were but of little benefit to us, and every one was forced to quarter as he could. For my part, I remember I lay in a little pitiful vineyard upon the ground, without any thing under me; for the king had borrowed my cloak in the morning, and my baggage was not to be found. He that had any thing to eat kept himself from starving, but very few had any victuals more than a crust of bread, or so, which they took from their servants. I saw the king in his chamber, where there were several wounded; among the rest, the seneschal of Lyons, and others, whom he caused to be dressed. The king was very cheerful, and every one was pleased he had escaped so well; but we did not huff and swagger, as we used to do, for the enemy was at hand. All our Swiss were that night upon the

guard; the king gave them three hundred crowns, and they watched very diligently, and their drums beat bravely during the whole night.

CHAP. VII.

The lord of Argenton's going alone to parley with the enemy, upon the refusal of those that were deputed to go along with him; and the king's safe arrival with his whole army at Asti.

THE next morning, I resolved with myself to pursue our negotiation for a peace, being always very solicitous about the king's passage in safety; but I could scarce find a trumpeter that would venture to the enemy's camp, because nine of their trumpeters had been slain, unknown, in the battle, and they had taken one of ours, and killed another, whom, as I mentioned before, the king had sent to them before the fight began; but at last one of our trumpeters was prevailed upon to go, and went to the enemy with a passport from the king, and brought me another to meet and confer in the midway between the two armies. I judged it to be dangerous; however, I resolved not to break with them, nor pretend any difficulty. The king nominated the cardinal of St. Malo, the lord de Giè marshal of France, the lord de Piennes his chamberlain, and myself. The enemy appointed the marquis of Mantua captain-general of the Venetians, the count di Cajazzo general for the duke of Milan, and formerly of our side, and seignior Luques Pisano and Melchior Trevisano the two proveditors. We approached so near, that we could plainly discern them, and that there were only those four upon the bank, and the river between us, which was much swelled the day before. No body but they appeared out of their camp, and on our side there was nobody but us and a sentinel that stood over against them. We sent a herald to know whether they would pass the river to us, which I thought a hard matter to persuade them to, because I believed it was what both sides would scruple to do. Their answer was, that by agreement the conference was to be in the midway between the two armies; that they had advanced already above half way, and being the chief officers in their army, they could not pass over without danger, which they did not think prudent to venture. Ours were as careful of themselves, and made the same difficulty on their side, but would needs have me go and confer

with them without further instructions. I told them I could not in discretion go alone, and that I would at least have one witness along with me; upon which there went with me one of the king's secretaries called Robertet, a servant of my own, and a herald, with whom I passed the river, in confidence, that if I could not come to any accommodation, I should yet discharge myself as to them, since by my means the conference was accepted. When I came within hearing, I told them they were not come half way, as they pretended, and that they ought at least to have come to the river's side; however, since they were so near, I did not think it fit to let them return without being spoken with. They replied, that the river was broad, and the noise of the waters so great, that they could not hear one another to the other side; and I could use no argument powerful enough to persuade them to advance any farther; but they asked me for my proposals. I answered, that I had no such commission, and that alone I could say nothing to them; but if they pleased to offer any thing, I would acquaint the king with it. While we stood talking in this manner, a messenger came to me to let me know that our commissioners were going back, and I might make what overtures I pleased; but I refused to do that, for they understood the king's pleasure better than I, as being of his cabal: besides, they had whispered in his ear at their coming away; but as to the business then in agitation, I knew as much as the best of them. The marquis of Mantua began to discourse about the battle, and asked me if the king would have put him to death, if he had taken him prisoner. I told him—"No, but he would have treated him honourably;" for the king had reason to esteem him for the great honour he had gained by his attacking him. Then he spoke to me in the behalf of the prisoners, and particularly of his uncle the lord Rodolphus, whom he thought to be alive, but I knew the contrary: however, I assured him they should be all civilly used; and then I recommended to him the bastard of Bourbon, who was their prisoner. It was no hard matter to use our prisoners well; for we had given no quarter, which perhaps was more than had been known in any battle before; and the marquis had lost seven or eight of his near relations, and about six score of his men at arms. After which discourse I took my leave, and promised to return before night, till when we agreed on a cessation of arms.

Upon my return to the king, and his secretary with me, he asked me what news? and immediately called a council of war in a pitiful poor chamber; but every body's eye was fixed upon his neighbour, and we came to no resolution. The king whispered

something in the cardinal's ear, and then told me I should go back, and see what they would say; but the proposition of a conference proceeding from me, it was probable they would insist that I should make some overtures first, after which the cardinal told me I should conclude nothing; but that was trifling, for it was not in my power to conclude any thing without instructions from them. However, I would neither say nor do any thing that might hinder my going, for I resolved to do no harm, and I was in hopes to discover something by the enemies' looks, who without doubt were more fearful than we; and perhaps something or other might fall from them, that might be improved to the benefit of both parties. So I set out for their camp, but it was night before I reached the banks of the river. One of their trumpeters met me there, from their four commissioners, to desire I would advance no farther that evening; for their Estradiots were upon the guard, who would know nobody, and therefore in all probability it would be dangerous for me to venture: but if I pleased, he told me he would stay with me all night, and conduct me in the morning. However, I sent him back, and told him I would be there again next morning by eight o'clock, where he should expect me; or if any thing happened to the contrary, I would give them notice by a herald; for I had no mind he should know any thing of our condition that night, nor could I tell what resolution the king would take; for I saw people whispering in his ear, which made me suspect; and so I returned to give his majesty an account of what I had done.

Every man supped on what he could get to eat; and took up his lodging upon the ground. About midnight I went to the king's chamber, where I found the gentlemen of his bed chamber booted and spurred, and ready to mount on horseback; they acquainted me with the king's resolution of retreating with all expedition towards Asti, and the territories of the marchioness of Montferrat; and desired me to stay behind, and amuse the enemy with the treaty. I heartily thanked them for their love, told them I took no delight in being killed, and that I would be on horseback as soon as the best. Awhile after the king awaked, and having heard mass, he mounted immediately. An hour before day one of our trumpeters sounded the Bon Guet, but when we decamped we made no use of our trumpets, nor indeed was it proper to do it: however, this silent stealing away in the night was enough to have discouraged the whole army, especially those who knew what belonged to the wars; for we turned our back upon the enemy, and consulted nothing but our safety, which in an army is of

dangerous consequence. Besides, at our first decampment, we had very ill marching; for the ways were deep and woody, and having no guides, we lost ourselves several times. I heard the soldiers call for guides to their ensigns; the master of the horse and all of them answered, there were none: but we had no need of any, for God had conducted us thither, and, as friar Jerom said—"He would carry us back again;" otherwise it could not have been supposed that so great a prince would have marched in the night without a guide, where so many might have been had. Besides, God gave us a greater evidence than this of his immediate protection; for the enemy perceived nothing of our decampment till noon the next day, still depending upon the treaty which I had set on foot; and then the river was so swelled, it was past four in the afternoon before any party durst venture over to pursue us. The first that passed was the count di Cajazzo with two hundred Italian horse, but the current was so strong, they passed in a great deal of danger, and as I was told afterwards, a man or two were drowned. In the mean time we marched on through woody and uneven ways, where we could go but one abreast for near six miles together; but at last we came into a fair plain, where our van, artillery, and baggage, were arrived before, and were so numerous and great, that at first sight they frightened us, when we saw the white colours chequered with red, which belonged to seignior John James di Trivulce, and were like those which were carried before the marquis of Mantua in the fight. Our van were in no less fear of our rear, seeing them at a distance out of the road, and marching towards them as fast as they could; upon which both parties stood to their arms, and drew up in order of battle: but that fear was soon over, for our scouts met immediately, and knew one another; so we marched to Borgo-San-Domino, where we halted and refreshed our men, and where also a false alarm was given on purpose to get our Swiss out of the town, lest they should have plundered it. From thence we marched and took up our quarters that night at Florensola, and the second night near Placentia, where we passed the Trebia, but left two hundred lancers, our Swiss, and all our artillery, except six pieces, on the other side of the river: and this the king did, that his army might encamp more commodiously, not doubting but that those troops might have passed it when he pleased; for the river is commonly low, and especially at that time of the year. However, about ten o'clock at night it swelled so fast that nobody could get over either on foot or on horseback; neither could one party have relieved the other, in case of necessity; which was very dan-

gerous, considering how near the enemy was to us. All that night was spent on both sides in contriving a remedy, but nothing would do till the water fell of itself, which was about five in the morning. Then we threw over ropes to the other side to help the passage of our foot, who were forced to wade up to the waist. When they were over, the horse and artillery came after, but with great difficulty and danger, not only from the garrison of Placentia, but from the count di Cajazzo, who was got into the town, upon intelligence that there were some designs to betray it to the king, but it was upon the title of a young son of John Galeas the last duke of Milan, who died not long before, as you have heard. If the king would have accepted such overtures as these, several other persons and towns would willingly have come in, by the interest of seignior John James di Trivulce; but he would not hearken to any thing so prejudicial to the pretensions of his cousin the duke of Orleans, who was then in Novara; and yet to speak impartially on the other hand, his majesty was not pleased with the grandeur and power of his cousin; but his chief design was to march on with his army, and leave those disputes to be adjusted as they could. The third day after the battle, the king dined at Castel-San-Giovanni, and lay in a wood; the fourth he dined at Voghera, and lay at Pont-Curon; the next night he lay near Tortona, where he passed the river Scrivia, which Fracasse was to make good; for the garrison of Tortona was for the duke of Milan, and commanded by him: but when he was informed by our quarter-masters that the king intended not to stay, he retired into the town, and sent us word, that he would furnish us with what provisions we pleased; and he faithfully performed his promise; and our whole army marched under the walls of the town. Fracasse came out, in his armour, to wait upon the king, but attended only by two persons: he excused himself as well as he could for not lodging us in the town, and sent for more provisions; so that our army was plentifully furnished; and came again at night to pay his respects to the king at his tent. But you must know he was of the house of St. Severino, brother to the count di Cajazzo, and the lord Galeas; and not long before had served the king in Romania, as has been already observed. From thence our next march was to Nice de la Paille, which belonged to the marquisate of Montferrat, and glad we were to reach that place; for then we were safe, and in the country of our friends. Before our arrival there, the enemies' light horse, under the command of count di Cajazzo, were perpetually at our heels, and gave us great disturbance; for few of our horse were willing to be in the rear;

because the nearer we approached to a place of security, the more difficult it was to persuade them to fight. Some say it is the nature of the French, and Italian authors have written, that in their attacks they are more than men, but less than women in their retreats. The first part of their character I believe, for certainly upon a charge they are the fiercest nation in the world, (I mean their cavalry), but at the end of an engagement, there is no nation in the world that is less daring or courageous than they are in cases where they suffer a defeat. But to continue our discourse: our rear was brought up by three hundred Swiss, with several field pieces, and a strong body of Arquebusiers on horse-back, who beat off their Estradiots. However, the grand army that fought us was pursuing with all possible diligence, but beginning their march a day after us, and being heavily armed, they could not get up to us; so that we lost not a man in our retreat, nor could they ever come within a mile of our rear. When they found they could not come up with us, (and perhaps they never desired it), they turned off towards Novara, where, as we said before, the duke of Milan and the Venetians had another army; but if they could have reached us when we began our retreat, in all probability they had succeeded better than in the valley of Fornova.

I have said in several places of these memoirs, that I have seen, and by experience found, that God was our conducter in this expedition into Italy; yet it is convenient for me to repeat it again, for though from the time of the battle to our arrival at Nice de la Paille, our quarters were unequally taken up, yet we bore the hardships and inconveniences of a long march, without raising any mutiny or murmuring in the least. Our great want was of provisions, yet we were in some measure supplied by the country people, who might easily have poisoned us if they had pleased, not only in our victuals and wines, but in our waters too, and in our wells, which might have been dried up in a moment; for I do not remember I saw any but what were very small, and would in a moment sometimes be dried up. If they had had a mind to have destroyed us by poison, it was in their power to have done it, and therefore we may reasonably believe our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ prevented that desire in them. I have seen our men so thirsty, that our infantry in great numbers have lain down upon their bellies, and drank out of ditches about the little villages through which we marched. Our marches were long, and our drink nothing but standing water, which stunk; and yet our men were so greedy, they ran themselves up to the waist to get at it; for we had multitudes which followed the camp, who were not soldiers, but be-

longed to our mules. The king always marched before day, but never took a guide with him, nor baited till noon, and then he dined; and those that attended him took what care they could of themselves. No man in the whole army, though of the best quality, was excused from looking to his own horse, but every one brought his own straw or hay in his arms. Twice I did it myself, and was two days without eating any thing but bread, and that none of the best; yet I suffered not so much hardship as others did. Our army was highly to be commended for one thing, and that is, I never heard any of our soldiers complain; and yet it was the most painful and incommodious march I ever made, though I have been in several bad enough with Charles duke of Burgundy. We marched no faster than our artillery, and were often forced to halt, on purpose to mend them, which, besides the want of horses to draw them, incommoded us extremely; but whenever we were hard put to it, we were generously supplied by the officers of the army; so that we lost not one piece, nor one pound of powder in our retreat: and yet I am of opinion never man saw guns of their bigness conveyed with so much expedition through such unpassable places. Whenever I have mentioned any thing of disorder or inconvenience in our quarters elsewhere, it was not for want of good officers and men of experience in our army; but, as fortune would have it, they had no authority with the king, who was young and untractable, as I said before: so that to conclude, our Saviour Jesus Christ did most manifestly reserve the glory of that expedition to himself. The seventh day after the battle we marched from Nice de la Paille, and encamped all together in the fields, not far from Alexandria. We doubled our guards that night, and kept very strict watch, and the next morning we marched to Asti, that is to say, the king and those that attended on him, for the army continued in the field. We found the town of Asti well furnished with provisions, which was a great refreshment to our wearied troops, who wanted them sufficiently, having endured much hunger, thirst, labour, heat, and watching; and after all had no clothes to their backs, to defend them from the weather. As soon as the king was in Asti, about an hour before bed-time, I dispatched one Philip de la Coudre, (who had formerly been mine, but was then a servant to the duke of Orleans), to Novara, where the duke was besieged, but not so close but people might get in and out; for their design was only to starve them. I sent him word by this gentleman, that our king had several treaties on foot with the duke of Milan, one of which I managed by the duke of Ferrara's means, for which reason I thought it convenient he should immediately

wait on the king, after he had assured his party in the town that he would return in a short time, or send them relief. They were no less than 7500 men in pay, and as fine a body of troops, for their number, both French and Swiss, as ever were seen in the field. By the time the king had been a day at Asti, he had intelligence from the duke of Orleans and other places, that the enemy's two armies were joined before Novara; and the duke pressed hard for supplies; for, by reason of their imprudence at first, their provisions began to fail: but had they been so provident when they came into the town, as they ought to have been, they need not have been in distress; for there was plenty enough in the villages about it, especially of corn, which if brought timely into the town, and carefully laid up in magazines, they would not have been forced to surrender: for had they held out but one month longer, they had come off honourably themselves, and the enemy with shame and confusion.

CHAP. VIII.

The king fits out a fleet with an intention to relieve the castles of Naples, and how that design miscarried.

WHEN the king had refreshed himself some few days at Asti, he marched to Turin; and at his departure from Asti he dispatched one Peron de Basche, the steward of his household, to fit out a fleet with all speed for the relief of the castles of Naples which held out for the king. He obeyed his majesty's orders, rigged out his fleet, and gave the command of it to the lord d'Arban, who sailed with it as far as the city of Pisa, or the isle of Procita, within sight of the enemy; but the weather was bad, and would not suffer them to engage, so that the fleet came to nothing; for the lord d'Arban returning to Leghorn, most part of his men got on shore, and ran away from their ships, and the enemy came with their fleet into the port of Portobarato, not far from Piombino, where he continued two months complete; so that our men sent some small supplies into Naples, by reason that the nature of this port is such, that unless it be by one particular wind, they can hardly get out, and that wind seldom blows in winter. The lord d'Arban was valiant in his person, and a very skilful admiral.

During the king's stay at Turin, many proposals passed between the king and the duke of Milan, and some by the mediation of the dutchess of Savoy, who was the marquis of Montferrat's daughter,

a widow, and mother to the young duke that was then living: others were transacted by other people. I was also concerned; for the confederates, by whom I mean the commanders at that time before Novara, had a great desire to have me employed in it, and sent me a passport; but, as there are always emulations at court, the cardinal would not suffer it, but prevailed that the overture by the duchess of Savoy might be preferred, which was managed by the cardinal's landlord, who was treasurer of Savoy, a wise man, and a good servant to his mistress: this treaty took up a long time, upon which the bailiff of Dijon was sent into Switzerland, to raise 5000 of their men.

I have already mentioned the equipping our fleet at Nice, and its setting sail for the relief of the castles of Naples, but it could not be effected for the abovementioned reasons; upon which the lord de Montpensier, and the rest of the officers that were in the castles aforesaid, perceiving their condition, by the means of the army which was left in divers places for the defence of that kingdom, and was then drawn as near the castle as possible, resolved to quit it, leaving a number to defend the castles proportionable to the provisions which were left; for they were too little to sustain them all along: and having given the command of them to Ognas and two other officers of conduct and experience, the lord de Montpensier, the prince of Salerno, the seneschal of Beaucaire, and others, went off with two thousand five hundred men for Salerno. King Ferrand pretended it was contrary to their treaty, and that the hostages which they had given him a few days before, which were the lord d'Alegre, monsieur de la Marche d'Ardain, the lord de la Chapel d'Anjou, monsieur Roquebertin a Catalonian, and one monsieur Genly, were at his mercy, and he might lawfully put them to death. You must understand that some three months before, by the intelligence of the enemy and our ill order, king Ferrand got into the town, though our men had notice of all his designs. I would enlarge upon this, but I can say nothing but by hear-say, yet I had it from very good hands; however, it is not my method to insist upon any thing of which I was not an eye witness. While king Ferrand was in Naples, he received the news of our master being killed in the battle of Fornova; and our men in the castle had the same, from several letters and stories forged by the duke of Milan, which they believed as readily as the Colonni, who revolted from us immediately, as desiring to be always of the strongest side, though, as before said, they were extremely obliged to the king. Upon these reports, but chiefly because our men were retired in great numbers into the castle, where pro-

visions were scarce, and had lost all their horses and household-stuff in the town, they came to a treaty the 6th of October 1495, after they had been besieged three months and fourteen days; and about three weeks after the treaty, they marched away. They had promised, that if they were not relieved by a certain day, they would march off into Provence, and leave the castles without further acts of hostility against that kingdom, either by sea or land; for performance of which the hostages were given. And as king Ferrand alleged they had broken their promise by departing without leave, so our's affirmed the contrary; but the hostages were in no little danger, and not without cause. Whatever their articles were, I think our men did wisely to march away; but they had done better if they had delivered up the castles when they went, and taken their hostages along with them: for by reason of their want of provisions and despair of relief, they were forced to surrender them within twenty days after, and the loss of the castle of Naples was the loss of the whole kingdom.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the famine and misery the duke of Orleans and his army were reduced to at Novara; the death of the marchioness of Montferrat; the death of the duke of Vendome; and the conclusion of peace for the preservation of the besieged, after several negotiations.

THE king, during his stay at Turin, or at Quiers, whither he went sometimes for his diversion, grew impatient for the Swiss he had sent the bailiff of Dijon to raise in Switzerland; being extremely desirous, if possible, to restore the young duke of Milan, having but little regard to the distress of his cousin the duke of Orleans, who began to be straitened in provisions, and sent couriers to us every day to hasten our march in order to relieve him. The enemy had advanced in their approaches, and got nearer the town than ever; besides, they were reinforced with a thousand German horse, under the command of monsieur Frederick Capelare, of the county of Ferette, a brave soldier and excellent officer, and brought up both in the wars of Italy and France; they had a recruit likewise of eleven thousand Dutch foot, out of the territories of the king of the Romans, commanded by monsieur George Dabecfin, a native of Austria, a person of great valour, and the very same that took St. Omer for the king of the Romans.

The king seeing the enemy's army daily reinforced, and that no honourable terms were to be expected, was persuaded to retire to Vercelli, and there to concert measures how to relieve the duke of Orleans, who, as is said before, had taken no care to erect any magazines for the subsistence of his army upon his first entrance into Novara; and certainly it had been much better for the duke to have followed the advice which I gave him upon the king's return to Asti, to put all useless persons out of the town, and repair himself to the king; for his presence would have advanced his affairs; at least the troops he had left behind would not have been reduced to such extremity of hunger, for he would have capitulated sooner, when he had found there was no hopes of relief. But the archbishop of Roanne, who was with him at the taking of Novara, and was then with the king to solicit in his behalf, sent him word not to stir, and assured him of relief; grounding his confidence upon the promises of the cardinal of St. Malo, who was the only man with the king. The archbishop spoke as his affection prompted him, but I was assured of the contrary; for nobody had any inclination to return to the battle, unless the king went in person, and his majesty had no inclination to that, the dispute being only about that town, which the duke of Orleans desired to keep, and the duke of Milan to recover; because, being within ten leagues of Milan, he thought it necessary that they should be both under one jurisdiction, there being nine or ten great cities within a small compass depending upon the said dutchy. However, Lodowick Sforza offered fair, that if we would deliver up Novara, and not disturb him in Genoa, in other things he would serve the king to the utmost of his power.

Several great convoys of provisions, both of corn and meal, were sent into Novara; but they always left half by the way: and once a small one of sixty men at arms, under the command of Chastillon, a young gentleman belonging to our court, was quite broken, some taken, some few entered, and others with great difficulty escaped; so that it is not to be imagined the extremity the garrison was reduced to. Every day some or other were starved to death. two parts in three were afflicted with distempers, of which we had pitiful and continual accounts, both in ciphers and otherwise, which came to us with very great difficulty. We constantly gave them fair promises, and as constantly deceived them; those who had then the sole administration of affairs, were very inclinable to fight; but they did not consider that nobody desired it besides themselves, for the great officers, as the prince of Orange, whom upon his late arrival the king often consulted in military affairs,

and all the officers of the army, desired that things might be adjusted and composed by a peace, because winter was approaching, money wanting, their army but weak and sickly, and soldiers deserting daily, whilst others were dismissed by the king: yet all the wise men in the camp were not able to persuade the bishop of Roanne from encouraging the duke of Orleans, and writing to him not to leave Novara, by which advice he brought him into a great deal of danger; but this advice proceeded from an expectation of great recruits out of Switzerland, which the bailiff of Dijon had assured them he could raise. Some of our courtiers wrote to him to bring as many troops as he could assemble; thus our councils were divided, and every man wrote as he pleased. Those persons who were averse to an accommodation, or to any meeting about it, pretended the enemy ought to make some overtures first, and that it did not consist with the king's honour to begin; and the enemy being as high on their side, the poor garrison in Novara suffered incredibly, and their letters were full of nothing but relations of their miseries, assuring us first they could not hold out above ten days, then eight, and at last three; but they had exceeded the time which they had formerly set. To be short, such necessities had not been known in our time, nor so great a famine in a hundred years before.

During this posture of affairs the marchioness of Montferrat died, and left her country involved in some troubles in respect of the competition for its government. The marquis of Saluzzo pretended to it on one side, and the lord Constantine, uncle to the marchioness, on the other, who was a Greek as well as his niece, she being the king of Servia's daughter, but both of them ruined by the Turks. This lord Constantine had fortified the castle of Casal, and there he kept as prisoners the two sons (the eldest being scarcely nine years old) of his nephew the marquis, by that beautiful and discreet lady his niece, who died in the twenty-ninth year of her age, and was a constant friend to the French. Other persons pretended also to the government, and there was great contesting before the king by their respective agents, who endeavoured to support the interest of their respective masters. The king commanded me thither, with instructions to settle things for the advantage of the young children, and the general satisfaction of the people; fearing lest by those differences the duke of Milan should be brought in, for the lord of that country was his very good ally. I was extremely concerned at my orders, especially having to depart before I could set the treaty of peace on foot again; for I was sensible of the condition the town was in. I saw winter approach-

ing, and apprehended lest the prelates should bring the king to a new battle, who, unless mightily supplied from Switzerland, would probably be too weak; and if the supplies were so numerous as they were reported to be, it would not be safe for the king to venture himself in their hands; besides, the enemy was powerful, strongly encamped, and very well fortified. Upon these considerations, I presumed to let the king know, that in my judgment he would put himself and his kingdom in very great hazard, on a small and trifling occasion; that the danger he had escaped at the battle of Fornova ought not to be forgotten, but there he was under a necessity, here he was not. Wherefore I did humbly recommend to him not to defeat himself of an honourable accommodation, upon the ceremony of the first overture; yet, if he pleased to authorize me, I questioned not but to make a peace without the least dishonour to either side. He replied, that he would have me mention it to the cardinal, and so I did, but he gave me strange unaccountable answers, expressing an inclination to fight, making sure of the victory; and he told me the duke of Orleans had promised, whenever he came to the dutchy of Milan, to give him ten thousand ducats a-year for one of his sons. The next morning I went to wait on the king, and take my leave of his majesty, in order to begin my journey to Casal, which would take me about a day and a half, I met the lord de la Tremoville there, acquainted him with what had passed, (he being in great favour with the king), and desired his judgment whether I ought to mention the affair to him again; he told me by all means, for every body was very desirous of peace. The king was at that time in the garden; I revived the discourse before the cardinal, who told me, that he being an ecclesiastic, it was most proper for him to begin it. I answered, if he did not, I would; for I perceived the king was inclinable enough, and all that were about him. After which I took my leave, and at my departure I told the prince of Orange, who commanded the army in chief, that if I began any thing in that business, my addresses should be to him; and so I went to Casal, where I was well received by all of that family, and found them all unanimous for the lord Constantine, as a person more fit for the guardianship of the children, as being incapable of the succession, to which the marquis of Saluzzo pretended a right. I caused a convention several days together, both of the nobility, clergy, and townsmen, and, at the request of most of them, I declared that it was my master's pleasure that the lord Constantine should be continued in the government; for considering the king's force on that side of the mountains, and the affection that court had always retained to the

court of France, I presumed they would not contradict the king's desires.

I had scarcely been three days at Casal before there arrived a gentleman from the marquis of Mantua, captain-general for the Venetians, in a compliment of condolence upon the death of the late marchioness, as being related to the family of Montferrat: this gentleman was steward of the marquis's household, and he and I by degrees began to consult how we might prevent the battle that was likely to ensue shortly; for all things tended to war, and the king was encamped not far from Vercelli; though to speak the truth, he himself only passed the river, and let his army encamp there, which was but ill provided with tents and pavilions, for they had brought but few with them, and those few were lost; besides, the ground was moist, for winter was coming on, and the country but low.

The king lay but one night in the camp, and returned next morning to the town; but the prince of Orange remained with the army, and with him the counts de Foix and Vendome, the latter of which fell into a dysentery and died, to the unspeakable sorrow of the whole army; for he was a person of great valour and conduct, and came thither post upon the report of a battle; but he was not with the king in his expedition into Italy. There were likewise the marshal de Giè and several other commanders, but their principal force consisted in the Swiss, who had been in Italy with the king; for the French being so near home, were very unwilling to stay any longer in the camp, and several had already left it, some with leave, and others without it. From Vercelli to Novara is ten good Italian miles, that is, six French leagues; the country enclosed and dirty, with ditches on both sides of the road, much deeper than those in Flanders; in winter the ways are full of dirt, and in summer of dust. Between our army and Novara there was a little town called Borgo, which we had taken possession of, and they had another about the same distance from them called Camarian; but the waters being up, the passage was very difficult from one army to the other.

But as I was saying, the steward of the marquis of Mantua's household and I continued our conferences: I gave him several reasons why his master should be cautious of coming to a battle. I put him in mind of the danger he had lately escaped, and that he would expose himself for a people who had never rewarded him for any service he had done, and that therefore his wisest method would be to endeavour an accommodation, and I promised to do all the good offices that lay in my power towards it. He replied,

that his master was well enough inclined, but that it would be necessary, as I had received word before, that we should make the first overture, because they looked upon the alliance, consisting of the pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan, to be of greater dignity than a single monarch. I answered that that punctilio was idle and trifling, and that in justice our king was to be preferred, because he was there in person, and the confederates only by their lieutenants: but I offered, if he pleased, that he and I would set the treaty on foot, provided I could be assured his master would continue it, and stand to the determination.

It was concluded that I should send a trumpeter to their army the next morning, and that I should write to seignior Luques Pisano, and seignior Melchior Trevisano, the two proveditors, which are commissioners appointed to advise their generals, and inspect the affairs of the army. In pursuance of what we concluded, I wrote to the proveditors what I had mentioned before to the marquis of Mantua's steward; and had a fair opportunity to offer my mediation, upon the agreement between us at my departure from Venice: besides, I knew the king was desirous for peace, and I thought it necessary, for there are always enough to perplex and exasperate an affair, but few that have the good fortune and courage together to compose so great a difference, or to endure so many hard words as are inseparable from the plenipotentiaries in such negotiations; for in great multitudes there is variety of opinions. The proveditors were glad of the news, sent me word I should have an answer very suddenly, sent post to Venice for instructions, and having a speedy answer from the senate, a count belonging to the duke of Ferrara was sent to our army. The duke of Ferrara had one son in the duke of Milan's service, and another in the king's; the count also was in the duke of Milan's service, his name was Albertini, but his pretence for coming into our army was to visit seignior John James di Trivulce, and to inquire after a son of his who was then in his service: he made his applications to the prince of Orange, according to the agreement between the steward and I, and told him that he had a commission from the marquis of Mantua to desire a passport for the marquis and fifty horse, to meet and confer with such persons as the king should depute; to acknowledge that in reason they ought to make the first overture to the king, or such as he should appoint; or to declare that they would pay him that honour; and then he desired he might have a private conference with his majesty, which was granted him, and in which he advised him not to set any

treaty on foot, assuring him that their army was in great consternation, and would break up in a very short time; by these words he seemed desirous to obstruct that peace which he was sent to promote, though his commission was as you have heard. John James di Trivulce was present when he gave the king this advice, and being a great enemy to the duke of Milan, he had no mind to the peace; but above all, no man was so averse as count Albertini's master, the duke of Ferrara, who desired the continuation of the war upon an old spite against the Venetians, for taking and detaining from him several territories, as the Polesan and others, and was come himself into the army of the duke of Milan, who had married his daughter. As soon as the king had heard what the count had to offer, his majesty sent for me, and it was warmly debated whether a passport should be granted or not. Those who were against the peace, as seignior John James di Trivulce, and others, who thought themselves great favourers of the interest of the duke of Orleans, were for fighting by all means, but they were most of them churchmen, and not likely to be in the battle; and they pretended to have certain intelligence that the enemy must suddenly raise the siege, or be starved to death. Others objected, and I was of that number, that we should be starved first; that they were in their own country, and their power too great to be so easily destroyed, and that such counsels proceeded from persons who had a mind to engage us in their quarrels, and set us together by the ears purely to gratify their own revenge and ambition.

Yet for all this the passport was granted and sent, signifying besides, that the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, the prince of Orange, the marshal de Giè, the lord de Piennes, and myself, with our retinue, should be between Borgo and Camarian, near a certain tower, in which they had a guard, and that there we should be ready to enter into a conference. At the appointed hour we went to the place under a strong guard. The marquis of Mantua, and a Venetian who had the command of their Estradiots, came to us; and in very civil language told us, that for their parts they were for peace. For better convenience of treating, it was agreed, that the next day some of their deputies should come into our army, and that the day after some of our's should go into their's; which was done. The next morning there came to us Francisco Bernardino Visconti in the name of the duke of Milan, and a secretary from the duke of Mantua. On our side, besides the persons above mentioned we had added to us the cardinal of St. Malo, and we began to treat. They demanded Novara, and

we insisted upon Genoa, as feudatory to the king, which the duke of Milan had confiscated: they excused themselves as to that, assured us that their master had acted nothing against our's but what was in his own defence: that the duke of Orleans had taken Novara from them by force, and began the war with our king's forces, and that therefore they did believe their masters would be hardly persuaded to agree to our demands; but in any thing else would be ready to comply. Our conferences lasted two days, after which they returned to their army, whither the marshal de Giè, the lord de Piennes, and myself, sent after them, to press the restitution of Genoa. We would have been content that Novara should have been surrendered to the king of the Roman's forces, which were commanded by seignior George di Pierrapiana, the lord Frederick Capellare, and another called monsieur Hance; for we found it was not to be relieved without a battle, which we had no great inclination to venture, and by this means, as we pretended, we proposed to acquit ourselves very honourably to the emperor, upon whom the whole dutchy of Milan depended. Several goings and comings there were between our camp and their's; but we came to no manner of conclusion. I continued with them by our master's direction, who was unwilling the treaty should be broken off, and at last we came to them again; and with us we brought the president de Gannay, and one monsieur Morviller, bailiff of Amiens, to treat with them in Latin, (for till then I had managed the conferences in Italian, which I spoke but very indifferently), and draw up the articles. Our manner of treating was to go to the duke's quarters, and he in complaisance used to meet us with his dutchess at the end of a gallery, and then to put us all before him into his chamber, where there were two great rows of chairs ready set, as close as was convenient, and opposite to each other. They placed themselves on one side, and we on the other. The first on their side was the commissioner for the king of the Romans, then the Spanish ambassador, then the duke of Mantua, after him the two proveditors, then the Venetian ambassador, then the duke and dutchess of Milan, and last of all the duke of Ferrara: on their side none spoke but the duke of Milan, and on our side nobody but one. It is not our method to discourse with that sedateness of temper as they do; for sometimes two or three of us were speaking at a time; but the duke interrupted us, with—"Hold, gentlemen, one to one is fair." Being obliged to digest all into articles, whatever was agreed upon was immediately put into writing by one of our secretaries for us, and by another of their's for them, which were read aloud by the se-

cretaries, one in Italian and the other in French, as was done also at our next meeting for the sake of expedition, and to see whether any thing had been changed; and it is a good way of dispatch in any affair of importance. This treaty continued about a fortnight or longer; but the first day of our conference it was concluded that the duke of Orleans might have liberty to come out of Novara, to which end a cessation of arms was agreed upon for that day, and continued from day to day till the conclusion of the peace; and for surety of the passage of the duke of Orleans, the marquis of Mantua delivered himself as an hostage into the hands of the count de Foix, but he did it voluntarily, and more upon his own pleasure than any fear we had of the person of the duke of Orleans: yet first they made us swear that we proceeded with sincerity and *bona fide* in the treaty of peace, and that we did not do it purely to deliver the duke out of danger.

CHAP. X.

The deliverance of the duke of Orleans and his army upon terms of accommodation; the misery they suffered during their being besieged in Novara; and the arrival of the Swiss that came to the relief of the king, and the duke.

THE marshal de Giè went into the town of Novara, with others deputed from the duke of Milan, and dismissed the duke of Orleans, and some few of his attendants, to their very great satisfaction. The garrison and the inhabitants were so pressed with hunger and sickness, that the marshal was forced to leave his nephew monsieur de Romifort as an hostage, promising they should all depart within three days.

You have heard how the bailiff of Dijon was sent into Switzerland, to raise five thousand men in all the cantons; but when the duke of Orleans marched out of Novara, they were not arrived; and it was well they were not, for had they joined our army, certainly, at least in my judgment, we should have ventured a battle; but if their number had been far greater than it was, we could not have stayed till their arrival, by reason of the extreme famine in the town, where two thousand people were already dead, some with hunger, some with disease, and the rest so thin and weak, they looked more like dead than living people: and truly I believe never men endured more misery, unless at the siege of Jerusalem, all which had been prevented if they had been so prudent as to have

brought in all the corn and provisions about the town upon their first coming into it: had they acted so wisely, they had never plunged themselves into those exigencies; for the enemy would have been obliged to have abandoned the siege, and to have marched shamefully off.

About three or four days after the duke of Orleans had left the town it was agreed, on both sides, that the whole garrison should march out; and the marquis of Mantua, and the lord Galeas di St. Severino, who commanded both the Venetians and the duke of Milan's army, had orders to see them safely conducted; which was performed, and the town left in the hands of the inhabitants, with an oath not to deliver it either to the French or the Italians, till the conclusion of a general peace; only thirty men were put into the castle, who were supplied with provisions by the duke of Milan, but it was for their money, and they were never to have more provisions at a time than was sufficient for one single day. No man that did not see it can believe the poverty of the garrison that marched out. They had few or no horses left, for most of them were eaten: of the five thousand that marched out, scarce six hundred of them were able to defend themselves; they fell down frequently in the road as they marched along, and the enemy was forced to help them up again. I know those who saved fifty of them for a crown not far from a little castle called Camarian, which was in the enemy's possession, by lodging them in a garden, and giving them warm broths, so that but one of them died. Upon the way, it being ten miles between Novara and Vercelli, four more of them died. The king, as a token of his compassion, caused eight hundred franks to be distributed among those who came to Vercelli, as a benevolence besides their pay, which was paid to a farthing, both for the living and the dead, and particularly for the Swiss, of whom there were near four hundred dead; yet notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, about thirty of them died in Vercelli; some with eating too much, others by diseases contracted from eating too little, and some with the ill air and nastiness of the town.

About the time that all of them had evacuated the town except the thirty in the castle, and of them one or other came away every day, the Swiss arrived in our army, to the number of eight or ten thousand, in which we had already about two thousand remaining of our expedition to Naples; there were ten thousand more, but they were quartered at some distance from Vercelli; for the king was advised not to suffer the junction of two such great bodies, which would have amounted to twenty-two thou-

sand men, the greatest number, I think, that ever came out of their country at one time; and I have been informed by those that were well acquainted with the affairs of Switzerland, that they scarce left as many more fighting men behind them: those who did come, came almost in spite of our teeth, and their wives and children would also have come along with them, had we not set guards upon the avenues in Piedmont on purpose to stop them. It may be demanded whether this extraordinary alacrity proceeded from any extraordinary affection; for king Louis XI. had done them many good offices, and contributed much to make them considerable in the world. Indeed there were some old soldiers who had a respect for the memory of king Louis; and some of their officers were above seventy years old, and had been in the same commands against Charles duke of Burgundy; but the chief motive that induced them to leave their own country, was avarice and poverty. To speak truth, all their best men came along with them, and such a number of brave fellows I had never seen before together in my life; and to me it seemed impossible to conquer them unless by cold, famine, or some other distress.

But to return to the principal point of our treaty. The duke of Orleans having lived eight or ten days at his ease and pleasure, and attended by all sorts of people, was told that it was some diminution to his honour that such a numerous garrison as was in Novara, should be reduced to such necessities for their affection to him; upon which he began to talk of fighting again, and one or two that were about him encouraged him to it. Monsieur de Ligny, and the archbishop of Roanne being highly for his interest, bribed thirty of the Swiss to come of themselves and offer the enemy battle; but without any reason, for the duke of Orleans had only thirty men left in the castle, and there was now no further occasion to fight, for the king pretended no quarrel of his own, but was come thither only to rescue his brother and his friends; besides, the enemy was very powerful, and it was impossible to attack them in their camp; for besides the natural strength of the place, they were strongly intrenched, all the ditches were full of water, and there was no forces but ours to give them any disturbance, there being no sallies to be expected out of the town. Their army consisted of two thousand eight hundred men at arms, barbed; five thousand horse, and eleven thousand Germans commanded by good officers, as seignior George di Pierrapiana, count Frederick Capellare, and monsieur Hance; besides a great number of other foot; so that to talk of attacking them in their intrenchments, or beating them so easily, was but a rodomontade,

and spoken in flattery. Another great jealousy we had, and that was, lest, if the Swiss should join and make one body, they would seize upon the king and all the chief officers of his army, who were not able to resist their power, and carry them into their own country, and of this there was some design, as you will see by the conclusion of the peace.

CHAP. XI.

The peace that was concluded between the king and the duke of Orleans on the one part, and the league on the other; and the conditions and articles contained in that treaty of peace.

THE debate about this affair grew at last so fierce amongst us, that in the heat of the argument the duke of Orleans gave the prince of Orange the lie; but at last the marshal de Giè, the lord de Piennes, the president Gannay, the lord Morvillier, the Vidame of Chartres, and myself, returned to the enemy's camp, and concluded a peace, though by several indications we judged it unlikely to continue long; but we were under a necessity of doing it, both in respect of the season of the year, our want of money, and that we might come off honourably in the business; to which end the peace was concluded and engrossed, so as it might be published in the world, which was done afterwards by the king's express order in council, and in the presence of the duke of Orleans. The substance of it was, that the duke of Milan should do homage to the king for Genoa, and serve him against all opposers; that at his own proper charge the duke of Milan should fit out two ships for the relief of the castles of Naples which yet held out for the king; that the next year, in case the king made a new invasion upon that kingdom, he should furnish him with three ships, and assist him in person, and give free passage to his troops: that in case the Venetians did not accept the said peace in two months time, but continued to assist the house of Arragon, that then the duke was to take part with the king of France, and employ his person and interest in his service, upon condition, that whatever was taken from the enemy, should be delivered to the duke; for which terms he was to remit to the king eighty thousand of the hundred and eighty thousand ducats which he had lent him in his voyage to Naples: that for the affair of Genoa, he should put two hostages into the king's hands: that the castle should be commit-

ted to the duke of Ferrara, to remain neuter for two years: that the duke of Milan should pay one half of the garrison, and the king the other; and that if it should happen the duke should at any time attempt to surprise the castle, that then the duke of Ferrara was to deliver it to the king. He was likewise to give two hostages for Milan, which was performed; and would have done as much for Genoa, had not the king been in such a haste to be gone; but as soon as he went away, the duke made use of shifts and evasions to excuse himself from doing it.

Immediately upon our return from swearing the duke of Milan, and bringing word that the Venetians had taken two months to accept or refuse, for to other terms he could not persuade them, the king swore likewise to the peace; and the next day he resolved to begin his march, both he and his whole army having a great desire to return into France: but that very night the Swiss which were in our camp began to cabal, and hold private consultations, according to their several cantons, beating up their drums, and standing to their arms, as their manner is when they call any councils; and of this I was informed by monsieur Lornay, who was then, (and had been long before), one of their chief officers, was well acquainted with their language, and who informed the king of it.

Some proposed to seize upon the king, and all the chief officers of the army: others went not so high, but moved that they should demand three months' pay, pretending an old promise made them by the late king, that such a sum should be paid them whenever they came out of their own country into his service, with their colours displayed. Others were for securing the chief ministers about the king, without meddling with his person; and this they designed to put into execution, having already got a great number of their own troops into the town; but before they could come to an agreement among themselves, the king had left Trino, which is a town belonging to the marquis of Montferrat, and in this they were much in the wrong, for there was never but one month's pay promised them, and they had done nothing for that. At length this troublesome affair was adjusted; but first those Swiss who were with us in the expedition to Naples, had seized upon the bailiff of Dijon and monsieur Lornay, who commanded them all along, and pressed hard for a fortnight's pay before they marched; but the rest insisted upon three months, which in all amounted to five hundred thousand franks, for the raising of which they should secure them as hostages; and to this they were animated by the French themselves, who were averse to the peace; and of this the prince of Orange was informed by one of their captains, and he immediately informed the king of it.

The king, upon his arrival at Trino, sent the marshal de Giè, the president Gannay, and me, to the duke of Milan, to desire that he would come to him thither. We used several arguments to persuade him, and told him it would be a great confirmation of the peace; but he gave as many to the contrary, and excused himself upon a proposition which monsieur de Ligny had formerly made to have had him seized upon, when he was with the king at Pavia, and upon certain expressions which the cardinal of St. Malo had used, who at that time was the only minister of state in credit with the king. It is certain that several idle words were spoken by some about the court, but yet the king had a great desire to cultivate a friendship with him. The duke of Milan was at a place called Bolia, and consented to a conference, provided it might be upon some river, with a barrier between them. As soon as the king had received his answer, he removed to Quiers, where he staid but a night or two, and then marched away for the mountains, having dispatched me for Venice, and others for Genoa, to see the ships equipped which the duke of Milan was to lend him; but the duke put the king to a great expense in preparations, and at last would not let them go; for instead of keeping his promise, he sent two of them to the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

The king sends the lord of Argenton to Venice again, to invite the Venetians to accept of the terms of peace that were offered; the refusal of the Venetians; and the evasions of the duke of Milan.

THE business of my embassy to Venice at this time was to know whether they would come into the peace, and subscribe to three articles. The first was to restore Monopoli, which they had lately taken from us; the second was to recal the marquis of Mantua and his forces out of the kingdom of Naples and the service of king Ferrand; and the third was to declare that king Ferrand was not comprehended in their league, in which mention was made only of the pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan. Upon my arrival at Venice, they received me very honourably, but not in the same manner as when I was there before; for then we were at peace, but now at war with each other. I delivered my message to the duke of Venice, who complimented me highly, and told me I was very welcome; that he would consult with the senate, and in a short time return me an answer. For three days together, they appointed solemn processions, pub-

lic alms to be given, and sermons all over the city, beseeching God of his grace to direct them in their consultations, which, as I was informed, was no more than what they frequently do upon extraordinary occasions; and truly in religious affairs, and in the beautifying and adorning their churches, it is a city of the greatest reverence and decency that I ever saw; and in those things I esteem them equal to the antient Romans, from whose example I question not but that their senate derives much of its grandeur, and it is worthy rather to be augmented than lessened.

But to the business of my embassy: I waited a fortnight before I had an answer, and then it was a refusal of all I had demanded. They told me they had no war with the king, and that what they had done was only to assist and support the duke of Milan their ally, and whom the king had a desire to destroy; yet they permitted their duke to talk with me alone, and he offered very advantageous terms: which were, that king Ferrand should do homage to our king for the kingdom of Naples, and by the pope's consent; that king Ferrand should pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thousand ducats, besides a sum of money down upon the nail, which they would deposit, (intending to have the towns of Brindisi, Otranto, Trani, and others in Apulia, to be put into their hands as security for the said money); that king Ferrand should deliver up or leave the king in possession of some towns or places in Apulia for his security, (and they meant Tarento, which our king has still in his hands); and, if he pleased, two or three more, which they offered should be on that side, because farthest from them, though they pretended it was for the convenience of his designs against the Turk, of which our king had talked much at his first entrance into Italy, declaring he undertook that enterprise for no other end than to be nearer and more ready to invade him: but it was an ill invention, a mere fraud, and we cannot so easily conceal our thoughts from God. The duke of Venice offered besides, that if our king would attempt any thing against the Turk, he should have free passage for his troops through all those places, and all Italy should contribute: the king of the Romans would give him diversion on his side, and the king, in conjunction with them, would be able to govern all Italy in such a manner as to compel any of the princes that should refuse to comply with their orders; and that for their part they would assist his majesty, at their own charge, with a hundred gallies at sea, and five thousand cavalry on land.

When I had my audience of leave, I told the duke and senate I would report all faithfully to the king. I returned by Milan, and

found the duke of Milan at Vigevano, and the king's ambassador with him, who was one Rigault d'Oreilles, steward of his household. The duke pretended to go a-hunting, and came out to meet me, for they are very civil to ambassadors, and ordered me a noble apartment in his castle. I begged the favour that I might have the honour of a private conference with him, which at last he promised me, but with some signs of reluctance. The castle of Naples holding out still for us, I was resolved to press for the ships which he was obliged to furnish us with by the treaty at Vercelli: the ships were ready, and he willing in appearance; but Peron de Basche and Stephen de Neves being at that time at Genoa from our king, and understanding I was at Vigevano, wrote to me immediately, complaining of the duke of Milan's treacherous way of dealing, who pretended to furnish us with ships, and had sent two of them against us; that the governor of Genoa had told them one day, that he could not suffer the ships to be manned with French; and another, that there could not be above five-and-twenty of them permitted to be in any one vessel; with many such trifling excuses to protract and gain time, till they had heard the news of the taking of the castle of Naples, in which the duke of Milan knew there was not provision enough for above a month, and that the king's forces in Provence would be unable to raise the siege without the assistance of those ships; for the enemy had blocked it up by sea with a great fleet, of the forces of Venice and the king of Spain as well as their own. I was three days with the duke; the first he spent mostly in conference with me, and seemed to be concerned that I was not satisfied with his answer about the ships; to which he added, that though at the treaty of Vercelli he had promised to serve the king with two ships, yet he had never promised that they should be manned with French. I replied, that in my judgment that excuse was but weak and trifling; for if he should send me a good mule to pass the mountains on, what favour would it be if he should oblige me to lead her? I should only have the liberty to see her, but no advantage unless I had leave to mount her. After a long conference he conducted me into a gallery apart, where I took occasion to remonstrat the great pains that others and myself had taken about the treaty at Vercelli, and the danger he would bring upon us by acting so contrary, and causing the king to lose his castles in Naples, which would be the loss of that kingdom, and an occasion of perpetual animosity between my master and him. I offered him the principality of Tarento, and the dutchy of Bari, which dutchy was already his own. I represented to him the inconveniences he brought upon himself and all

Italy, by consenting that the Venetians should hold those places in Apulia; and he confessed that what I had urged was just, especially in relation to the Venetians, but told me plainly at last, that he could repose no confidence in our king.

After this discourse I took my leave of the duke of Milan, who conducted me a league in my way home; and even at my departure he invented a more cunning lie, if it be decent to use such an expression towards a prince, than any of his former: perceiving I was melancholy, he told me on a sudden, as a man who had quite changed his resolutions, that he would shew himself my friend at the last, and do that which would make me acceptable to my master: he promised me that the next day he would send the lord Galeas, (who was the fittest man for that purpose), to see his ships at Genoa equipped and sent away to join our fleet: that he would do the king that service as to save his castle, and by consequence the whole kingdom of Naples, (and if he had performed his promise he had acted like a man of honour), and that when the ships had sailed, he would give me an account of it under his own hand, that the king might have the first news of it from myself, and be sensible of the service that I had done him; adding also that his letters should overtake me before I got to Lyons. Big with these hopes, I departed, and continued my journey over the mountains. I knew the man, and durst not be too confident; yet, whenever I heard any post behind me, I fancied he brought me those letters. I passed on till I came to Chambery, where I found the duke of Savoy, who received me very graciously, and obliged me to stay a whole day with him. From thence I proceeded to Lyons, (but no letters overtook me), to give the king an account of my transactions; for he was there at that time, giving himself up wholly to feastings, justs, and other entertainments, without the least regard to any thing else.

Those who were enemies to the peace of Vercelli were extremely pleased with the duke of Milan's prevarication; and indeed they had some reason, for their authority was increased by it, and I was traduced, which in such cases is an ordinary thing in the courts of princes.

I was very melancholy and angry: I gave the king a relation, and shewed him in writing the offers which the Venetians had made him; but he seemed not to value them much, and the cardinal of St. Malo, who at that time had the sole administration of affairs, valued them less. However, I pressed the king again, believing it better to accept that offer than lose all; for I saw nobody about him fit to manage such an important affair, and those who

were able were never consulted, or at least as seldom as possible. The king was inclinable enough of himself, but loth to displease those to whom he had committed his affairs, especially those who managed his treasury, as the cardinal, his brothers, and relations. This is a fine example for princes. It is necessary that they take upon themselves the conduct of their own affairs, at least sometimes, and not only call others to counsel upon occasion, but to give them equal authority and countenance; for if any minister of state be grown so great as to become terrible to the rest, and to manage the whole affairs of a kingdom according to his will and pleasure, (of which sort king Charles VIII. was never without one), that favourite is king in reality, and his master ill served, as he was always by his ministers, who did their own business well enough, but neglected his, to his great prejudice and dishonour.

CHAP. XIII.

How the king was forgetful of those who were left behind at Naples, upon his return into France; and of the dauphin's death, which was a great affliction to the king and queen.

I ARRIVED at Lyons on the 12th of December 1495, where I found the king and his army. The king had been abroad in his expedition about a year and two months. The castles of Naples held out still for him, as you have heard: the lord de Montpensier, his lieutenant in that kingdom, was at Salerno with the prince of that place; the lord d'Aubigny was in Calabria, where he had done signal service, though under a long fit of sickness; the lord Gracian des Guerres was in Abruzzo; don Julian at Mont St. Angelo, and George de Suilly at Taranto; but all of them most miserably poor, and so far abandoned by our court, that they could seldom or never receive advice out of France; and when they did, it was nothing but shams and promises without effect; for, as is said before, the king did nothing of himself, and if they had been supplied with money in time, a sixth part of what was spent afterwards to no purpose, would have saved that kingdom from being lost. At length, when all was recovered, they sent them forty thousand crowns in part of a year's pay; and yet if that had arrived but a mouth sooner, the calamities and disgrace which they endured had never befallen them, and the divisions had been prevented; all which was occasioned by the sloth and negligence of the king, who managed nothing himself, and would not so much as hear

any body that came from them, and those he employed were careless and inexperienced, and I fear some of them held correspondence with the pope; so that in appearance God had forsaken our king, and taken away that grace with which he had hitherto conducted him. The king had not been at Lyons above two months, or thereabouts, when he received the unwelcome news that the dauphin lay dangerously ill, and three days after, letters came that gave an account of his death. The king was extremely concerned at first, as he ought to be out of paternal affection; yet his sorrow soon wore off: but the queen, who was Anne dutchess of Bretagne, took it more to heart than perhaps any other woman would have done, and it remained longer upon her; and I am afraid, that besides the natural affliction of mothers upon the loss of their children, her mind misgave her, and she was apprehensive that some greater misfortune would happen to her. The king, as I said before, having weathered it himself, had a great desire to give the queen some diversion, at a ball of young gentlemen, which he had appointed; among the rest of the dancers the duke of Orleans was one, who was at that time about thirty-four years old; but he behaved himself so, that it was visible to all the court he rejoiced at the dauphin's death, as being, after him, next heir to the crown; upon which the king and he never spoke to each other for a long time after. The dauphin was about three years old when he died, yet very handsome, forward, and undaunted, and not concerned at those things wherewith other children are frightened; for which reason his father was the sooner recovered, as being fearful already lest he should have grown considerable too fast, and his courage increasing with his years, that he would have encroached upon his power and authority; for the king was not excellent either in person or understanding, but of the mildest and best disposition in the world. By this example we may see to what miseries great kings and princes, who grow jealous of their own children, are subject. His father Louis XI. a wise and virtuous prince, was yet fearful of Charles VIII. but he provided prudently against the worst, and left him the crown when he was only fourteen years old. Louis XI. had been no less terrible to his father Charles VII. for at the age of thirteen years he was in arms, and confederated against him with certain of the nobility, upon some court quarrels, and exceptions against the government, and this king Louis has often told me himself; yet these troubles lasted not long: but when he came to man's estate, he had great controversy with his father Charles VII. retired into Dauphinè, and from thence into Flanders, leaving Dauphinè to his father, as has been observed at

the beginning of these memoirs, in the reign of Louis XI. No creature is exempt from adversity, every man eats his bread in pain and sorrow: God almighty promised it to our first parents, and he has performed it very punctually ever since to all people. Yet there are degrees and distinctions of sorrow, and the troubles and vexations of mind are greater than those of the body; the anxiety of the wise is of one sort, and that of the fool another; but that of the fool is the greater of the two, (though some are of a contrary opinion), because they are less capable of comfort. The poor people, who labour, drudge, and sweat, to maintain themselves and their children, and pay their taxes and subsidies to their princes, would have but little comfort in this world, if princes and great lords were sensible of nothing but pleasure, and they of nothing but sorrow. But the thing is quite otherwise; for should I endeavour to give an account of the passions and disorders in which, for these thirty years, I have seen several persons of quality of both sexes, it would swell to a volume. I do not mean such persons as Boccace mentions in his book, but such as raise the envy of all people, by their riches, health, and prosperity. Those who have not conversed with them so much as I have done, believe the condition of great persons to be the happiest in the world; but I have seen their troubles and disquiets, and upon such trifling occasions, as persons at a distance could hardly believe: an idle apprehension, or an extravagant report, disturbs them extremely; and this is the secret distemper that reigns in the courts of great princes, from whence many mischiefs do arise to the sovereign, his ministers, and subjects, and is so great a shortener of life, that there is scarce a king of France, since the time of Charlemagne, who lived to be sixty years old.

Upon this bare suspicion, when Louis XI. came to be about that age, being sick of that disease, he concluded himself gone. His father Charles VII. who had done so many memorable things in France, took a fancy that his courtiers had a desire to poison him, and upon that account ate nothing. Charles VI. had his jealousies too, and became crazy in his understanding, and all upon report. Certainly princes, are guilty of a great error in not examining, or suffering other people to examine such tales as concern them, though perhaps in themselves of no great importance: it would keep them from being so frequent, especially if they brought them face to face, and confronted the accused with the informer; by that means nothing would be reported but what was true. But there are some princes so stupid as to engage and swear to the accusers they will never discover them; and these are they who

are subject to those anguishes and torments of mind which I speak of, and do many times abhor and injure the best ministers they have, upon the bare reports and calumnies of evil-minded and designing people, by which means they occasion great mischiefs and disquiets to their subjects.

CHAP. XIV.

The king's receiving the news of the loss of the castle of Naples; the selling of the towns belonging to the Florentines to several persons; the treaty of Atella in Apulia, much to the prejudice of the French; and the death of Ferrand king of Naples.

THE death of the dauphin, only son to Charles VIII. happened about the beginning of the year 1496, and was the greatest loss that happened, or could possibly happen to the king; for he had never any child afterwards that lived. But this misfortune came not alone; at the same time he received advice, that the castle of Naples was surrendered by those whom the lord de Montpensier had left in it, being forced to it by famine, and for the safety of their hostages, who were delivered into the enemy's hands by the lord de Montpensier. The names of the hostages were monsieur d'Alegre one of the sons of de la Marche d'Ardaine, one called de la Capelle a Loudonnois, and John Roquebertin a Catalonian. Those who were in the castle were sent back again by sea. After this, another accident befel him, and that was, one Entragues, who was governor of the citadel of Pisa, which was strong, and commanded the whole town, delivered it up to the Pisans, which was contrary to the king's oath; for he had sworn twice to the Florentines to deliver the said citadel to them, and other places, as Sarsana, Sarsanella, Pietro Sancto, Librefacto, and Motron, which the Florentines had lent the king in his necessities, at his first coming into Italy, and had given him six score thousand ducats, of which there were not above thirty thousand in arrear, when he returned into France, as has been mentioned in another place. In short, all these places were sold; the Genoese bought Sarsana and Sarsanella, and they were sold by the bastard of St. Paul. Monsieur Entragues sold Pietro Sancto to the citizens of Lucca, and Librefacto to the Venetians, to the great dishonour of the king and his subjects, and to the detriment, and I may say loss, of the kingdom of Naples. The first oath king Charles VIII. took for the restitution of those places, was at Florence, upon the high

altar in the great church of St. John. The second was at Asti on his return, where they furnished him in his extremity with 30,000 ducats more, upon condition, that if Pisa was surrendered to them, the king should be discharged of the said sum; all his jewels and pawns were to be restored, and they were to lend him three score thousand more, to be paid down in the kingdom of Naples, to those whom his majesty had appointed to manage his affairs there, and to maintain at their charge three hundred horse for the service of our king, in the kingdom of Naples, which were to continue there during the whole expedition; but upon the selling of Pisa and the rest of the towns, all was quashed, and the king obliged to repay the thirty thousand ducats which the Florentines had lent him; and all this by the disobedience and whisperings of some persons about the king, who had given private encouragement to Entragues in the business.

About the same time, and in the beginning of the year 1496, the lord de Montpensier, the lord Virgil Ursini, seignior Camillo Vitelli, and the rest of the French officers, seeing all lost, took the field, and made themselves masters of several small towns; upon which king Ferrand the son of Alphonso, who was turned monk, as you have heard before, with the marquis of Mantua, brother to the lord Montpensier's lady, and commander-in-chief of the Venetians, drew out against them, and found the lord de Montpensier in a town called Atella, situated upon a hill, and very commodious for the supplying it with provisions. The enemy immediately encamped, and fortified themselves as strongly as they could, as not daring to venture a battle; for king Ferrand and the marquis of Mantua had been beaten in every engagement they fought. The Venetians had sent the marquis to king Ferrand's assistance, and with him a sum of money, but inconsiderable for the places which they received as security; for the six towns in Apulia are of very great importance, viz. Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Crana, Otranto, and Monopoli; all which they had taken from us. And they valued the service of their forces in that kingdom so high, that it was computed and charged upon the said towns at two hundred thousand ducats, besides what they demanded for the fortifications and other expenses in the keeping them; so that I am persuaded they never had any intention to restore them, for it is not their custom to part with any thing that is for their convenience, as those towns were, lying all upon the gulph of Venice, and making them absolute lords of it, from Venice to Otranto, which is nine hundred miles complete. The pope indeed has some few other towns between them; but they pay duties to the

Venetians, or there is no passing for them through the gulph; so that it was a great advantage to them to have those towns in their hands, and perhaps more than many people do imagine; for they receive from them great quantities of corn and oil, which are two commodities very beneficial and necessary for them.

At the town of Atella above mentioned, our troops began to mutiny, not only for provisions, which were but beginning to fail, but for their pay; for there was already an arrear due to them for above eighteen months, and they had suffered very great hardships. The Swiss, too, were greatly behind, but not altogether so much; for all the money the lord de Montpensier could raise in that kingdom, went to the payment of those forces: and yet they had above a year due to them. They had plundered several little villages, and got a considerable booty. If the forty thousand ducats which were promised, had been sent in time, or had they known they should have received it at Florence, this mutiny would never have happened; but now all that was transacted, proceeded merely from despair. Several of the commanders have told me since, that if our men had been unanimous, and would have agreed to have ventured a battle, in all likelihood the victory would have been their's; or, if they had lost it, it could not have been with the destruction of so many as they lost by their base and dishonourable surrender. The lords de Montpensier and Virgil Ursini would willingly have fought, and they died in prison, not one of their articles being observed to them. These two gentlemen accused the lord de Percy, a gentleman of Auvergne, to have been the occasion of their not fighting; and the truth is, the lord Percy was an ill-natured and mutinous person,

There were two sorts of Germans in that army, one was the Swiss, of which we had about fifteen hundred, who had been with us from the first beginning of our expedition, and they served faithfully, and as well as men could do, to the very last. There was another commonly called Lansquenets, which is as much as to say—"Companions of the country;"—and these have a natural antipathy to the Swiss: they are a collection of all the countries upon the Rhine, out of Suabia, the Pais de Vaux, in Semonia, and Guelderland, and consisted of about seven or eight hundred men lately sent thither with two months' advance, which was spent before they could be assembled. Seeing themselves in such danger and distress, they retained not that affection for us as the Swiss did, but began to hold intelligence, and by degrees revolted to the enemy; upon which, and the division among our commanders, the soldiers made a dishonourable agreement, which

king Ferrand swore to observe; for the marquis of Mantua took great care to secure the person of the lord de Montpensier his brother-in-law.

By the said agreement, they delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies, gave them all the artillery which belonged to our king, and promised to restore all the places which our king was possessed of in that kingdom, as well in Calabria, where the lord d'Aubigny commanded, as in Abruzzo, where the lord Grecian des Guerres; besides Cajeta and Taranto. Upon which terms king Ferrand was obliged to send them into Provence by sea, and their baggage with them, which was worth little or nothing. They were about five or six thousand men, and king Ferrand caused them to be conducted to Naples. So ignominious an agreement had not been made in our times, nor did I ever read of any like it, unless it was that which, as Titus Livius reports, was made by the two Roman consuls with the Samnites, which are now supposed to be the inhabitants of Beneventum, at a certain place upon the mountains, which was then called Furcæ Caudinæ: but the Romans refused to ratify and confirm it, and sent the two consuls back prisoners to the enemy.

If our army had engaged and been defeated, we had not lost so great a number of men as we did; for two parts in three died of the famine and plague on ship-board, and in the isle of Procita, whither they were sent afterwards by king Ferrand; among the rest, the lord de Montpensier died there, some say of poison, others of a fever, which I rather believe; and I believe of their whole number there came not above fifteen hundred back; for of the Swiss, which were thirteen hundred, there returned not above three hundred and fifty, and those in a weak and miserable condition. These Swiss were highly to be commended; for they would not bear arms under king Ferrand, but chose rather to die, as many of them did, in the island of Procita, some of a calenture, some of other diseases, and some even of hunger; for it is not to be imagined, in what want of victuals they were kept on ship-board, and how long. I had a view of those that returned, and particularly of the Swiss, who brought back all their colours: but by their looks one might see what they had suffered; for all of them were so very sick, that when they came ashore to take a little air, they could not walk without being led. The lord Virgil Ursini by his articles was to have had the liberty of going into his own country with his son and his whole regiment; but they detained him, and his lawful son with him, of which sort he had but one; yet he had another who was a brave man, called seignior Carlo; but he was a bastard, and

was killed by certain Italians, which were in his company, upon the road. Had this misfortune fallen upon any but those who had a hand in the treaty, it had been a very deplorable accident.

Not long after king Ferrand had gained this honour, and newly married the daughter of his grandfather old king Ferrand, which he had by the present king of Castile's sister, so that his queen was sister to his own father king Alphonso, and a young lady not above thirteen or fourteen years old, he fell into a hectic fever, and died in a few days, leaving the possession of that kingdom to king Frederick, now reigning, who was his uncle. I cannot think of this marriage without horror, though there were several of the same nature in that family, within the memory of man, and that within the space of thirty years. King Ferrand when he was living, and Frederick since his accession to the throne, excused themselves, because as they pretended the lord de Montpensier had not surrendered the towns that were mentioned in the articles of agreement; neither was it in his power, for Cajeta and other places were not in his hands; and indeed, though he was our king's lieutenant in that kingdom, yet the governors of the respective towns were not bound to deliver them at his command, though if they had, our king had been no great loser by the bargain; for they cost a great deal to repair and victual them afterwards, and yet lost them at last. I was present myself when provisions were sent, once to the castles of Naples, and thrice to Cajeta; and I think I should not mistake if I said those four voyages cost the king above three hundred thousand franks; and yet all came to nothing. King Ferrand died not long after that infamous treaty of Atella, in the year 1496.

CHAP XV.

Concerning several plots that were formed in favour of our king, by some of the Italian princes, not only for the recovery of Naples, but for the destruction of the duke of Milan; of their miscarrying for want of supplies; and of another design against Genoa, which came to the same ill end.

THE king, after his return from his expedition to Naples, as we have already mentioned, continued a long time at Lyons, entertaining himself with justs and tournaments; and yet desirous to regain the places in the kingdom of Naples, whatever it cost him, but would take no pains to manage his own affairs, or to preserve them, when they were in his possession. He had very good in-

telligence in Italy, and great designs were set on foot in his favour; which though in themselves dangerous and expensive, yet could be easily managed by the kingdom of France, which is very populous, and plentiful in corn, especially Languedoc and Provence, and other countries, out of which it is no difficult task to raise money. But if any other prince besides the king of France should embrace the practices of the Italians, and undertake to assist them, it would impoverish and exhaust him; for they do nothing without money, nor indeed are they able, unless it be the duke of Milan, or some of the great states. But a private governor or general, how well affected soever he may be to the house of France, its pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, or the dutchy of Milan, let him be as partial as he will to its interest, yet he cannot serve that house long after the pay begins to fail; for the poor general would be deserted by his own soldiers, and himself utterly undone, because, for the most part, they have nothing wherewith to raise men, except their reputation and credit; and the soldiers are paid by the general, and the general by him who employs him in his service: nor do the Italians desire any thing more than to declare themselves of a party. But as to the designs which I have mentioned, they were so considerable, that they began before the surrender of Cajeta, upon the duke of Milan's not keeping his promise, and continued for two years after our king's return. As for the duke of Milan, he did not break his promise so much out of malice and ill-nature, as through fear; for he was jealous the king could not have so great an addition of power, but by the diminution of his own; besides, he did not think our king a prince of any firmness or resolution. At length it was concluded that the duke of Orleans should march to Asti, with a considerable body of forces; and I saw him and his equipage ready to set out. We were secure of the duke of Ferrara with five hundred men at arms, and two thousand foot, though he was the duke of Milan's father-in-law; for he joined with us to preserve himself against the danger he was in between the duke and the Venetians, who not long since, as I said before, had taken from him the Polesan, and endeavoured all they could to ruin him: upon which account he preferred his own and his children's safety before the friendship of his son-in-law; and perhaps he was of opinion that his son-in-law would come to some agreement with the king, when he found himself in danger. Besides, by the interest of the duke of Ferrara, we had also engaged the marquis of Mantua to our party, who had been, and was at that time, general for the Venetians; but they were so jealous of him, and he so dissatisfied with them, that he

quartered with 300 men at arms with his father-in-law the duke of Ferrara, though his lady was sister to the dutchess of Milan, the duke of Ferrara's daughter. Seignior John Bentivoglio, who was governor, and, as it were, prince of Bologna, was to have provided 150 men at arms, besides the horse and foot which his two sons were to have brought with them, and his country was well situated to invade the duke of Milan. The Florentines, who saw they were utterly undone, and were afraid they should be dispossessed of Pisa, and the rest of their towns, unless they exerted themselves, and did something extraordinary in this critical juncture of affairs, agreed to assist us with eight hundred men at arms, and two thousand foot, and to maintain them at their own expense; and they had six months pay ready in bank. The Ursini and the governor of Rome, who was brother to the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, so often mentioned before, being both in the king's pay, would have brought a thousand men at arms; but you must know the retinue and equipage of their men at arms is not after the manner of our's, for they have no archers, but their pay is alike; for the pay of a man at arms (and he is well paid), is a hundred ducats a-year, but with archers it is double. These soldiers the king would have paid, but the Florentines were to have paid their own forces. The duke of Ferrara, the marquis of Mantua, and Bentivoglio, desired only their charges; for they designed their reward out of the towns which they should take from the duke of Milan; and certainly, had he been suddenly invaded by the duke of Orleans' forces, and those who had entered into the alliance against him, the Venetians, who were his confederates, could not have been in a condition to have assisted him, under four score thousand crowns expense before he would have been constrained to have submitted to the king, who would have been able to have kept all the Italians together a long time; and if the duke of Milan had been conquered, the kingdom of Naples would have fallen of course.

The miscarriage of this important design proceeded merely from the duke of Orleans' inconstancy: he had orders over night to set out in the morning; he had sent all his equipage, baggage, and whatever else belonged to his person, before; so that there was nothing to follow but himself. His army, consisting of eight hundred French men at arms, and six thousand foot, among which he had four hundred Swiss, lay ready at Asti, with their advanced money in their pockets; yet on a sudden he changed his mind, and made two several addresses to the king, that that expedition might be once more debated before the council; and it was done twice. I was present both times; the result was, *nemine contra-*

dicente, (though there was always ten or twelve in council), that he should proceed in this expedition, because they had given all their abovementioned friends in Italy repeated assurances of his coming; and they had raised men, and been at great charge in expectation of him. But the duke of Orleans, who was also present at the debate, (either by the advice of some other person, or through his own unwillingness to go, on account of his brother's illness, and his being the next heir to the crown), plainly told them he would not undertake that enterprise upon any quarrel of his own; but as he was the king's lieutenant, if his majesty pleased to command it, he would go with all his heart; and so the council broke up. The next, and several following days, the Florentine, and the rest of the ambassadors, pressed the king that he would lay his commands upon him; but the king's answer was, that he would never send him to make war against his inclination. And thus was that enterprise quashed in a moment, to the king's great displeasure, who had been at vast charges, and had great hopes of revenging himself on the duke of Milan, considering his own intelligence at that time, and what he might have had by seignior John James di Trivulce, who was lieutenant-general for the king; and the duke of Orleans was born, and had great interest and alliance in the dutchy of Milan.

But though this design miscarried, another revived, nay, two or three at a time, in Genoa, which is a place very subject to revolutions. One was contrived by seignior Baptista di Campoforgoso, a great man in the faction of Genoa; but he was banished, and his party could do nothing, nor the family of the Dorei neither, who were gentlemen, but the Campoforgosi were not. The Dorei are of the same party with the Campoforgosi, but cannot be dukes themselves, because they are gentlemen; for no gentleman is capable by their laws. But this Baptista had been duke not long before, but was supplanted by his uncle the cardinal of Genoa, who put the government into the hands of the duke of Milan, under whom the city was governed by the Adorni, who were also no gentlemen; yet they have been often dukes, and were supported by the house of the Spinoli, who were gentlemen too. The nobility in Genoa make dukes, but cannot be made so themselves. This seignior Baptista expected his whole party, both in the city and abroad, would have taken arms in his favour; and that the senate should be chosen by the king, but the government would fall into the hands of him and his party; and they made no doubt whatever of dealing well enough with the rest. The other design was set on foot by several persons in Savona, who had addressed

themselves to the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, assuring him they would deliver up the town, provided their liberties and privileges might be secured to them; for it was then under the jurisdiction of Genoa, and paid duties as the rest. If he could have made himself master of this town, he would have reduced Genoa to great straits, considering Provence was our king's own country, and Savoy at his command.

Upon these intelligences the king sent to seignior John James di Trivulce to assist the said Baptista di Campoforgoso with such supplies as might carry him to the very walls of Genoa, to see whether his party would appear. On the other side, he was pressed hard by the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who had obtained a letter to him from the king, commanding the said James to furnish the cardinal with men enough to conduct him to Savona; and he gave the same message by word of mouth to the lord of Servon in Provence, who was the cardinal's friend, and would deliver it boldly. The king also sent orders to seignior James di Trivulce, to contrive matters so, that he might support both parties, and yet act nothing against the duke of Milan, or contrary to the peace that was made with him the year before; but these orders were downright contradictions. And after this manner the affairs of great princes are managed, when they are not attentive themselves, or otherwise are too hasty in commanding letters and messengers to be dispatched without mature and requisite deliberation. In this case, if one considers what was required by siegnior Baptista di Campoforgoso and the cardinal, we shall find that it was impossible to supply them both at a time. For to approach the walls of Genoa without a considerable body of forces, was ridiculous and impracticable, not only by reason of the numbers, but of the courage, of the inhabitants; and to have supplied the cardinal, had been to divide his whole army into three bodies, for part must of necessity have remained with seignior John James; and besides, the alarm was taken, and the duke of Milan, the Venetians, don Frederick, and the pope, had all of them sent forces to Genoa and Savona, as suspecting their revolt.

Besides these two, seignior John James di Trivulce had a third design of his own, and that was, to have marched directly with all his forces against the duke of Milan, and laid those enterprises aside; and certainly, if he had been permitted to have pursued his own scheme, he would have performed some great action; for under pretence that he could not otherwise protect such as were engaged in the designs upon Genoa and Savona, he posted himself upon the great road from Alexandria to Genoa, (and indeed the

duke of Milan could send forces no other way to molest us), and possessed himself of two or three small towns without any resistance; pretending that this was no violation of the peace with the duke, for he was forced to it of necessity; and that the king could not be said to have made war upon the duke for endeavouring to recover Genoa and Savona, because they held of the king, and had forfeited their allegiance. However, to satisfy the cardinal, seignior John James di Trivulce sent part of his army to Savona; but he found the garrison reinforced, and his designs defeated, and so marched back. He sent other troops to seignior Baptista, to attempt something upon Genoa, and great matters were expected from thence; but before they had marched four leagues, both French and Swiss grew jealous of him, (though I think it was wrongfully), and it was well things happened so; for their number being very inconsiderable, they would have exposed themselves to great danger, if their party in the town had not appeared. Thus all their enterprises and designs miscarried, and the duke of Milan was become strong, who had run a great deal of danger if seignior John James had not been countermanded. Our army marched back, our foot were disbanded, our small towns restored, and the war was concluded, but with little advantage to the king, considering what expense he had been at in military preparations.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning certain differences that arose between Charles king of France and Ferrand king of Castile; and the ambassadors that were sent to both of them to accommodate the affair.

FROM the beginning of the year 1496, (the king having been four months on this side the mountains), till the year 1498, our forces lay still, and did nothing in Italy: I was present all that while with his majesty, and privy to most of his affairs. He went from Lyons to Moulins, and from Moulins to Tours, spending his time in nothing but justs and tournaments wherever he came, without ever thinking of his affairs in Italy or France. Those who were in greatest reputation with him, were in great dissention among themselves, and it could hardly be greater. Some, as the cardinal and seneschal, were for carrying on the war in Italy, because it was for their profit and advantage; the admiral, on the other side, who before that expedition had been the king's greatest favourite, opposed it in hopes of being restored to his former authority, and to

supplant his competitors; and in this posture things stood about a year and a half.

In the mean time our king sent ambassadors to the king and queen of Castile, for his majesty desired to be at peace with them, because they were very powerful both by sea and land; and if by land they had done no extraordinary feat, yet by sea they had given both king Ferrand and Frederick very considerable assistance; for the island of Sicily is distant from Reggio in Calabria but a league and a half. Some are of opinion it was formerly joined to the continent, and in process of time separated from it by the sea. It is now called the Straits of Messina. From this island of Sicily, which belonged to the king and queen of Castile, considerable supplies were sent to Naples, as well in caravels from Spain, as in men from the island, out of which several men at arms passed the sea into Calabria, with a good number of Spanish genets, where they made war against those who appeared for our king. Their fleet was continually joined with the confederates, and when they were united, the king was too weak for them at sea; otherwise the king of Castile had not done him much mischief. It is true, a good body of his horse made an inroad into Languedoc, plundered some few towns, and quartered up and down for three or four days: but that was all, and no considerable damage done. Monsieur de St. Andrè, a Bourbonnois, being then upon the frontier with some troops belonging to the duke of Bourbon, who was governor of Languedoc, attempted to take Sauves, a small town in Rousillon, from whence the enemy made all his excursions about two years before; for the king had restored the said Rousillon to them, in which province there is the territory of Perpignan, and this Sauves in the middle of it. The design was great, because the town was strongly garrisoned with a detachment of the king of Castile's guards, and within a league lay their whole army more numerous than our's, and ready to engage us. However, monsieur de St. Andrè managed his affairs so prudently, and with so much secrecy, that in ten hours time he took the town (which I have seen) by assault, and in it there were thirty or forty Spanish gentlemen of good quality slain, and among them the archbishop of St. James's son, besides three or four hundred more. They did not suppose we should have been masters of it so soon, because they knew not the goodness of our cannon, which certainly are the finest and the best in Europe.

No other action but this happened between these two kings, which was much to the dishonour of the king of Castile, who had such a numerous army in the field. But when God Almighty

is pleased to chastise a nation for their sins, he begins with smaller and more supportable afflictions; for the king and queen of Castile were visited by great mortifications afterwards, and so were we too. The king and queen of Castile acted very imprudently, and were ill advised to forswear themselves to our master, especially after he had been so kind as to restore Rousillon, which had cost his father so much to fortify and defend, and had been mortgaged to him for three hundred thousand crowns, all which were remitted to hinder him from disturbing our king in his intended conquest of Naples. Besides which, they renewed the ancient alliances with not only king and king, kingdom and kingdom, but the individual subjects on both sides were mutually o bliged; and they promised not to interrupt us in our conquest, nor to marry any of their daughters either with the houses of Naples, England, or Flanders; which offer came first from themselves, and was made by one friar John de Mauleon on the part of the queen of Castile. Yet as soon as they saw the war begun, and the king at Rome, they sent their ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes to make an alliance against our king; and particularly to Venice, where I was resident at that time; and there the league, which I have spoken so much of, was made between the pope, the king of the Romans, the state of Venice, and the duke of Milan, and immediately they began to act offensively against our king, and to declare that their former obligation became void, and they were no longer bound to observe it, especially that article about the marriage of their daughters, of which they had four, and but one son, though they first made that offer of themselves, as you have already heard.

But to proceed in my history. After the wars in Italy were over, and the king had nothing left in the kingdom of Naples but Cajeta, which he lost afterwards; after the pretensions in Rousillon were adjusted, and every prince in possession of what was his own, they sent a gentleman to king Charles, and with him certain monks of Montferrat; it being the custom of Spain to manage all their negotiations by such people, either out of hypocrisy and pretence of religion, or the frugality of their expense; for, as I said before, the treaty about Rousillon was managed by friar John de Mauleon. These ambassadors at their first audience besought the king, that he would forget the injury that was done him by the king and queen of Castile, the king and queen are always mentioned together, because Castile came by her, and she had there the principal authority, it having been a marriage of more than ordinary honour for them. Then they began to propose a truce,

in which their whole league was to be comprehended, and our king to keep Cajeta in his possession, and what other places were then in his hands in the kingdom of Naples; that during the truce his majesty might erect what magazines in them he pleased, and that a time and place should be appointed, to which ambassadors from all the parties of the league, or as many as desired it, should be sent to conclude a final peace; after which the king and queen of Spain intended to pursue the conquest of Granada, and having finished that, then to pass over into Africa, against the king of Fez, whose kingdom reaches to the coasts on the other side of that sea. However, some will say they never designed it, but were resolved to sit down with the conquest of Granada, which indeed was a glorious action, and the fairest acquisition which had been gained not only in our times, but by all their predecessors; and I wish for their own sakes they had rested there, and kept their promise with our king. With these ambassadors of their's our king sent back the lord of Clerieux in Dauphinè, and endeavoured to conclude either a separate peace or a truce with them, without comprehending any of the rest of the confederates; but if the king had accepted their overture, he had preserved Cajeta, which might have been sufficient for the recovery of the whole kingdom, considering what friends his majesty had in it. When the lord de Clerieux returned, he brought new propositions, for Cajeta was lost before he got to Castile. The proposition was, that the ancient alliance between the two crowns should be renewed; and that by common consent and expense they should endeavour the conquest of Italy, and that both the kings should be personally present in that expedition; but first, they insisted that a general truce might be concluded, the whole league be comprehended, and a day and place appointed in Piedmont, to which each of them might send their ambassadors, being desirous, as they pretended, to acquit themselves honourably towards their confederates. But all this overture in my opinion, and I have understood as much since, was but an artifice to gain time, and suffer king Ferrand to breathe a little, and recruit whilst he lived, and king Frederick since his decease. However, they would have been contented to have had that kingdom to themselves, and their title was better than their's who possessed it; but the king's title, which was the house of Anjou's, was better than either of them; yet considering the nature of the country, and the people who inhabit it, I think he has best right to it that can keep possession of it, so strangely are they inclined to revolutions. After this the king sent Clerieux back again into Spain, and along with him one monsieur Michael de

Gramont, with certain new proposals. This lord de Clerieux had some little affection for the house of Arragon, and hoped to have the marquisate of Crotona in Calabria, which the king of Spain retained of the last conquest which he made in that province. Clerieux pretended it was his; for he is an honest sincere man, but something too credulous, especially of such persons. The second time he returned, he brought back with him another ambassador from them, and the lord de Clerieux reported that the king and queen of Castile would be contented to take Calabria, which is the part of Italy that lies next to Sicily, for their whole interest in that kingdom, and that our king should have the rest: he offered likewise that the king of Castile should assist in person in this intended expedition, and contribute as much towards paying the army as our king; and indeed he was at that time master of four or five fortified towns in Calabria, and among the rest Crotona, which is not only a strong, but a beautiful city. I was present when the ambassador made his report, and most were of opinion he was imposed upon, and that it would be necessary to send another ambassador of greater cunning and sagacity, to search more narrowly into the affair. Upon which the lord du Bouchage was joined in the same embassy. He was a person of great wisdom and penetration in state affairs, had enjoyed places of great trust and honour in the late king's reign, and was still highly valued and esteemed by his son. The Spanish ambassador who came along with the lord de Clerieux would never confirm what he had said; only he told us that he did believe monsieur de Clerieux would not have made that report, if the king and queen of Castile had not said it; which gave us the more suspicion it was a trick; and besides, nobody could believe the king of Spain would go thither in person, or that he would, or indeed could bear an equal share with our master.

As soon as the lord du Bouchage, monsieur de Clerieux, Michael de Gramont, and the rest of our ambassadors, were arrived at the court of the king and queen of Castile, they ordered them to be lodged in apartments where none of their subjects could converse with them, appointed persons to have an eye over them, and they were admitted to three private audiences of the king and queen. When the lord du Bouchage had acquainted them with what the lord de Clerieux had reported to his master, and Michael de Gramont had confirmed it, they answered that they might have said some such thing by way of discourse, but not otherwise; yet they would readily engage themselves in any peace that should be for our master's honour and advantage. The lord de Clerieux was

very uneasy, and much displeased at their answer, and he had reason, and justified to their faces in the presence of the lord du Bouchage, that they had given it in commission. However, the lord du Bouchage and the other ambassadors concluded a truce for two months, without comprehending the league; but the princes who married their daughters, and their fathers-in-law, were comprehended, as the king of the Romans, and the king of England, for the prince of Wales was but very young at that time. The king and queen of Castile had four daughters, the eldest was a widow, and married to the king of Portugal who died last, having broke his neck in her sight as he was passing a career upon a genet before her, three months after their marriage; and they had another unmarried. As soon as the lord du Bouchage was arrived, and had informed the king of his reception at the Spanish court, his majesty was sensible he had acted wisely in sending him; for now he was assured of what he but suspected before, and that was of the credulity of the lord de Clerieux. The lord du Bouchage told him moreover, that all he could obtain was that truce, which however his majesty had liberty either to accept or reject. The king confirmed it, and surely he did wisely; for it broke that confederacy which had given so much disturbance to his affairs, and which hitherto he could not effect, though he had tried all ways possible to dissolve it. The lord du Bouchage also acquainted his majesty, that they would send ambassadors after him with power to conclude a peace; and this the king and queen of Castile assured him of, when he had his audience of leave. He told our king also, that at his coming away he left their only son the prince of Castile very dangerously ill.

CHAP. XVII.

Digression concerning the misfortunes which happened to the house of Castile in the author's time.

THE lord du Bouchage, ten or twelve days after his return into France, received letters from an herald, which he had left behind to wait on the ambassadors which were to come from thence. The letters were to this purpose, that he should not wonder at their deferring the embassy, because it was done upon the account of the death of the prince of Castile, as they called him, who was lately dead, to the unspeakable grief of the king and queen, but especially of the queen, who was more likely to die than to live; and certainly I never heard of so solemn and so universal a mourn-

ing for any prince in Europe. I have since been informed by ambassadors, that all the tradesmen put themselves into a course kind of black, and shut up their shops for forty days together; the nobility and gentry covered their mules with black cloth down to their very knees, and all over their body and heads, so that there was nothing of them to be seen but their ears; and set up black banners upon all the gates of the city. When the lady Margaret, daughter to the king of the Romans, sister to the archduke of Austria, and wife to the said prince, was informed of the news of his death, she miscarried of a daughter, being six months gone with child, which was born dead. What a terrible blow this must be to a family which had known nothing before but felicity and renown, and had a larger territory (I mean by succession) than any other family in Christendom! and besides the late acquisition of Granada, they had forced the greatest monarch in Europe out of Italy, and defeated his enterprise, which was looked upon to be a mighty action, even by the pope himself, who under pretence of the conquest of Granada, would have taken away the title of Most Christian from the king of France, and conferred it on the king of Castile, to whom several briefs were addressed with that title superscribed: but because some of the cardinals opposed it, he gave them another, which was—"The Most Catholic"—by which title he is called now, and I believe he will be stiled so for ever at Rome. What a sad and surprising turn must this accident be! at a time when they had reduced their kingdom to obedience, regulated the laws, settled the administration of justice, and were so well and happy in their own persons, as if God and man had conspired to advance their power and honour above all the rest of the princes in Europe.

Nor was this their only affliction: their eldest daughter, the dearest thing to them in the world after the death of her brother, was forced to leave them, having some few days before been married to Emanuel the young king of Portugal. He was then indeed but prince of Portugal; but the crown of Portugal fell to him by the death of the last king of Portugal, who most barbarously caused the head of his father-in-law to be cut off, killed his brother with his own hand, who was elder brother to the king that now reigns in Portugal, kept this present king in perpetual fear, and killed his own brother, before his wife's face, as they were sitting at dinner, to make way for one of his bastards to be king. After which cruelties, he lived in continual fear and suspicion; and not long after, his only legitimate son broke his neck off his mule, as you have heard, who was first husband to the lady of whom I am speaking, and who is queen of Portugal at present, into which king-

dom she has been married twice, and by report is one of the wisest and best of persons in the world. But to continue our relation of the miserable accidents which in a short time befel the king and queen of Castile, who had lived in so much glory and felicity, to the fiftieth year of their age, or more. You must know they had married their eldest daughter to the king of Portugal, that all Spain might be in peace: for they were entirely possessed of all the provinces, except the kingdom of Navarre, which they governed as they pleased, and of which they had also four of the strongest towns. Secondly, to adjust and compose the difference about her dowery and marriage portion. And thirdly, for the benefit and advantage of some of the grandees of Portugal, who were in the king of Castile's interest; for by this match these lords, who were banished that country upon the death of the two princes above mentioned, and had their estates confiscated, (which continued to that day, though the crime of which they were accused was only endeavouring to set this king up who now reigns), had estates given them in Castile; and their lands in Portugal, which were forfeited by the attainder, were assigned to the queen's use. And yet for all these considerations the king and queen of Castile were extremely troubled at this match; for you must know, there is no nation in Europe that the Spaniards abhor and deride more than they do the Portuguese. So that it was no small mortification to them, that they had married their daughter to a person that was not pleasing to the Castilians, and the rest of their subjects, and had it been to do again, it would never have been done: which must needs be a great affliction to them, and the greater, because she must leave them. But having mastered their passion as well as they could, they conducted them through all the chief cities of that kingdom, caused the king of Portugal to be received as their prince, his queen as princess, and declared them their successors after their decease. But to finish all, and consummate their sorrows, this young lady, whom they loved and valued so highly, died in childbed of a son about a month since, and it is now October 1498. Though the queen died, yet the son lived, and is called Emanuel; yet I am informed their affliction is so great, they would have given God thanks to have taken them with their daughter.

All these misfortunes happened in the space of three months: nor were we ourselves without our share of afflictions; for before the death of the abovementioned princess, we in this kingdom were chastised and afflicted by the death of Charles VIII. of whom I have spoken so much, and who died after the manner as you shall hear hereafter; as if God had been offended with both of these illustrious families, and would not suffer the one to triumph over the other. No such revolution happens in a kingdom, but it is

generally attended with very sad consequences, and though some may possibly be gainers, yet there will be a hundred losers to one of them, besides the changing a man's whole life and conversation; for that which pleases one king will hardly be agreeable to another. And as I have said in another place, he that reflects upon the sudden and severe chastisements which God has inflicted upon the great princes of Europe within these thirty years, shall find more and greater than in two hundred years before, including France, Castile, Portugal, England, the kingdom of Naples, Flanders, and Bretagne; and if any should attempt to give a particular account of all the fates and misfortunes which I have known, (and perhaps most of the persons on whom they fell), it would swell into a vast volume, and astonish the whole world, though it contained no more than the occurrences of ten years past. By these afflictions the power of God ought to be acknowledged and remembered; for the troubles which he lays upon princes are heavier, more grievous, and more lasting than those he lays upon inferior persons. So that in short, upon a full and just consideration of all, the lives of princes are as much subject to afflictions and anxiety of mind as other men's, at least if they themselves regard their own affairs, and endeavour to prevent such miseries from falling upon them as they see have ruined their neighbouring princes. It is true, they punish their subjects at their pleasure, and God does the same by them; for besides him there is none above them. But that kingdom is most happy, whose king fears God, and manages his own affairs.

Thus have you seen, in a few words, the misfortunes which befel these two potent kingdoms, and all within the space of three months, which not long before were so incensed one against the other, so busy to subvert one another, and so intent upon their own interest and advancement, that nothing which they enjoyed was sufficient to satisfy their boundless ambition. I confess, as I said before, no change happens in government, but some people are the better for it; yet when a prince dies suddenly, the first news of his death is terrible to all.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the magnificent building which king Charles began not long before his death; his good inclination to reform the church, the laws, the treasury, and himself; and of his dying suddenly in this resolution in his castle at Amboise.

I HAVE now done with the affairs of Italy and Spain, and shall return to speak of our own misfortunes in France, at which some people might possibly rejoice, especially if they gained any thing by

them, and give you an account of the death of Charles VIII. our king, who died suddenly at his castle of Amboise, where he began the most august and magnificent building that any prince had undertaken for a hundred years before, both in the town and the castle; and this appears by the remaining towers, to the top of which one may ride on horseback. As to his building in the town, the design was admirable, the model lofty, and would have required a great length of time. He had brought his artificers, as his carvers, painters, and such, from Italy, so that the whole fabric seemed the enterprise of a young prince, who thought nothing of dying so soon; for he collected whatever was commended to him, either in France, Italy, or Flanders. Besides this great work, his mind was also bent upon another expedition into Italy, being sensible he had committed many great errors in his first; he spoke often of them, and resolved, if ever he recovered what he had lost in that country, he would keep it better than he had done; and having a party and intelligence in all places, he thought it not impossible but he might return and recover the kingdom of Naples; for which purpose he resolved to send thither a body of fifteen hundred Italian men at arms, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, the Ursini, the Vitelli, and the governor of Rome, brother to the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula; the lord d'Aubigny, who had done such wonders in Calabria, was to march into the territories of the Florentines, who were to bear half the charges for six months. His first attempt was to have been upon Pisa, or the adjacent towns, and then joining with the rest, to march in one body into the kingdom of Naples, from whence he was solicited continually. Pope Alexander VI. who now reigns, being offended with the Venetians, endeavoured to come into the alliance, and had private intrigues with him by an agent that lay *incognito*, whom I privately conveyed into the king's chamber not long before his death. The Venetians were ready to join with us against the duke of Milan, and our negotiations with Spain were as you have heard; the king of the Romans desired nothing so earnestly as the friendship of our king, and that they two might manage their own affairs in Italy by themselves: this king of the Romans was called Maximilian, a mortal enemy to the Venetians, because they had taken and kept several places belonging to the house of Austria, of which he was next heir, and to the empire besides.

The king had also resolved with himself to live a more strict and religious life than he had formerly done, to regulate the laws, to reform the church, and so to rectify his revenue that he would not raise above twelve millions of franks on his subjects by way of tax,

which was the sum given him by the three estates at their convention at Tours, on his accession to the throne. He intended the said sum should be employed in the defence of the kingdom, and for himself he would live upon his crown-lands, as his predecessors had done before him, which he might easily have done if they had been well managed, for his revenue, comprehending his duties and customs, amounted to upwards of a million a-year. Had he done as he had resolved, it would have been a great ease to the people, who pay now above two millions and a half. He was very earnest likewise to have reformed the order of St. Benedict and others. He got good preachers about him, and was a constant hearer of them. He would fain have ordered it so, that a bishop should have enjoyed only one bishopric, a cardinal two, and both be obliged to be resident upon their benefices; but he would have found it a difficult task to have persuaded the clergy to that. He gave alms liberally to the poor not many days before his death, as I was since informed by his confessor the bishop of Angers, who is a very eminent prelate. He had erected also a place for public audience, where he heard and dispatched several causes, especially for the poor; in which place I saw him two hours together not above a week before he died, after which time I never saw him again. Matters of great moment were not dispatched there, but he set up that court to keep people in awe, especially his officers, some of whom he suspended for bribery and corruption.

The king being in great glory in relation to this world, and in a good mind as to God, on the 7th of April 1498, being Palm-Sunday Eve, took his queen, Anne of Bretagne, by the hand, and led her out of her chamber to a place where she had never been before, to see them play at ball in the castle-ditch. They entered together into a gallery called la Galerie Haquelebac, upon the account of its being formerly kept by one Haquelebac. It was the nastiest place about the castle, broken down at the entrance, and exposed to every nuisance; the king was not a tall man, yet he knocked his head as he went in. He spent some time in looking at the gamesters, and talked freely with every body: I was not there myself, having retired to my country seat about a week before; but his confessor the bishop of Angers, and the gentlemen of his bedchamber, who were then about him, told me what I write. The last expression he used while he was in health was, that he hoped never to commit a mortal sin again, nor a venial one if he could help it; and with those words in his mouth he fell down backwards, and lost his speech. It was about two in the afternoon when he fell, and he lay till eleven o'clock at night.

Thrice he recovered his speech, but he quickly lost it again, as his confessor told me, who had confessed him twice that week, one of course, and the other upon occasion of his touching for the King's-Evil. Every one went into the gallery that pleased. He was laid upon a course bed at first, and he never went off it till he died, which was nine hours after. The confessor told me, that every time he recovered his speech he called out upon God, the glorious Virgin Mary, St. Claude, and St. Blaise, to assist him. And thus died that great and powerful monarch, in a sordid and filthy place; although he had so many magnificent palaces of his own, and was building another more stately than any of them, yet he died in a chamber much unsuitable to himself. How plain, then, and natural is it, from these two examples, for us to acknowledge the power and omnipotence of God; that our life is but a span and a trifle, though we are so greedy and ambitious after the riches of this world; and that a prince has his fate as well as a peasant.

CHAP. XIX.

How friar Jerom was burnt at Florence by the malice and solicitation of the pope and several Venetians and Florentines who were his enemies.

IN my relation of the affairs of Italy, I have mentioned a jacobin friar, who lived at Florence for the space of fifteen years, was very remarkable for the sanctity of his life, and whom I saw and conversed with in the year 1495. His name was Jerom, and he had foretold several things which afterwards came to pass. He affirmed the king should make another voyage into Italy, declaring it publicly in his sermons, and pretending he had both that and other things by revelation from God; by whom he pronounced our king to be chosen to reform the church by force, and chastise the insolence of tyrants. But his pretending to revelation created him many enemies, made him incur the displeasure of the pope, and gained him ill-will from several in Florence: his life and discourse, as far as could be discovered, were the most severe and holy in the world, declaiming perpetually against sin, and making many proselytes in that city. In the same year, 1498, and within four or five days after the death of king Charles VIII. died this jacobin also; which I mention the rather, because he had always publicly asserted that the king should return again into Italy to accomplish the commission which God had given him for the reforming of the

church by the sword, and the expulsion of the tyrants of that country; and that in case the king refused or neglected it, God would punish him for it severely; all which former sermons, and those he preached at this time, he caused to be printed, and they are to be seen at this day. His threats to the king, of God's severe anger, if he returned not into Italy, he wrote several times to his majesty a little before his death; and he told me as much at my return out of Italy, assuring me that sentence was pronounced in heaven against the king, provided he refused to observe what God had commanded, and did not keep his soldiers from plundering. About the time of the king's death, there were great divisions among the Florentines; some expected the king's return, and very earnestly desired it upon confidence in friar Jerom's assurance, and in that confidence they exhausted and ruined themselves in their expenses for the recovery of Pisa and the rest of the towns which they had delivered to the king; but Pisa was in the possession of the Venetians. Some were for siding with the league and deserting our king, and they alleged that all was mere folly and delusion, and that friar Jerom was a heretic and hypocrite, and that he ought to be put into a sack and thrown into the river; but he had friends in the town who protected him against that. The pope and the duke of Milan wrote often against him, assuring the Florentines that Pisa and the rest of their towns should be restored, if they would abandon our king and punish friar Jerom. It accidentally happened, that at the time of the king's death the senate consisted of several of friar Jerom's enemies, (for the senate in that country is changed every two months), who suborned a cordelier to quarrel with him, and to proclaim him a heretic, and an abuser of the people, in pretending to divine revelation, and to declare publicly there was no such thing: and to prove what he said, he challenged him to the fire before the senate. Friar Jerom had more wit, but one of his brethren offered to do it for him, and another of the cordeliers would do as much for the other; so that a day was appointed when they were to come to their trial, and both of them presented themselves with all the friars of their orders. The jacobin brought the host in his hand, which the senate and cordeliers insisted he should lay by; but the jacobin being obstinate to the contrary, and resolved not to part with it, they returned all to their convents. The people, encouraged by friar Jerom's enemies, and authorized by the senate, went to his convent, and fetched him and two more of his brethren out, and tortured him most cruelly, killing the chief man in the city, called Francisco Vallori, only for being his friend. The pope sent them power and

commission to make out process against him, and at last he and his two brethren were burnt. His charge consisted of only two articles; that he created discord in the city, and that he was an impostor; and what he pretended by revelation he understood by his friends in the council. For my own part I will neither condemn nor excuse him, nor will I say they did ill or well in putting him to death; but I am sure he foretold several things which afterwards came to pass, and which all his friends in Florence could never have suggested. And as to our master, and the evils with which he threatened him, they happened exactly as you have heard; first the death of the dauphin, and then his own, of which I have seen letters under his own hand to the king.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the obsequies and funeral of Charles VIII. and the coronation of his successor Louis XII. with the genealogies of the kings of France to king Louis XII.

THE distemper of which the king died was an apoplexy, or a catarrh, which the physicians hoped would have fallen down into one of his arms; and though it might have taken away the use of that, they were in no fear of his death. His majesty had four physicians about him, but his greatest confidence was in him that had the least knowledge and experience in physic; and by his directions he was so entirely governed, that the other three durst not give their judgments, though they saw the indications of death, and would have ordered him a purge three or four days before. All people addressed themselves to the duke of Orleans immediately, as next heir to the crown; but the gentlemen of king Charles's bedchamber buried him in great pomp and solemnity. As soon as he was dead, service was begun for his soul, which continued day and night; for when the canons had done, the cordeliers began; and when they had ended, the bons-hommes or minimes took it up; which last was an order of his own foundation. He lay eight days at Amboise, part of them in a chamber very richly furnished, and part in the church: in short, he lay in great state, and the whole solemnity was more costly than the obsequies of any of his predecessors had been. The gentlemen of his bedchamber, all that belonged to his person, and all the officers of his court, never stirred from his corpse, but waited constantly; and

the service continued till his body was interred, which was about a month after, and as I have been told by some of the officers of his exchequer, cost 45,000 franks. I came to Amboise two days after his death, went to pay my devotions upon his tomb, and staid there five or six hours. To speak impartially, I never saw so solemn a mourning for any prince, nor that continued so long; and no wonder, for he had been more bountiful to his favourites, to those gentlemen of his bedchamber, and ten or twelve gentlemen of his privy-chamber, had treated them better, and given them greater estates than any king had ever done before; and indeed he gave some of them too much. Besides, he was the most affable and best-natured prince in the world. I verily believe he never said that word to any man that could in reason displease him; so that he could never have died in a better hour to make himself memorable in history, and lamented by all that served him. I do really think I was the only person in the whole world he was unkind to; but being sensible it was in his youth, and not at all his own doing, I could not resent it.

Having lain one night at Amboise, I went and paid my respects to the new king, with whom I had been formerly as intimate as any other person about the court, and many of my troubles and losses were for his sake; but then all our former acquaintance, and the service I had done him, were forgotten. However, he entered upon his government with great wisdom. He altered not any pensions for that year, though they were six months behind. He retrenched nothing of his salaries, but declared that every officer in his kingdom should continue in the same post he found him, which was very honourable and discreet. As soon as all things could be got ready, he proceeded to his coronation, and I was there among the rest. The peers of France, according to ancient custom, were represented by these following.—The duke of Alençon represented the duke of Burgundy; monsieur de Bourbon, the duke of Normandy; and the duke of Lorrain, the duke of Guienne. The first of the earls was monsieur de Ravestein, who represented the earl of Flanders; the second was Engilbert de Cleves, who represented the earl of Champagne; and the third was monsieur de Foix, who represented the earl of Thoulouse. The said inauguration was at Rheims, the 27th day of May 1498, and this Louis XII. was the fourth king who came collaterally to the crown. The two first were Charles Martel, or Pepin his son, and Hugh Capet, both of them mayors of the palace, or governors of their kings: afterwards they turned usurpers, deposed their masters, and took the government upon themselves. The third was

king Philip of Valois; and the fourth, king Louis who now reigns. But the two last came by a just and indisputable title to the crown. The first race of the kings of France is deduced from Meroveus; there had been two kings before this Meroveus, that is to say, Pharamond, who was the first that was elected king of France; for before his time they were called dukes or kings of Gaul, and after him one of his sons called Clodion. Pharamond was chosen king in the year 420, and reigned ten years: his son Clodion reigned eighteen, so that Pharamond and his son reigned twenty-eight years. Meroveus, who succeeded, was not Clodion's son, but his kinsman; so that there seems to have been five interruptions in the royal line. However, as I said before, the genealogy of the kings of France begins generally at Meroveus, who was made king in the year 448, so that the right line is derived from thence, and runs down to Louis XII. who was crowned 1090 years after the pedigree of the said kings began. They who would divide it from king Pharamond need only to add twenty-eight more, and the number will amount to 1078 years since they were called "Kings of France." From Meroveus to king Pepin there were 333 years, during which time the line of Meroveus lasted. From king Pepin to Hugh Capet there were two hundred and thirty-seven years, and that time the line of king Pepin and his son Charlemagne continued. Hugh Capet's line lasted 339 years, and expired before Philip de Valois, and then the line of the said Philip de Valois extinguished in Charles VIII. who, as is said before, died in the year 1498, and was the last of that family which had continued kings 169 years, during which time seven kings had succeeded of that line, that is to say, Philip de Valois, king John, king Charles V. king Charles VI. king Charles VII. Louis XI. and king Charles VIII. who was the last of the right line of Philip de Valois.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

THE

SECRET HISTORY

OF

LOUIS XI. KING OF FRANCE,

OTHERWISE CALLED

THE SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

GIVING AN

Historical and chronological account of several remarkable occurrences that took place in France and other neighbouring states and kingdoms, from the year 1460, *to* 1483, *inclusively.*

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THE SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO the honour and praise of God our sweet saviour and redeemer, and the blessed glorious virgin Mary; without whose assistance no good works can be performed. Knowing that several kings, princes, counts, barons, prelates, noblemen, ecclesiastics, and abundance of the common people, are often pleased and delighted in hearing and reading the surprising histories of wonderful things that have happened in divers places both of this and other Christian states and kingdoms, I applied myself with abundance of pleasure, from the thirty-fifth year of my age, (instead of spending my time in sloth and idleness), in writing a history of several remarkable accidents and adventures that happened in France, and other neighbouring kingdoms, as far as my memory would permit me; but especially from the year 1460, in the reign of Charles VII. to the death of Louis XI. his son, who died August 30, 1483. However, I neither design nor expect that this historical essay of mine should be called a Chronicle, being wholly unfit for so bold an undertaking; neither indeed was I ever employed or permitted to write one; but what I have here ventured to record, is purely by way of amusement to please and divert those who will give themselves the trouble of reading or hearing it read; whom I also humbly entreat to excuse, and supply my ignorance, by correcting and altering whatever they find amiss: for abundance of these remarkable accidents have happened after so very different and so strange a manner, that it would have been a very difficult task, either for me or any other writer, to have given an exact and particular account of every thing that happened during so long a series of time.

AND in the first place then, concerning the goodness and fertility of the earth in the year 1460, which was so prodigiously fruitful throughout the whole kingdom of France, and bore such plentiful crops of corn, that at the very dearest time a quarter of wheat was sold only for twenty-four Parisian sols; but there was a great

scarcity of fruit, and as for the vines, there was but little wine, specially in the isle of France, so that they had scarce an hogshead to every acre of ground, but the wine was extraordinary good, and that which grew in the fat vineyards round Paris, was sold very dear, and fetched the price of ten or eleven crowns per hogshead.

ABOUT that period several poor and indigent wretches that were guilty of thieving, sacrilege, housebreaking, and other enormous crimes, were made an example of, and severely punished at Paris, amongst whom some were only whipped at the cart's tail, and afterwards pardoned, as being their first offence; and others who were old offenders, and had been often guilty of crimes of the like nature, were condemned to be hanged, and were executed accordingly.

MUCH about that time also a certain woman named Perrette Mauger was condemned to be burnt alive, for having committed several robberies, and for harbouring and concealing several notorious thieves and housebreakers, who had committed divers robberies in and about Paris; as also for having sold and disposed of the said goods that were stolen by these thieves, and sharing with them the money that arose from the sale thereof: for which crimes, and several others besides, which she confessed at last, she was condemned by monsieur Robert Destouteville, mayor of Paris, to be burnt alive at the stake before the gallows, and all her goods and chattels to be forfeited to the king. From which sentence she formally appealed to the court of parliament, upon the account of which appeal her execution was deferred for some time; but after the parliament had examined into her trial, they confirmed the abovementioned sentence; and having declared that the said Perrette Mauger had no manner of grounds for her appeal, ordered it immediately to be executed; upon which she declared herself to be with child, which deferred the execution a little longer; and presently a jury of midwives and matrons were impannelled and ordered to search her, who upon a strict examination reported to the judges that she was not breeding, upon which report she was immediately ordered to be burnt before the gallows by Henry Cousin, the hangman of Paris.

IN this year, the pope sent a legate into England, who preached to the people of that country, but especially in London, the chief city of that kingdom; where he made several remonstrances to

the inhabitants of that and the adjacent parts, much to the prejudice, and contrary to the interest of Henry VI. king of England; which remonstrances the cardinal of York, who accompanied the legate, explained in their own language, with a long exposition on the same. Upon which the common people, who were wavering and fickle enough at the best, began to rise up in rebellion against king Henry, and his queen, daughter of Renè king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and their son the prince of Wales. The common people chose the earl of Warwick for their head, who was governor of Calais, in the room of Richard duke of York, who pretended to be king, and boldly maintained that the kingdom of England belonged to him, as being the next heir of the family of king Richard II. A little time afterwards the duke of York, who had assembled a great number of the populace in arms, took the field, and marched directly to a park, where Henry VI. was attended by several dukes, princes, and other lords, also in arms. There were eight avenues that led to this park, and these were guarded by eight barons of the kingdom, all of them traitors and rebels to king Henry; who, as soon as they were informed of the duke of York's arrival, immediately gave him admittance into the park, with the earl of Warwick, and several others, who went directly to the place where the king was, whom without any further ceremony they seized upon. Immediately after this action, they slew several princes and great lords of the blood royal, that were with him. When the earl of Warwick had so done, he took king Henry and brought him directly to London, carrying the naked sword before him, as if he had been his constable; and upon his arrival at London, he led him straight to the Tower, in which there were four barons of the kingdom of king Henry's party, that were kept prisoners there; to whom king Henry some time after, and the earl of Warwick gave very fair words, and released them out of the Tower, after they had solemnly promised them that their persons should be protected from all manner of danger whatsoever; and in confidence of these fair promises they consented to go out of the Tower. But as they were leading these four barons after king Henry and the earl of Warwick, there happened to be an insurrection of the mob, and some of them came and killed one of the barons, and gave him several blows and contusions; and the next day, notwithstanding all the fine promises that were made them, the three other barons were executed on tower hill.

AT the same time, there arose a great quarrel between the king's officers belonging to the court of Aids, and one of the beadles of

the university of Paris, for some affront that the said beadle had given to two counsellors of the same court; for which misdemeanour the said beadle was put into the common goal of Paris; which method of proceeding the whole university highly resented, and were so extremely displeased with it, that till the affair was accommodated, and the beadle restored to his liberty, they refused either to preach, pray, or read to the people: but upon his enlargement, they were fully satisfied, and performed their usual duty.

ABOUT this time, a certain person called Anthony, the bastard of Burgundy, came into Paris in a disguise, and staid there only one day and a night: and when the inhabitants of the city were informed of his coming in that manner, several officers and men of note could not imagine what could be the meaning of it, and immediately dispatched certain persons to carry the news of it to the king, who spoke very favourably of the citizens, and declared they were not in the least privy to his coming in that clandestine way. Upon which the king in all haste dispatched the marshal de Loheac, and M. John Bureau treasurer of France, to inquire into the truth of the relation that was brought him, and to take all the care imaginable to prevent whatever designs this emissary of the house of Burgundy might have formed in the city. At the same time also the citizens of Paris, in order to free themselves from all manner of suspicion of their consenting to his coming *incognito*, deputed some of the chief of their citizens, amongst whom were M. John de Lolive Dr. of divinity and chancellor of the church of Paris, Nicholas de Louviers, M. John Clerebourg master of the Mint, M. John Lullier town-clerk, James Rebours attorney, John Volant merchant, and several others, to represent the matter fairly to the king. His majesty received them very graciously; and after they had ended their speech, which was made to clear their innocence, he was extremely well satisfied with them, and having given them a very mild and gracious answer, they returned to Paris with great joy and gladness of heart.

AT that time M. Robert Destouteville, who was mayor of Paris, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, and afterwards to the Louvre, by the command of the marshal de Loheac and M. John Bureau, for some injustice and abuses he had committed in the exercise of his office, though it was never fairly proved against him. About that time also several rude and uncivil actions were committed by M. John Advin, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, in the house of the said Destouteville, such as searching of boxes,

trunks, and other places for letters; not to mention the several incivilities he offered to the lady Ambroise de Lore, his wife, who was a woman of great virtue, honour, and wisdom.

IN this year, the rivers of Seine and the Marne were swolen so prodigiously, that in one night's time the Marne rose above six feet high, about St. Maur-des-Fossez, and did a great deal of damage in several places; but among the rest the river came up so high in a village called Claye, in which there was a palace belonging to the bishop of Meaux, that it washed away all the brick-work of the front of it, where there were two stately towers newly erected, in which there were fine and large apartments, richly furnished and adorned with tapestry, pictures, &c. but the river swept all away.

ABOUT that time also it happened, that the body of the church of Fescamp in Normandy was burnt to the ground by a fiery exhalation that came from the sea towards the marshes of Cornwall, and caught hold of the steeple of the said abbey, which was quite consumed, and all the bells melted down, to the great loss and detriment of the abbot and all his fraternity.

AT the same time, there was a great noise and discourse all over the kingdom of France and other places, of a young girl of about eighteen years of age, who lived in the city of Mans, and played several ridiculous pranks and follies; such as foaming at the mouth, leaping into the air, screaming out aloud, putting her body into a thousand convulsive motions, and pretending to be tormented by the devil: by which antic tricks, and several others too tedious to mention here, she imposed upon abundance of people that came to see her. But at last she was discovered to be an idle hussy, and that she played off her devilish pranks at the instigation and contrivance of some of the officers belonging to the bishop of Mans, who maintained her for that purpose; and had so far brought her to their beck, that she would do any thing they bid her; and they had trained her up from her infancy to play these pranks.

ABOUT the same time it happened in England, some time after the earl of Warwick's seizing upon the person of king Henry, that the duke of Somerset the king's cousin, in conjunction with several young noblemen, relations and heirs to those who were slain at the taking of king Henry, having got together a considerable body of men, took the field, and marching directly against the duke of

York, found him encamped in the plains of St. Albans, where they gave him battle and cut him and his whole army to pieces. In this battle the duke of York was slain himself, and when his body was found, they cut off his head, and by way of derision, because he pretended to the crown of England, they fixed it upon the point of a lance, and put a crown of straw in the form of a royal crown upon it. With him there fell in the battle, twenty-six barons, knights, squires, and persons of note in the kingdom; besides a great number of common soldiers, amounting in all to above eight or nine thousand men.

[The battle was not fought at St. Albans, but at Wakefield in Yorkshire, on the 30th day of December 1460, in which the duke of York was killed, and afterwards had his head cut off, and by way of derision a crown of paper, not of straw, as our author writes, set upon it, and presented to queen Margaret, who not long after sent it with the heads of other lords to be fixed upon poles over the gate of the city of York. The person that committed this ungenerous action was the lord Clifford, who after the battle of Wakefield in cold blood murdered the young earl of Rutland, the duke of York's third son.]

AND on Wednesday the 3d day of February in the same year, 1460, were read and published at Rouen, (and in several other places in the dutchy of Normandy in the public market-places by sound of trumpet), the king's letters patent; by which he declared it was his royal will and pleasure that the whole country of Normandy, together with its sea ports, should be free and open to all English men and women, of what rank or condition soever; and in what habit soever they shall think fit to wear, (provided they are of king Henry's party), and without having any passport, to have free liberty of trade and commerce throughout his whole kingdom.

IN the year 1461, in the month of July, it happened that king Charles VII. fell sick at the castle of Meum upon the Yeure, of a distemper that was incurable, and of which he died on Wednesday the 22d of July, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, much lamented by the whole kingdom; as being a very wise and valiant prince, and leaving his kingdom in a very peaceful and flourishing condition.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the king was publicly known, the greatest part of the officers of Paris, and several others of the kingdom, went to pay their respects to the dauphin, who resided at

the duke of Burgundy's court in Hainault; and who by the decease of his father came to the crown of France. The occasion of their waiting on him there, was to know his royal will and pleasure; and whether they should be continued in the same posts and employments they enjoyed under his father: at which place, after his death, he made a promotion of several officers, in the chamber of accounts or exchequer at Paris. Amongst others, he made M. Peter l'Orfeure lord of Dermenonville, and Nicholas de Louviers, counsellors of the same exchequer, and M. John Baillett master of the requests, and reporter of the court of chancery: he also confirmed M. Simon Charles, who was carried in a litter into Hainault, in the place he was possessed of in the exchequer: and the rest of the officers that came thither to beg the favour of being continued in their respective posts and employments, were ordered back to Paris to wait for the king's coming thither.

AND upon the 24th day of July 1461, M. Ethiene, knight, who was treasurer or chief director of the finances in the reign of the late king Charles, and whom he appointed to be one of the executors of his last will and testament, as also M. Dreux Bude, the grand audiencier of France, went from Paris to visit the king's corpse that lay in state at Meum; but the lord d'Aigreville, captain of Montargis, at the earnest solicitation of a certain gentleman named Vuaste Morpedon caused them both to be seized at Montargis; where they remained prisoners for some time, till the king sent orders for their release, and continued them both in their respective employments of treasurer and audiencier.

[Audiencier is one of the chief officers of the chancery of France, who examines all letters patents, &c. before they pass the seals.]

BUT it was very observable, that on the 23d day of July in 1461, which was the next day after the king's death, a large blazing star was seen in the sky about seven o'clock at night, which cast such a glaring and resplendent light through the air, that all Paris seemed to be in a flame; but heaven in its mercy has been still pleased to preserve that good city.

ON Thursday the 6th day of August 1461, the body of the late king Charles VII. was brought from Meum with great solemnity, to the church of Notre-Dame in the fields, without the gates of Paris: and the next day the clergy, nobility, officers, citizens, and abundance of the populace repaired thither, and conducted it from thence to Paris, with a great deal of pomp, ceremony, and respect,

as is usual on such occasions. The funeral procession was thus regulated.—Before the corpse were born two hundred wax-candles, weighing four pounds each, adorned and painted with the arms of France, and carried by two hundred inferior persons dressed in long mourning robes and black caps; the body was born in a litter by the salt-porters of Paris, which was lined and covered with a rich cloth of gold, valued at twelve hundred crowns of gold; and upon the top of it was placed the effigies of the late king Charles dressed in his royal robes, with a crown on his head, holding in one hand a sceptre, and in the other a regal truncheon; and in this state was carried to the great church of Notre-Dame in Paris: all the bell-men of the city clothed also in black, and bearing on each side of their gowns the arms of France, marching before it; and after them, came those that bore the candles, adorned and painted with the same arms, before the litter. After the litter came the duke of Orleans and the count d'Angoulesme as chief mourners, accompanied by the counts d'Eu and Dunois; M. John Jouvenelle des Voisins, knight and chancellor of France, and the master of the horse, all clothed in deep mourning, and mounted on horseback: next to them all the officers of the household to the late king, on foot, two by two, dressed in deep mourning also; and close to the litter rode six pages in black upon six fine horses covered all over with black velvet, which was a very dismal and melancholy sight to behold. And there was such an universal concern and lamentation for his death, that scarcely a dry eye was left in the whole city; nay, it is reported, that one of his pages took his master's death so much to heart; that for four whole days together, he neither ate nor drank any thing. The next day, which was the 9th of August, his body was removed from the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, about three in the afternoon, and carried with the above-mentioned pomp and ceremony to St. Denys, where it was deposited, and where it now lies.

TOWARDS the end of this month, our most gracious sovereign Louis XI. then only dauphin and eldest son of Charles VII. lately deceased, was crowned king of France at the city of Rheims, by the archbishop Jouvenel, where he was attended by the greatest part of the nobility of his kingdom.

UPON the last day of this month of August, the king set out from an hotel named les Porcherons, which was in the suburbs, near the gate of St. Honnorè, belonging to M. John Bureau, who was knighted at his coronation at Rheims, in order to make his pub-

lic entry into Paris; upon which the whole body of the nobility, clergy, and gentry, came out to pay their homage to him, and welcome him into their city; amongst whom were the bishop of Paris, named William Chartier, the whole university, the court of parliament, the mayor of Paris, all the officers of the exchequer, and the provost of merchants, with the aldermen in their damask robes lined with sables: and the mayor and aldermen, after they had saluted and paid their respects to the king, presented him with the keys of the city gates through which he was to make his entry, which he very graciously returned; and then the way was ordered to be cleared to make room for others to approach his majesty, and pay their compliments to him, of which number he made a great many knights on the spot. As the king passed through the gate of St. Denys he found, near the church of St. Ladre, a herald mounted on horseback and clothed in the city livery, who presented him with five ladies on the part of the city, richly dressed, and mounted on five fine horses sumptuously accoutred with rich furniture, on which were embroidered the city arms; and these five ladies were habited after a sort of a manner representing the five letters of Paris, and every one of them made a speech to the king, which was prepared for them beforehand.

There was a very great appearance at the king's public entry into Paris, both of his own nobility, and of foreign princes and noblemen; amongst whom were the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Cleves; the count de Charolois, the duke of Burgundy's eldest son; the counts d'Angoulesme, St. Paul, and Dunois, besides several other earls, barons, knights, captains, and a great number of persons of note and distinction; who, in honour of the day, and to augment the splendour and magnificence of the triumphal entry, had bestowed vast sums in rich and costly furniture, with which their horses were caparisoned: some of their housings were of the richest cloth of gold, made after different fashions, and lined with sables; others were of crimson velvet, lined with ermin or rich damask, embroidered with gold and silver, and hung round with great silver bells, which were of considerable value; and upon the horses rode fine young pages, the very flower of youth and beauty, richly dressed, and wearing an embroidered scarf over their shoulders, that hung down to the crupper, which made a very noble and gallant show.

The Parisians on this occasion, caused a very fine ship to be cast in silver, which was born aloft upon men's shoulders; and just as the king made his entry through the gate of St. Denys, it was placed upon the drawbridge near the said gate, to represent the

city arms. In it were placed three persons, representing the three estates of the kingdom; and in the stern and the poop sat two more, personating Justice and Equity; and out of the scuttle, which was formed in the shape of a Flower-de-Luce, issued a king dressed in royal robes, and attended by two angels. A little farther, at the fountain du Ponceau, there were wild men that played the parts of gladiators, and near them were placed three handsome wenches stark naked, representing mermaids with lovely hard white bubbies, a glorious sight! sporting and singing gay enlivening airs, which were humoured and accompanied with the melodious harmony of soft music. And to comfort and refresh the people, there were several pipes in the said fountain that ran milk, wine, and Hippocrass, of which every one drank what he pleased; and a little below the fountain, the passion of our Saviour was represented as he was crucified between two thieves. At a little distance from this crucifix, there were posted a band of men richly dressed, representing hunters that had just run down a stag; whose death was accompanied with the melodious noise of dogs and horns; and in the Rue de Boucherie, there were large scaffolds erected in the form of the Bastile at Dieppe. And when the king had passed by them, the English who were within the Bastile, were furiously attacked by the king's soldiers, taken prisoners, and had all their throats cut. Opposite to the gate of the Chastellet, there was a fine appearance of persons of quality; all the windows were hung with rich tapestry, and the streets through which the king passed were crowded with a prodigious number of people. In this pompous manner he proceeded to the church of Notre-Dame, and having performed his devotions to the blessed virgin, he returned to his royal palace, where he had a splendid and magnificent entertainment, and lay there that night. The next morning, which was the first of September, in the year 1461, he removed from thence into his Hotel des Tournelles, near the Bastile de St. Anthoine, where he staid some time, during which he made several acts and ordinances, and turned several of the officers of his kingdom out of their posts and employments; amongst the rest were the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, the marshal, the admiral, the first president of the court of parliament, and even the provost of Paris, and put new ones in their place.

He also made a new regulation in all his courts of justice and offices belonging to the crown, especially in the exchequer, treasury, and the mint; turning out abundance of counsellors, secretaries, receivers-general, clerks, and other officers of an inferior nature, and putting others in their room.

UPON the third day of September 1461, the king, attended by some of the lords and gentlemen of his court, was entertained at supper in the house of one M. William de Corbie, a counsellor of the court of parliament, whom he made president of Dauphinè that very night. There were abundance of fine ladies and honest citizens' wives to see the king at supper; and during his stay at Paris, he ordered several feasts and entertainments to be made in divers places of the city, on purpose to treat and divert them.

ABOUT the same time it happened that a beautiful young woman named Joan du Bois, wife to a certain officer belonging to the Chastellet of Paris, made an elopement from her husband, but afterwards, by the counsel and advice of his intimate friends, he took her home again: she became a very good woman, and lived a sober and virtuous life with her husband.

IN the year 1462, and 1463, nothing material or worth recording happened, and therefore I have passed them over in silence. And as for the year 1463, as I have already observed, there was nothing happened in it worth taking notice of, unless it was the shortness of the winter, and the length of the summer, which was extremely pleasant, and very favourable to the vines, so that we had plenty of good wine that year, but a great scarcity of all other fruits.

IN the year 1464, upon Tuesday the 15th day of May, the king came from Nogent-le-Roy, where the queen was brought to bed of a young princess, and on the same day in the evening supped at M. Charles d'Orgemont's, lord of Mery, and from thence he set out for the frontiers of Picardy, where he concluded to have found the ambassadors whom Edward king of England had promised to send thither to him, but they never came; whereupon the king left Picardy, and made a progress to Rouen, and several other places in Normandy. About that time it happened that a small vessel of Dieppe was seized upon the coast of Holland by some of the duke of Burgundy's ships, in which there was a person named the bastard of Rubemprè, who with the rest of the ship's crew was immediately put in prison, upon the pretence that their design of hovering about these parts was purely to seize upon the person of the count de Charolois: and this report the Fleming's spread abroad every where, but there was nothing in it.

ABOUT that time the king set out from Normandy in his return to Nogent, from whence he went to visit Tours, Chinon, and Poic-

tiers, at which place arrived the deputies that were sent by the city of Paris, to desire his majesty to grant them further privileges; but all they were able to obtain of him, was only to be exempted from a small tax called the Foreign Impost, which was no great matter: and even that small gift they did not enjoy, for the clerks of the exchequer, to whom their letters patents were directed, were negligent, and would not dispatch their business in time. The ambassadors of the duke of Bretagne were likewise to wait on him there, whom he heard upon several articles that were brought him in relation to the affair between the duke and him; which articles, or at least the greatest part of them, were granted and allowed by his majesty; and by those articles of agreement, the said ambassadors did promise and engage that their master the duke of Bretagne should wait on his majesty either at Poictiers, or elsewhere, to confirm and ratify the said articles. After which, the ambassadors took their leave of the king, pretending to return into Bretagne; but they did quite the contrary, as you will find hereafter. The day they set out from Poictiers, which was Saturday, they went but four leagues, where they staid till the Monday following. Upon the Sunday the duke of Berry, the king's own brother, departed from Poictiers also, and lay that night with the ambassadors, who received him with abundance of kindness and civility; and early the next morning, in great haste, they all set out together for Bretagne, fearing lest the king should be informed of his brother's going with them, and on that account follow them; besides, the count de Dunois was already arrived at the duke of Bretagne's court, which would be apt to give the king a suspicion of some secret designs being set on foot against him.

SOON after the departure of these ambassadors, the duke of Bourbon declares war against the king, and invades his dominions, seizing upon whatever belonged to the king, in his territories, and putting the lord de Croussol, a great favourite of the king's, under an arrest. This lord de Croussol was only travelling through his country with his lady and the rest of his family; however, they were all of them arrested and confined in the city of Cosne in Bourbonnois.

AFTER this, William Juvenal des Ursins lord of Traynel, formerly chancellor of France, and M. Peter Doriolle the late treasurer, were also arrested in the city of Moulins, where they endured a long imprisonment; but at last the duke of Bourbon released them, and gave them liberty to go back to the king.

ON Sunday the 12th of March in the year 1464, after the duke of Berry's departure from Poictiers, Anthony Chabannes count de Dampmartin, who was a prisoner in the Bastile de St. Anthoine, made his escape and fled into Berry and Bourbonnois, where he was kindly entertained by the subjects of the dukes of Berry and Bourbon. But several persons who were suspected to be accessary to his escape, were immediately committed to prison.

ON Wednesday the 15th day of March, M. Charles de Melun, the king's lieutenant, M. John Balue bishop of Evreux, and M. John the mayor, with the king's secretary, met together in the town-house, where they caused several articles that the king had given them in charge, to be read; and after the reading was over, they made several acts and ordinances for the better defence and security of the city. Among the rest there was a particular order to appoint a strong watch to guard the city gates by night, to shut them at a constant hour, to have iron chains fastened at the end of every street to bar them up upon any occasion, and several others, which being too long to be inserted here, I shall for the sake of brevity omit.

BUT after the escape of the count de Dampmartin, the king found out a stratagem to surprise the two strong places of Fourgeau and Morüe, which were defended by Jeffery Cueur, son of the late James Cueur, whom he made a prisoner, and seized upon all the riches he found in them.

AS soon as this business was over, the king, attended by the king of Sicily and the lord du Maine, marched towards Angers and Pont-de-Ce, to demand of those who had so basely deserted him, what reasons induced them to retire, and to withdraw themselves into Bretagne. He ordered his army, which was chiefly composed of the standing forces of the kingdom, and amounted to twenty or thirty thousand men, immediately to follow him; but after he had been there for some time, and found he could not possibly finish the war on that side so soon as he expected, he marched with a strong detachment and some cannon into the dutchy of Berry, towards Issoudun, Viarron, Dreux, and other neighbouring towns, leaving the king of Sicily and the count du Maine with a good body of troops to defend and guard the passes, and to hinder the Britons from penetrating either into Normandy, or into any other part of his kingdom.

THE king made but a short stay in the dutchy of Berry; and from

thence he marched into Bourbonnois, leaving the city of Bourges behind him, in which there was a strong garrison commanded by monsieur the duke of Bourbon's bastard, who held it for the duke of Berry: he marched into Bourbonnois, where the town and castle of St. Amant Lalier were taken by storm on the day of our Lord's ascension, and a little after the town and castle of Molucon surrendered upon terms of capitulation, in which were James de Bourbon with about thirty-five lancers, who took an oath never to bear arms against the king again, upon which they were suffered to march on without being plundered, and had the liberty of going where they pleased.

ON Ascension-eve, the chancellor Traynel, M. Esteinne, knight, Nicholas de Louviers, and M. John de Molins arrived at Paris, by whom the king wrote to his good people and citizens of that place, thanking them for their good inclinations and loyalty to him, exhorting them to continue firm and steadfast in their allegiance, and commanding them to conduct the queen safe to Paris, where he would have her lie-in, as loving that city above any in his kingdom.

UPON Thursday the 30th day of May in 1465, it happened that one John de Hure, merchant of the city of Sens, came with his nephew and some other company to lodge in a mill, which was called the Little Mill, on the other side of Moret in Gastinois; about midnight, thirty or forty horsemen well armed came and beat up their quarters, plundered them of all they had, and carried away the merchant and his whole company prisoners. At the same time, the king ordered the bridges of Chamois and Beaumont on the Oise, with several others, to be broken down.

ABOUT that time the bastard of Burgundy and the marshal of Burgundy, with a considerable body of the count de Charolois's forces, invaded the king's dominions, and took from him the towns of Royes and Mondidier. Upon which the count de Nevers and Joachim Rouault marshal of France, who were in Peronne with a garrison of about four thousand men, retired with part of them to Noyon and Compeigne, leaving some of the nobility with about five hundred frank-archers in Peronne for its defence.

AT the same time the king, who was then in Bourbonnois, left that country, and retired to St. Poursain, whither his sister the dutchess of Bourbon and Auvergne came also to wait on him, being extremely concerned at the difference that there was between the king her brother, and her husband the duke of Bourbon; and

hoped by that means to have accommodated matters between them; but it was not in her power to do it: in the mean time, however, the duke of Bourbon evacuated Moulins, and retired to Rions.

AT this time, came orders for the besieging of St. Maurice, which the count de Dampmartin obstinately held against the king. M. Charles de Meleun bailiff of Sens, with several others of the same corporation, had the direction of that siege, but finding the body of men that were under their command too weak for such an undertaking, M. Anthony bailiff of Meleun was ordered thither with a strong reinforcement of archers and crossbow-men from Paris; and upon the arrival of these forces, St. Maurice beat the chamade and surrendered the town upon articles of capitulation.

ON the 25th day of June, it was ordered by the magistrates of Paris assembled in the town-house, that the streets should be unchained, but that the iron chains should still remain hanging at the corner of every street to which they belonged, in order to have them in readiness upon any occasion; that persons should be deputed to examine in what condition they were in; and if they wanted mending, to get them instantly repaired, and keep them always fit for service; which was accordingly done. There was also another order issued out, by which every citizen was obliged to take arms, and to lay in a stock of provisions and ammunition for the defence of the city, in case of need; and this order was sent in writing to every particular housekeeper in Paris.

IT was much about this time, that a great body of Burgundians, Picardians, and of other nations subject to the count de Charolois, marched into France as far as Pont St. Maxence, which one Madre, who was the governor of it, delivered up to the count de Charolois, for a certain sum of money: upon which he advanced with his army into the isle of France, where he committed great ravages and devastations, notwithstanding he pretended this war was undertaken purely for the public good, and to free the subjects of France from the tyranny of their king.

SOON after this business of Pont St. Maxence, the Burgundians took Beaulieu, which a party of the marshal Joachim's own regiment had a long time defended, and held out against them; who at last surrendered upon articles, and marched out with bag and baggage, and the usual marks of honour.

AND as soon as the Burgundians had entered the isle of France,

they dispersed themselves in small bodies all over the county, and took Dampmartin, Nantouillet, Villemonble, and several other inconsiderable places; and afterwards, at Lagny, they committed great disorders and outrages, tearing and burning all the papers relating to the public accounts of the province, ordering that all commodities should be free from taxes in the town, and commanding the salt, which was stored up in the public granaries for the king's use, to be given to whomsoever had occasion for it upon paying the usual custom.

ABOUT this time the king, who was in Bourbonnois, laid siege to Rions in Auvergne, in which were the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the count d'Armaignac, the lord Albret, and several other persons of note. The king had, at that time when he invested the town, the finest army that was ever seen; having in all, including the nobility, and persons of note and distinction, above twenty-four thousand effective men of regular troops.

AND on Wednesday the 4th day of July in the same year, the king, who was still before Rions, wrote letters to M. Charles Meleun his lieutenant of Paris, the marshal Joachim, and the citizens of Paris, which he sent by M. Charles de Charlay the captain of the watch: and in these letters he heartily thanked his good citizens of Paris, for their steadfastness and loyalty to his person, desiring and exhorting them to continue in their duty and allegiance, and assuring them that within fifteen days he would be at Paris with his whole army. He also ordered the said Charles de Charlay, to acquaint them by word of mouth of certain terms and articles of agreement that he had made with the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, and the lords d'Armaignac and Albret, and how by the compact, all and every one of them had solemnly and sincerely promised henceforth never to bear arms against him, but to live and die in his service; and that the said dukes and lords above mentioned had faithfully promised to perform their duty, in endeavouring to persuade the other lords that were engaged in the confederacy to accept of the same terms of accommodation; and that the four abovementioned lords had agreed to send before the feast of August their ambassadors to the king at Paris in order to treat for peace; and that if they could not induce the other lords engaged in the same confederacy to hearken to a peace, they had solemnly vowed and sworn to keep the promise they had made of never bearing arms against the king, but to live and die in defence of him and his kingdom. And that, as a further confirmation of this promise, the abovementioned lords had caused it to be regis-

tered by two public notaries at Mossiat near Rions, agreeing and consenting to be excommunicated, provided they, or either of them, should act to the contrary.

ON the Friday following, a large body of the count de Charolois's forces, the greatest part of them Burgundians, arrived at St. De nys, from whence they sent a detachment to Pont St. Clou, in hopes of making themselves masters of it; but not being able to effect their project, they marched back to St. Denys.

ON Sunday the 12th day of July 1465, the Burgundians appeared before Paris, but finding they could not carry their point, they retired to St. Denys, with the loss of a few men, who were endeavouring to scale the walls.

ON Monday the 8th day of August, the Burgundians came a second time before the walls of Paris, with all their artillery and heavy cannon, but before their army appeared in sight of the town, they sent four heralds to the gate of St. Denys, at which M. Peter l'Orfeure, lord Dermenonville, and M. John de Pompaincourt lord of Cercelles commanded as captains of the guard that day. Their pretended message was to demand provisions for their army, and a free admittance into Paris, in a peaceful and friendly manner; and to let the citizens know, that if they refused to grant their demands, they would enter the town by force, and give it up to be plundered by their soldiers.

SCARCE had the heralds delivered their message; when the Burgundians, (who thought to have surprised the town, and cut in pieces the guard that defended the gate of St. Denys, without giving the citizens time to return an answer), appeared with a considerable body of forces, and penetrating as far as St. Ladre, were in hopes of getting within the barriers that led to that gate, which they designed to have forced with their cannons and other warlike engines: but the citizens made a vigorous resistance, and the marshal Joachim with his own regiment gave them a very warm reception; so that the Burgundians, finding that they could not succeed in their design, retired to their camp with the loss of abundance of men killed and wounded. Immediately their whole army invested the town, in which they did great execution with their cannon, culverins, and other warlike engines, and killed and wounded a great many men. During this bombardment, there was a cowardly rascal of a bailiff named Casin Chollet that ran up and

down the streets like one frightened out of his wits, crying out—"Get ye into your houses, O Parisians, and shut the doors, for the Burgundians have entered the town!"—which put the inhabitants into so dreadful a consternation, that several women with child miscarried, and others died of the fright.

NO action happened before Paris, on the Tuesday following, only the count de St. Paul who was at St. Denys, with the count de Charolois, marched from thence with a detachment of Picardians, and Burgundians, in order to possess himself of Pont St. Clou, but the project failed that time. And on the Wednesday following there arrived in his camp a fine train of artillery, consisting of about fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, which the count de Charolois had ordered to be sent him: and on the same day, a brigade of M. Peter de Breze's regiment marched out of Paris to intercept the Burgundians in their march to St. Clou, two of which they killed, and took five prisoners; one of whom received so terrible a blow as clove his head asunder, and the fore part of it hung down by a bit of skin upon his breast. The Burgundians also took an archer, servant to M. John Noyer of the same regiment; and in the evening they made a vigorous attack upon St. Clou, and, storming the outworks, put the garrison who held it for the king into such a consternation, that they agreed to capitulate, and surrendered the town immediately, upon condition to be safely conducted to Paris, and to deliver up the five Burgundians they had taken that day; and for the performance of the articles, hostages were exchanged on both sides.

ON the Friday following, the magistrates of Paris held a great council in the town-house to advise and consider what answer they should return to the Burgundians, who required of them to send some commissioners to treat with the count de Charolois, who privately informed them, by word of mouth, of the reasons that had induced him to take up arms against the king. At last, after some debate, they resolved to acquaint the count de Charolois with their resolution of sending some commissioners, provided he would send them a passport to Paris, to treat with him, and to hear what propositions he had to make; letting him know at the same time that they would communicate whatever he had to offer, either to the king who was at Orleans, or to his privy council at Paris, who might return what answer they thought most proper in the present posture of affairs. The same day, about six in the evening, two heralds from the count de Charolois came to the gate of St.

Honnorè for the answer you have already heard, who were told, that if the count de Charolois would be pleased to come any where near Paris, and send a passport, that commissioners should be sent to wait on him, but nothing further could be granted. After this, they desired leave to buy some paper and parchment, which was granted them; but were denied sugar, and other things that they wanted in their camp, for the sick and wounded; so that they were forced to return without these commodities, which they took very ill of the Parisians.

ON Sunday the 14th of July 1465, early in the morning, arrived at Paris the count de la Borde and M. Cousinot, who brought letters from the king to his good citizens of Paris, in which the king, as he had done before, thanked them for their zeal and affection to his person, and for their brave resistance and defence of his capital against the Burgundians, desiring them withal to depend upon whatever the said de la Borde and Cousinot should tell them in his name, the substance of which was, that the king thanked them heartily for their loyalty and good affection towards him, desired them to continue firm and steadfast in it, and that they might depend on his being at Paris (as a place he desired most to be in) the Tuesday following; and that he had rather lose half his kingdom, than any misfortune or inconvenience, that was in his power to prevent, should happen to his good citizens of Paris, whom he desired by the said Cousinot to provide lodgings and quarters for his men at arms and the retinue that he should bring with him, and to set a reasonable price on all manner of provisions; to which M. Henry de Liure the mayor of Parie immediately consented, and took all the care imaginable to see it done.

UPON the Monday following, the Burgundians broke up from St. Clou, and marched with all their heavy cannon and artillery to Mont l'Hery, where they encamped, in order to join the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, the count de Dunois, and several others that were coming in to the count de Charolois. The news of this movement was immediately dispatched to the king, who was on this side of Orleans on his march towards Paris, and who in all haste by long and tedious marches, on Tuesday morning the 6th day of July arrived at Chartres near Mont l'Hery; from whence, without staying so much as to refresh himself, or to wait for the coming up of his whole army, which was composed of the finest horse, considering their number, that ever were seen, he marched directly towards the Burgundians, whom he attacked with so much vi-

gour and intrepidity, (though with but a handful of men), that at the first charge he broke and entirely defeated their vanguard, of which a great number were killed and taken prisoners. As soon as the news of this defeat had reached Paris, above thirty thousand sallied out of the gates, some of which being horsemen, scoured the country round, defeating and taking several small bodies of the flying Burgundians, as did also the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns round Paris. The Burgundians lost in this action great part of their bag and baggage; and the whole damage they sustained, reckoning every thing, was estimated at two hundred thousand crowns of gold. The king not being content with defeating the enemy's vanguard, and hoping to gain a complete victory over them, without refreshing either himself or his troops, once more attacked, with only his own guards and four hundred lancers, a str ong party of Burgundians who had rallied under the command of the count de St. Paul, who did the count de Charolois good service that day. The Burgundians gave the king's troops a warm reception, and being drawn up in order of battle, with their cannon playing upon them, sorely galled them, and killed abundance of them, among whom were several officers of the king's own guard, who behaved themselves handsomely during the whole action, and stood firmly by the king, who was hard put to it that day, and several times in danger of his own person; for he had but a handful of men and no cannon. The king was pressed so hard by the Burgundians, that he knew not which way to turn himself, and was forced to charge at the head of his troops during this engagement; and though he had but a small body with him, yet he still maintained his ground; and if he had had a reinforcement but of five hundred frank-archers to have pushed the Burgundians when they began to give way, he would have gained the completest victory over them that ever was known in the memory of man. The count de Charolois lost all his guards, and the king a great part of his; the count de Charolois was twice taken prisoner by Jeffery de St. Belin and Gilbert de Grassay, but was afterwards rescued. Abundance of men and horses were killed that day, the greatest part of which by the rascally Burgundian foot, with their pikes and other weapons tipt with iron, and not a few men of note fell on both sides. And after the battle was over, the number of the slain was computed at three thousand six hundred men; and towards night, the Scottish guards considering the danger the king was in, and the great loss they had sustained, and finding that the Burgundians were still pursuing those squadrons they had already broken; took his majesty, who had been in arms all day without eating or drink

ing, and much fatigued and dispirited, and conducted him safe to the castle of Mont l'Hery: which was the reason that several in the army, who knew nothing of the king's removing thither, and not knowing where to find him, reported that he was either killed or taken prisoner: upon the news of which the greatest part of his army ran away, and among the rest the count du Maine, the admiral de Montalban, the lord de la Barde, and several other officers, with about eight hundred lancers, without ever being engaged at all that day; by which means the Burgundians remained masters of the field of battle, on which were found amongst the slain, several persons of quality and distinction on the king's side; viz, M. Peter de Brezè knight and seneschal of Normandy, Jeffery de St. Belin bailiff of Chaumont, Floquet bailiff of Evreux, besides several other knights and squires. The Burgundians also lost abundance of men, and had more taken prisoners than they took of the king's army. After the king had refreshed himself a little at the castle of Mont l'Hery, he marched with a strong detachment of his forces to Corbeil, where he stayed till the Thursday following, on which he arrived very late in the evening at Paris, and supped that night at M. Charles de Meleun's his lieutenant-general, with several lords and ladies of his court, besides several of the chief citizens and their wives; to whom his majesty related the particulars of the action at Mont l'Hery, in such moving and pathetic terms, as drew tears from the whole company: adding withal, that he designed by the blessing of God to attack the enemy once more on the Monday following, and either die on the spot, or drive them out of his dominions: but, from the cowardice and desertion of his troops in the late engagement, he was advised not to hazard another battle. However, it was to no purpose, for he was a prince of an undaunted courage and resolution.

ON Friday the 19th day of July 1465, M. William Chartier bishop of Paris, with several counsellors and clergymen, went to wait on the king at his Hotel des Tournelles, and humbly besought his majesty, that he would be pleased to make choice of some wise and prudent council to aid and assist him in the administration of public affairs for the future, to which he graciously consented: and immediately it was ordered, that six city-counsellors, six counsellors of the court of parliament, and six doctors of the university of Paris, should be added to the king's ordinary council. And because the king found he had many enemies in his kingdom, they went upon ways and means to raise more forces, and recruit those regiments that had suffered most in the late action of Mont l'Hery;

in order to try how many men they could raise in Paris, it was proposed that the number of inhabitants of every ward should be taken in writing, and that each of them should furnish ten men, but there was nothing done in it.

UPON the king's arrival at Paris, abundance of his troops were forced to be quartered in the villages round that city, Brie, and other neighbouring places, where they committed great disorders, not being content with eating and drinking at free cost, but also plundering the inhabitants of all they had, and seizing upon whatever they could find, though belonging to some of the citizens of Paris. Nay, the king himself was under some difficulty in raising a sufficient sum of money to pay those forces he had in Paris, for some of the princes that had taken up arms against him, were in possession of those very towns on which the taxes assigned for that use were to be levied; and they refusing to let any be raised in their dominions, he was forced to borrow money of his officers, and wealthy citizens of Paris, some of whom, upon their refusal to lend him as much as he proposed, were immediately put out of all their posts and employments, both military and civil; among the rest, M. John Cheneteau clerk in parliament, M. Martin Picard counsellor of the exchequer, and several others.

ON Wednesday the 24th day of July 1465, the king ordered the bridge of St. Maxence to be broken down, upon intelligence that the lord de Saveuses was marching with a great body of forces in order to beat out the king's troops, and put a garrison of his own in it. On the same day his majesty gave the command of it to John l'Orfeure, who was the governor of it, and charged him to defend it to the last extremity; which he did with so much bravery and resolution, that there was no occasion to break down the said bridge: and on the Friday following, the king ordered that two hundred lancers, under the command of the bastard d'Armaignac, count de Cominges, the sieur Giles de Symon bailiff of Senlis, the sieur de la Barde, and Charles des Mares, should stay at Paris; and on the same day, at the desire and request of the mayor of Paris and some church-men, his majesty continued M. Charles de Meleun in his former post of lieutenant of the city.

AFTER the battle of Mont l'Hery, the lords and princes that were engaged in the confederacy against the king, retired to Estampes, where they staid for the space of fifteen days; and upon their breaking up from thence, they marched towards St. Mathurin de l'Ar-

chant, Moret in Gastinois, Provins, and the neighbourhood of those countries; upon which the king, having intelligence of their motions, threw some small bodies of forces and some cannon into Meleun, Monstereau, Sens, and other neighbouring towns, to reinforce the garrisons, and make frequent sallies whenever they had an opportunity of falling upon the enemy.

ON Saturday the 3d day of August 1465, the king being willing to oblige his good city of Paris by some singular act of grace and favour, changed the tax of the fourth penny on retailed wines to that of the eighth, and granted to all the inhabitants the same privileges they enjoyed in the reign of his father Charles VII. He also took off all the taxes that had formerly been levied in the city, except those on wood, cattle, and cloth sold by wholesale, which were let out to the farmers of the revenue: and on the same day it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of Paris, by Denis Hesselin, chief collector of the subsidies; upon the news of which the common people were so overjoyed, that they flocked together from all parts of the city, and filled the streets with bonfires and acclamations of joy.

ABOUT this time, the Bertons and Burgundians passed the Seine and the Yonne, upon a bridge of boats which were brought from Moret in Gastinois and other places. M. Salezart with a brigade of marshal Joachim's regiment, had posted himself on the other side to dispute the passage with them, but finding himself too weak, and having no cannon, (of which the enemy had great store), he thought fit to retire upon their approach. The Burgundians, to favour the passage of their troops, cannonaded the enemy all the while, and killed abundance of the king's men: at last a random shot took off a page's arm, struck a gentleman named Pamabel, a relation of marshal Joachim's, in the belly, and killed three soldiers afterwards.

ON Thursday the 8th day of August, the lord de Pretigny, one of the king's counsellors and president of the exchequer, and Chrystofle Paillart a counsellor also of the same court, arrived at Paris with an answer to some letters that the king had sent by them to the duke of Calabria, who was then in Auxerrois: and on Saturday the 10th of the same month the king set out from Paris in order to visit Rouen, Evreux, and several other places in Normandy, and lay that night at Pontoise; but before he left Paris, he ordered several companies of frank-archers that were newly arrived from Nor-

mandy, and about four hundred lancers drawn out of the regiments of the late Floquet, of the Boulognois, of the late Jeffery de St. Belin, of the lord de Craon, and the lord de la Barde, to remain in garrison for the defence of the city.

ABOUT this time M. John Berard, counsellor of the court of parliament, went over to the duke of Berry who was then in Bretagne, being highly disgusted at his wife's being committed to prison, and afterwards banished the city for holding correspondence with the said duke and the rest of the princes, who were the king's open and professed enemies.

ABOUT this time M. Charles de Meleun, who had hitherto been the king's lieutenant of Paris, resigned his place, which was immediately given to the count d'Eu; but the king, in consideration of the many services M. Charles de Meleun had done, made him steward of his household, and gave him the government of the bailiwick and towns of Evreux and Honfleur.

ABOUT this time also, a party of Burgundians and Bretons who had been refreshing themselves in the town of Provins, returned to Lagny upon the Marne; and the Friday following, they came and took up their quarters at Creteil a house upon the Seine, Chelle Saincte, Bapteur, and several other places in that neighbourhood. And because the Parisians were fearful that the Burgundians would once more invest Paris, there being a report that M. Gerauld, their chief engineer, had given out that he designed to erect a battery on the laystall before the gates of St. Denys and St. Anthony, in order to bombard the town, and also at the same time to make a breach in the walls; they caused an order to be immediately published by which every one was obliged to repair the next morning to the laystall with a pickaxe and shovel, to break it up, and render it unfit to erect a battery on: and accordingly the order was put in execution, but what they did signified little or nothing; so that they were forced to build a great many sheds, erect bulwarks and throw up trenches to cover and defend the city, as also the soldiers employed in its defence.

ON the Monday following the same party of Burgundians and Bretons that were quartered at Creteil and thereabouts, being joined by some more forces of their own country, came to Pont de Charenton where they erected a battery; and began to play on the tower that defended it, upon which the garrison, without

making the least opposition, retired to Paris; and the Burgundians and Bretons took possession of it: and in the evening of the same day, they appeared before Paris, in which several of them were taken prisoners, and two of the frank-archers of Caen killed. And that night a body of Burgundians and Bretons, amounting to about four thousand men, came and encamped in a park belonging to Bois de Vincennes. The Tuesday following, the count d'Eu sent one M. de Rambures to the princes to know their intentions, and the next day he returned to Paris; but the answer they made him was kept very secret; and the same day the Burgundians came before Paris, upon which the Parisians made a sally, but scarce any action happened between them, only one of the frank-archers of Alençon happened to be killed by a random shot.

ON Thursday the 22d of August the duke of Berry, who had taken up his head-quarters at Beaulce with several other princes nearly allied to him, sent his heralds with four letters to Paris; one to the citizens, one to the university, one to the ecclesiastics, and one to the court of parliament. The contents of these letters were, that he, and the rest of the princes engaged in the same confederacy had taken up arms for the public good of the kingdom; and that if they would make choice of five or six able men, with the character of commissioners, to treat and confer with them, he would let them know the reasons that had induced him and the rest of the princes to appear in this hostile manner. Accordingly, in pursuance of these letters, the following commissioners were deputed to wait on the princes, to hear what they had to propose. On the part of the city were chosen M. John Choart the civil lieutenant of the Chastellet of Paris, M. Francis Hasle advocate in parliament, and Arnold Lullier banker of Paris. The church of Paris made choice of M. Thomas de Courcelles dean of Paris, M. John de Lolive Dr. in Divinity, and M. Eustace Lullier advocate in parliament. For the court of parliament were chosen M. John de Boulengier, M. John le Sellier archdeacon of Bric, and M. James Fournier. And by the university for the sciences in general, were chosen M. James Minglisant, for divinity M. John Lullier, for the law M. John Montigny, and for physic M. Auerant de Parenti; and these commissioners were introduced and presented to the princes by William Chartier bishop of Paris.

ON the Saturday following all the abovementioned commissioners sat in the town-house, where several persons of quality and distinction were assembled to hear what proposals the princes had made them; but they came to no manner of conclusion that morn-

ing; however, it was agreed, that in the afternoon the whole of the university, the church, court of parliament, and chief magistrates, should meet together to take into consideration what the princes had proposed to the commissioners. At this meeting, after some debate, they unanimously agreed, that the calling an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, which was the chief thing the princes insisted on, was highly just and reasonable; that they would consent to supply their army with provisions for money, and that they should have free admittance into Paris, provided they could give them any security that neither they nor their soldiers would commit any act of hostility within the town to the prejudice of the inhabitants, and the king consented to it. After which the commissioners went a second time to wait on the princes, to acquaint them with their final resolution. During the whole time that this assembly were sitting in council, all the crossbow-men and archers were drawn up before the town-hall, to hinder the mob from crowding and disturbing them, as they certainly would have done, had they not been prevented by this means.

ON the same day there was a review made of all the king's forces in Paris, which made a very fine appearance. First of all marched the archers of Normandy on foot; these were followed by the archers on horseback; and last of all came the men at arms belonging to the companies of the count d'Eu, the lord de Craon, the lord de la Barde, and the bastard of Maine, which might make in all about five hundred men, well armed and mounted, without reckoning the foot, which were about fifteen hundred or better. And on the same day, the king wrote letters to Paris, by which he acquainted the inhabitants of his being at Chartres, with his uncle the duke du Maine, and abundance of soldiers with him, and of his resolution of coming to Paris on the Tuesday following. In the afternoon, the admiral de Montalban arrived at Paris with a good body of troops, and towards the evening the duke of Berry broke up from Beaulce, and marched towards St. Denys; but being told by some of his officers that were with him, that Beaulce was a much safer place for him to be in than St. Denys, which lay too near the enemy, and upon hearing the news of the king's coming to Paris, he marched back to his old quarters.

UPON the Wednesday following the king came to Paris, attended by his uncle the duke du Maine, the lord de Pantheure, and several officers of note; he also brought back the fine train of artillery he carried with him, and a great number of pioneers from Normandy, which were all quartered in his Hotel de St. Paul. And

when the king made his entry into Paris, he was received with the universal shouts and acclamations of the people, and the next day very early in the morning the Burgundians and the Bretons, planting themselves over against the tower of Billy, saluted him with a triple discharge of their cannon, accompanied with drums, trumpets, clarions, and other warlike instruments of music. The same thing they did also over against the Bastile St. Anthoine, shouting and huzzaing, and crying out—"To arms, to arms,"—which put the whole city into a dreadful consternation, and immediately they mounted the walls and prepared all things for a vigorous defence. In the afternoon the Burgundians and Bretons re-appeared before Paris; upon which a large body of the king's regular forces with some cannon and field pieces, were immediately ordered to march out of Paris to beat off the enemy, who falling in with a party of them, killed and took several prisoners that day.

ON Saturday the last day of August, the king went with a strong guard as far as the tower of Billy, to take a view of the enemy, and commanded the four hundred pioneers that came from Normandy to cross the Seine, and throw up a trench over against the English port, and before the Hotel de Conflans, which was directly opposite to the place where the Burgundians were posted, quite down to the river Seine. And because the Burgundians had given out that they designed to pass that river, the king ordered a good body of troops to be posted there, to hinder them from laying a bridge over it, and to dispute the passage with them; and as soon as the pioneers had passed the river, the king passed it also in a ferry-boat without alighting from his horse.

ON Sunday the first day of September, the Burgundians laid a bridge over the Seine at the English port, and just as they were preparing to pass it, a great number of frank-archers and other soldiers of the king's party arrived there, who immediately planting some cannon and field pieces at the end of the bridge, fired briskly on the Burgundians, and obliged them to retire with the loss of several men killed and wounded; and a certain Norman swam across the river, and cutting the ropes with which the bridge was fastened, it went cleverly down the stream. Much firing took place from the batteries of the Burgundians; but especially from one which so galled the king's troops posted at the English port, that they were forced to retire.

AND on the Tuesday following ambassadors were chosen by the king and Burgundians, in order to adjust the differences between

them. On the king's side were chosen the duke du Maine, M. de Pretigny president of the exchequer, and M. John Dauvet president of the parliament of Toulouse; and the Burgundians chose the duke of Calabria, the count de St. Paul, and count du Dunois. And as soon as they were nominated, and had received their instructions, they went immediately upon the business of accommodation; a truce was granted for two days, during which no acts of hostility were committed on either side; but both parties took care in the mean time to fortify themselves, and make what preparations they could, not knowing how matters might happen.

ON Monday the 9th of September, the Bretons and Burgundians marched into the territories of Clingencourt, Montmatre, la Courtille, and other vineyards about Paris, where they spoiled and destroyed the whole vintage, cutting down all the grapes green as they were, to make wine for present drinking; upon which the Parisians were forced to do the same with all those vineyards that had escaped their fury, though the grapes were scarce half ripe, and it was not the usual season for their vintage; besides, it was the worst year for vines that had been known in France for many years: so that they called the wine of this year's growth by the name of Burgundy.

ABOUT this time several of the nobility of Normandy arrived at Paris to serve the king in his wars, all of which had their quarters assigned them in the Fauxbourg de St. Marcel, amongst whose retinue there were some particular persons who committed great thefts and disorders; two of which were seized by some of the citizens as they were forcing their way into the city, and upon the citizens stopping them, the Normans began to abuse and rail at the citizens, calling them traitors and rebellious Burgundians, vowing to be revenged on them, and telling them that they came from Normandy with no other design but to plunder and destroy the whole city. Of which words a complaint being made and information given by the said citizens to the mayor of Paris, the principal offender, who spoke these dangerous words, was condemned to the ignominious punishment of walking barefoot and bareheaded, with a lighted torch in his hand, through the streets; and in the public market-place before the town-house in this shameful condition, to acknowledge his offence before the town clerk, and to ask the good citizens of Paris pardon and forgiveness for what he had falsely and maliciously spoken, and afterwards to be bored through the tongue and banished the city.

UPON the Monday following the Burgundians came and showed

themselves before Paris, amongst whom was the count de St. Paul; to meet whom the king went out of Paris, and had a conference with him, which lasted two hours; and as a surety for the count's safe return, the king delivered up the count du Maine, who staid in the Burgundian army till the return of the count de St. Paul.

AND on the same day a great council was held in the exchequer chamber, at which, amongst the other officers and magistrates of that court, the sixteen Quarteniers, the Cinquanteniers, and some of the counsellors belonging to the court of parliament, were present; to whom, by the king's order, Morvillier chancellor of France made a speech, in which he acquainted them how honourably his majesty had acquitted himself towards the princes; and what generous offers he had made them upon their demanding the dutchy of Guienne, Poitou, with the country of Saintonge, or the dutchy of Normandy, as an appennage for the duke of Berry. He further told them, that the king's council, who were there present, had informed the princes that it was not in his majesty's power to give away or dismember any thing belonging to the crown; and that since he was pleased to offer the countries of Champagne and Brie, reserving only to himself Meaux, Monstereau, and Meleun, in lieu of the said appennage, they were of opinion, that the duke of Berry ought not in reason and honour to refuse it. After this, the assembly broke up, and all hopes of an accommodation having vanished, the young seneschal of Normandy was ordered out with six hundred horse to skirmish with the Bretons and Burgundians, who were drawn up in order of battle on the other side of the Seine, and firing upon them, killed a gentleman of Poitou, belonging to M. Panthieu's regiment, called John Canreau, lord de Pampelie.

[Quarteniers are civil officers, having the same power and authority in Paris, as an alderman has in London, there being one to every ward.—Cinquanteniers are certain officers or magistrates in Paris, somewhat like our aldermen's deputies in London.]

ON the Saturday following, at the break of day, one Lewis Sorbier, whom marshal Joachim Rouault had left in Pontoise as his lieutenant, basely and treacherously betrayed his trust; and suffered the Bretons and other troops belonging to the enemy, to possess themselves of the town, having agreed with them beforehand, that whoever of the marshal Joachim's regiment refused to enter into their service, should have the liberty of marching out with their bag and baggage, without being examined or molested. And as soon as he had delivered up Pontoise into the enemy's hands, he marched with some of his confederates to Meulanc; where, not be-

lieving that his treason was already known, he thought that by shewing marshal Joachim's colours to have got an easy admittance; but upon his arrival at the gates, the inhabitants of Meulanc, who had been informed of his treachery and were in arms upon the walls, cried out—"Begone vile and despicable traitor," and fired their cannon upon him and his party, which obliged him to retire with the utmost shame and confusion to Pontoise; and on Sunday by break of day the enemy alarmed the city on the side of St. Anthony's gate, a body of them penetrating as far as St. Anthoine des Champs; in order to dislodge them several cannon, field-pieces, and culverins were fired, but there were no sallies made.

ABOUT this time also the Bretons and Burgundians, who lay before Paris, made songs, ballads, lampoons, and other scandalous verses upon some of the chief officers of the court, which set the king so against them, that he turned them out of their places. Neither did the king's own soldiers, who were quartered in Paris, behave themselves much better; but spent their time in all manner of lewdness, debauching and seducing the hearts of several wives, maids, and widows, who left their children, husbands, and places, to follow and live with them.

IN the evening M. Balüe bishop of Evreux, was set upon by some people that owed him a spite, in the street de la Barre du Bec, who at the first stroke beat the two torches that were carried before him out of the servant's hands, and afterwards they came up to the bishop, who being mounted on a stout mule, carried him off cleverly to his own Hotel in the cloister of Notre-Dame; by which means he saved his life, for his servants who were afraid of being knocked down, had quite forsaken him; however, before he made his escape, he received two wounds, one on his head, and another in one of his fingers. The king was extremely concerned at this accident, and ordered a strict inquiry to be made after the assassins, but they were never discovered.

ON the Thursday following, there was a great complaint made in the town-house by some of the citizens against the soldiers, for having spoken and published certain words and speeches of a dangerous consequence to the inhabitants. Among other things they boldly affirmed, that neither the city of Paris, nor any thing in it, belonged to the inhabitants, but to them who were quartered in it; that they would have the citizens know that the keys of their houses were at the soldiers' disposal; that they would turn out the present possessors and live in them themselves; and in short, if the

citizens pretended to make resistance, they should find to their sorrow they were able to conquer them. And the very same day a foolish Norman said openly at St. Denys's gate, that the Parisians were very weak to think that chaining up their streets would signify any thing against the forces of their country. A report of these dangerous and insolent words being made to some of the officers at the town-house, they immediately issued out an order commanding several streets to be chained up, and that every Quartenier of Paris should cause great fires to be made in every ward under his jurisdiction, and that one of them should be in arms on the watch before the town-house all night, which was accordingly done. And that very night there was a great rumour that the gate of the Bastile St. Anthoine was left open on purpose to let the Bretons and the Burgundians into the town; and to confirm it the more, several cannon were found spiked up and rendered unfit for service.

ON the Friday following two pursuivants at arms arrived at Paris; one was dispatched from Gisors to acquaint the king of the weak condition of that place, which was wholly unprovided with every thing necessary for its defence, and to let his majesty know, that if he did not send them a speedy supply of men, arms, ammunition, and provisions, they must be forced to surrender to a body of six hundred horse that lay before the town. The other pursuivant was sent by one Hugh des Vignes, a man at arms belonging to M. de la Barde's regiment, and who at that time was at Meulanc, to inform the king that he was assured from very good hands, that the Bretons had a design of surprising Rouen as they did Pontoise, if they were not prevented. And on the same day the ambassadors that were chosen on both sides dined together at St. Anthoine des Champs, without Paris; and on the next day, the said ambassadors were again assembled, but in two distinct parties, that is to say, the duke du Maine, and those of his party who were for the king, with the rest of the lords and princes, were all of them together at the Grange-aux-Merciers. There were also several others nominated by the king, who were at St. Anthoine des Champs, but notwithstanding this meeting, very little business was dispatched this day.

IN the afternoon the king received letters from the widow of the late Peter de Brezè, by which she informed his majesty of her having caused the lord Broquemont, captain of the palace of Rouen, to be apprehended, upon suspicion of not being well affected to his government, and having a design to deliver it up to the Bretons;

but that he should not give himself the least pain about Rouen, for he would certainly find all the citizens hearty and true to his interest. The same day in the afternoon, arrived the unwelcome news of the taking of Rouen by the duke of Bourbon, who entered the town by the castle of Rouen, which was the weakest side, and lay towards the fields.

AS soon as the princes that lay before Paris heard of the taking of Rouen, they sent to acquaint the king, that his brother the duke of Berry, who was before contented with Champagne and Brie, would accept of no other appennage than the dutchy of Normandy; so that the king was forced, notwithstanding the former agreement, to give the duke of Berry the dutchy of Normandy, and reserve for himself that of Berry. And the count de Charolois had for his share the towns of Peronne, Royes, and Mondidier, for him and his heirs for ever; besides, the king gave him during his life, all the lands and towns that were lately redeemed for four hundred thousand crowns, and had been pawned to his father Philip duke of Burgundy, to which he added the countries of Guienne and Boulogne, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs for ever. He also gave to the duke of Calabria, a great sum of money, and lent him a certain number of troops which were to be paid by the king, and to be employed wherever the duke of Calabria thought fit. The duke of Bourbon was to have the same pension, and the same quota of troops allowed him that he formerly had in the reign of the late king Charles, besides the remainder of his wife's marriage dowry, which was left unpaid; and this was all he demanded. The count de St. Paul was restored to all his places that had been taken from him during this unhappy rupture between the king and princes, and a considerable pension settled upon him for life. The count de Dampmartin was also restored to all his lands and possessions that were confiscated by a decree in parliament, and had considerable presents made him by the king. As for the other lords, they had every one of them a large share, and departed well satisfied with what they had got.

AND on Tuesday the first of October a peace was proclaimed between the king and the princes; and that day the count de St. Paul came to Paris, and having dined with the king, was conducted into the town-house, where he was created constable of France and took the oaths accordingly. And on the same day the king ordered a proclamation to be issued, by which free leave was granted to all the inhabitants to supply and furnish the Bretons and Burgundians with whatever necessaries they wanted; upon which

proclamation several merchants of Paris immediately sent a great quantity of all sorts of provisions into the fields before St. Anthony's gate, which was quickly bought up, especially the wine and the bread, by the whole army, who instantly repaired thither half starved, and in a miserable condition, with their thin lank cheeks overgrown with hair, and full of lice and nastiness; and the greatest part of them without stockings or shoes. But every one will be amazed at the inconceivable strength and the richness of Paris, which was able to maintain four hundred thousand horse, including the Burgundians, Bretons, Calabrians, Picardians, and the rest of the forces of the enemy for a long time, and plentifully to supply them, without raising the price of any sort of food; nay, immediately after the enemy had left it, things were sold cheaper than before; and the whole of Thursday following was spent in victualing the Burgundian camp. The same day the king went to make a private visit to the count de Charolois near Conflans, which was looked upon by all persons that had a respect and concern for his majesty, as a very indiscreet action; nay, the very Picardians themselves, and the rest of the army could not forbear reflecting upon him, and breaking their jests upon the Parisians after this manner—"Here, take your king, who has at last submitted to the count de Charolois, and meanly condescended to visit him in private; in a little time we shall have him at our command."

ON Friday the 4th of the same month, the king gave orders for the admittance of the Burgundians into the city through St. Anthony's gate, who, upon that permission, came in large bodies, and committed several riots and disorders, which certainly they would never have done, had they not been encouraged by the king's late condescension in visiting the count de Charolois in so private a manner.

ON the Sunday following several men of quality, and officers of the army, came and supped with the king at Paris in an hotel belonging to M. John Lullier the town clerk, at which entertainment several ladies of quality and distinction were also present.

AND in this month of October a detachment of the count de Charolois's troops came before Beauvois and summoned the town to surrender; upon which the inhabitants set down the summons in writing, and sent it to the king, who immediately sent it to the count de Charolois, with whom he had lately concluded a peace. The count de Charolois sent back word to the king, that he knew nothing of the summons; and that whosoever had done it, did it

without his knowledge or order. The king returned a very civil answer to the count de Charolois, and told him that it was not a fair way of proceeding: that for the future, in pursuance of the articles of peace that was lately concluded between them, he must forbear committing such acts of hostility; and that if he had a mind to Beauvois he should have it.

ON the Thursday following, several waggon loads of gold and silver for the payment of the troops of the count de Charolois arrived in the Burgundian camp, under a strong convoy both of horse and foot, commanded by the lord de Saveuses; and on the same day the duke of Bretagne and the king came to an agreement in relation to the affair that was between them; by which compact the king was obliged to restore the county of Montfort and several others, besides a vast sum of money to pay that very army, which he, in conjunction with the rest of the princes, had raised to invade the king's dominions. The next day M. John le Boulengier president of the court of parliament, was sent by the king's order to the town-house to acquaint the mayor and aldermen of Paris that the Burgundians had a design to review their army that day before the city gates, and to desire them to acquaint the common people with it, lest they should be surprised and astonished to see them thus drawn up against the town. But after all, the review was not made in sight of Paris that day, but from Pont de Charenton to Bois de Vincennes, whither the king, attended only by the count de Charolois, the duke of Calabria, and the count de St. Paul, very imprudently went to see the review. As soon as the review was over, the king came back by water to Paris, and the count de Charolois, upon his taking leave of his Majesty, in the presence of those lords that attended the king thither, made the following acknowledgment in these words— "My lords, you and I are subjects to the king here present, our lord and sovereign, and ought to serve him whenever he pleases to command us."

NOT long before this, the king had received a private information of a design formed by some of his enemies, either to kill him or seize upon his person; upon which he immediately ordered his guards to be doubled, great fires to be made every night in the streets, the number of the watch to be augmented, as well upon the walls as in the streets, and took all the care imaginable to prevent their designs, and secure his own person: upon hearing of the surrender of Caen, and several other towns in Normandy, he immediately reinforced the garrison of Mantes with a considerable body of men at arms and frank-archers.

ON Tuesday the 22d of October the king made a private visit to the princes at the Grange-aux-Merciers, where all but the duke of Berry were met together, and the next day the duke of Bourbon had a long conference with the king in a place without the gates of Paris on this side of the ditch of the Grange de Ruilly.

ON the Saturday following the count de Charolois with a small detachment left the army, having first caused an order to be published in his camp, by which all soldiers were obliged, under pain of death, to hold themselves in readiness to march against the Liegeois, who with fire and sword had invaded his territories. Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the duke de Berry lay ill of a fever at St. Maur-des-Fossez, but being pretty well recovered of his illness by Wednesday the 30th of October, and able to go abroad, he went to wait upon the king at Bois de Vincennes, where he did homage to him for the dutchy of Normandy, which the king gave him for his appennage: on the same day the articles of peace between the king and the princes were read and published in the court of parliament, and ordered to be registered there.

AND on the Thursday following the duke of Berry, the count de Charolois, and the rest of the princes separated, and went different ways. The duke of Berry, whom the king waited on some part of the way to Pontoise, went into Normandy; and afterwards the king and the count de Charolois retired to Villiers-le-Bel, where they staid two or three days, and from thence the count marched with all speed through Picardy to make war upon the Liegeois.

ON the Monday following M. Robert Destouteville lord of Beine, who was mayor of Paris in the reign of the late king Charles, and had been displaced by the king upon his accession to the crown, was restored to his former office which had been given to James de Villiers lord of Lisle Adam; and that day he sat in the town-house as mayor, and dispatched a great deal of the king's business.

ON Thursday November 7, 1465, M. Robert Destouteville was conducted to the Chastellet of Paris by M. Charles de Meleun and M. John Dauvet first president of the parliament of Toulouse, whom the king had acquainted with the said Robert Destouteville's having taken the oaths already as mayor of Paris in the room of James de Villiers, whom, upon his first accession to the crown, he had advanced to that office. And after the letters patents by which the king appointed and constituted the said Robert Destouteville mayor of Paris were read, he was immediately

put into possesion of his office, without giving the said Villiers any time to lodge an appeal against him.

ON Saturday the 9th of November M. Peter Morvillier chancellor of France resigned the seals, and was succeeded in the chancellorship by Juvenal des Ursins, who was in the same post at the death of the late king Charles VII.

ABOUT this time also, the king made several alterations and promotions in his court; amongst the rest, he turned M. Peter Puy out of his office of master of the requests, and gave it to M. Regnault des Dormans.

AFTER the settling of this affair, the king went to Orleans, and took with him Arnold Lullier banker and citizen of Paris, whom he commanded to attend him during his stay there; he also carried along with him M. John Longuejoye the younger, who was newly married to madam Genevre daughter of M. John Baillet, and made him one of his counsellors of state. Before he left Paris he made M. Charles d'Orgement lord of Mery, treasurer of France; Arnold Lullier, treasurer of Carcassone; and M. Peter Ferteil, comptroller of his household.

THE king, during his stay at Orleans, made several acts, laws, and ordinances; turned out several officers of the army, and gave their commissions to others. Amongst the rest he took away the command of a hundred lancers from Poncet de Riviere, and made him bailiff of Mont Ferrant; upon which in a disgust he went beyond sea, and visited Jerusalem, and the holy hill of St. Catharine. Several other officers had their commissions taken from them, and given to others that did not so well deserve them. The king also restored monsieur de Loheac marshal of France to all his former places in the government, some of which had been given to the count de Cominges bastard of Armaignac; and after he had settled these regulations, he leaves Orleans, and marches with his whole army and artillery directly into Normandy towards Argenton, Exmes, Falaise, Caen, and other places; in order to reduce them to his obedience, where he found the duke of Bretagne, who staid there some time with his majesty.

A LITTLE after this, the duke of Berry went from Rouen to Louviers, thinking to find the duke of Bourbon there; but being disappointed of meeting him, he immediately came back again. Upon his return to Rouen, he was with great pomp and ceremony conduct-

ed into the town-house by the magistrates of the city, who, according to the usual custom of the place, acknowledged him for their duke by putting a ring on his finger; afterwards he took an oath to maintain and support them in their privileges and franchises, and immediately remitted them half the taxes they formerly used to pay. This act of generosity won the hearts of the whole city, and so firmly united them to his interest, that the nobility, gentry, clergy, and the common people vowed to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his service, and to remain faithful and loyal subjects for ever. And afterwards they presented him an old book of records that was in the town-house, and made him read an article in it aloud before all the people, which gave an account of a king of France heretofore, who at his death left two sons, the eldest of whom succeeded his father, and the youngest had the dutchy of Normandy for his appennage; how that the elder brother, as soon as he was settled in his kingdom, demanded the restitution of the said dutchy, and being denied, how he made war on his younger brother, and thought to have taken it from him by force, but his subjects unanimously joining with him, they dethroned his brother the king of France, and set up their duke for king. After he had done reading, they boldly told him, they feared nothing; that their fortifications were strong and in good repair; that they had great store of cannon, arms, ammunition and provisions, and could upon occasion make a brave defence, assuring him they would one and all to a man stand by him and defend him, themselves, and the town, against any opposers whatever.

ON the 30th of December of the same year, the king in his return from lower Normandy arrived at Pont Audemer, and from thence marched into the county of Neufbourg, from whence he detached the duke of Bourbon with a body of forces to summon Louviers, which surrendered the Wednesday following, and the duke of Bourbon took possession of it for the king, into which his Majesty made a public entry the same day after dinner. From Louviers the king marched to a town called du Pont des Archers, about four leagues from Rouen, which he formerly besieged.

ON Monday January 6, 1466, a proclamation was issued at Paris, commanding all the suttlers that were used to supply the army with provisions, to repair immediately to the camp before du Pont des Archers, and all the prisoners were ordered to be ready by the next morning to set out for the same place under the command of M. Denis, one of the four aldermen of the city, who was appointed to take care of them.

ON the Wednesday following the king entered du Pont des Archers, and M. John Hebert with several others who were in the town, retired to the castle, which three days after was also surrendered to the king. After the surrender of the town and castle, the citizens of Rouen sent deputies to treat for an accommodation, who highly complained of the dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne. And amongst other requests and remonstrances that the said deputies were ordered to make to the king, one was that his majesty would be pleased to be reconciled to them, notwithstanding what they had done; that he would openly declare that they had not been wanting in their duty, nor acted contrary to his interest, and that he would grant them the same privileges and immunities he had granted his good city of Paris; to which his majesty answered, he would consult his council about it.

WHILST this affair was still in agitation, several of the king's party had free admittance into Rouen, and conversed familiarly with the citizens; in the mean time the duke of Berry and several of his adherents retired to Honfleur and Caen, where they staid for some time. During these transactions, M. John de Lorrain thought to have made his escape into Flanders, but was taken and brought before the king, who disposed of most of the offices belonging to the dutchy of Normandy, putting in new officers and turning out the old ones. And after the duke of Berry's leaving Rouen, the city was reduced to the king's obedience; upon which the king dismissed all his frank-archers from his service until the first of March following; sent all his artillery to Paris, and retired to Mount St. Michael in lower Normandy. About that time the king gave the command of a hundred lancers, which belonged to M. Charles de Meleun, to the count de Dampmartin who was with him, and not long after deprived him of his office of high steward of his household and gave it to M. de Craon; however, several people thought that M. Charles de Meleun had done the king signal services, and been very faithful to him, especially in his great care and defence of Paris in the king's absence in Bourbonnois; which he managed and regulated so well, that many sincerely believe, that the preservation of that city and the whole kingdom is in some measure owing to his conduct and vigilance in that affair.

ABOUT that time the king commanded Chaumont upon the Loire, belonging to M. Peter d'Amboise lord of the same place, to be burnt, which was accordingly done.

ON Monday the 3d of Frebruary, one Gauvain Manniel lieutenant-

general of the bailiwick of Rouen, was taken in the city and carried prisoner to Pont des Archers, and there, upon a scaffold erected near the town bridge, was beheaded by the provost marshal for high treason, his head fixed upon a lance on the same bridge, and his body thrown into the river Seine. Just after this, the dean of Rouen and six canons were banished the city, and expelled the dutchy of Normandy.

AFTER this the king went to Orleans, where he staid a considerable time with the queen; and then retired to Jargeau, and the neighbourhood of that place, where ambassadors from several potentates upon different affairs came to wait on his majesty; and about that time he resolved to send an embassy to the king of England, and accordingly the count de Rousillon bastard of Bourbon and admiral of France, the lord de la Barde, the bishop and duke of Langres, M. John de Pompaincourt, and M. Oliver le Roye one of the counsellors of the exchequer, were chosen to go on that embassy, and they set out for England in April 1466.

ON Saturday, Whitsun-eve, an order was published by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of Paris by the command of the constable of France, in which order was inserted the royal mandate he had newly received from the king; the substance of which was, that the king having received certain advice that the English, his ancient enemies, had a design to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army, and for that descent were fitting out a strong squadron of men of war, was resolved to make what preparations he could to oppose and defeat their designs; and therefore had given full power and command to his constable of France to make proclamation of it in all the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets of the kingdom; in order that all the nobility and gentry holding any lands by homage or fealty of the crown, not excepting the frank-archers, should be ready in arms by the 15th of June following, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods.

AT the same time a peace was concluded with the English both by sea and land, which was publicly proclaimed; and about that time also the duke du Maine was for some secret reason turned out of his government of Languedoc by the king, which was given to the duke of Bourbon.

AFTER the consummation of marriage between the admiral of France and the king's natural daughter, the king gave the said admiral the castle of Usson in Auvergne, which was looked upon

to be the strongest place in the whole kingdom, with the government of Honfleur and several other places in Normandy.

IN July several prelates, lords, churchmen, and counsellors, that the king had sent for to make some new regulations in all the courts of justice, and to reform some abuses, arrived at Paris; to whom the king gave full power and authority, and by virtue of the same he nominated and appointed one-and-twenty commissioners, of which M. Charles d'Orleans count de Dunois and Longueville was chief and first commissioner; and even these commissioners had no powers of acting, unless thirteen of them, besides their president, the count de Dunois and Longueville, were assembled together; and in pursuance of the commission that had been granted them, they began their sittings on Tuesday the 16th, and were called by the people the "Reformers of the Nation. This was just a year since the battle between the king and the count de Charolois at Mont l'Hery.

ABOUT this time a war broke out between the Leigeois and the duke of Burgundy, upon which he immediately took the field with his whole army, and being a little indisposed, was carried in a litter, commanding his son the count de Charolois, with all the nobles and officers that were with him, to march forward with a strong detachment to invest Dinant, and leave him to come up with the rest of the army. Upon his arrival, the town was formally besieged; which occasioned several sallies and bloody actions on both sides, much to the disadvantage of the Burgundians in the beginning of the siege; but at last, whether by force of arms or treason, the town was taken by the Burgundians, who, only reserving a few of the chief citizens whom they made prisoners of war, turned out men, women, and children, and gave it up to be plundered by their soldiers. Nor were they contented with this; they set fire to the churches and houses, and having burnt and consumed every thing they could lay their hands on, they ordered the walls to be demolished, and the fortifications to be blown up; by which means the poor inhabitants were reduced to extreme want and necessity, and abundance of young women were forced to betake themselves to a vile and shameful way of living.

IN August and September in the same year, the heats were so violent as to breed the plague and several other contagious distempers in France; which swept away in a little space of time above forty thousand people in Paris and the neighbouring towns. Some persons of note and learning died also of it, amongst whom were

reckoned M. Arnoul the king's astrologer, a very worthy, learned, and facetious person; several eminent physicians; and abundance of officers belonging to the city.

DURING the plague, the king and his council staid at Orleans, Chartres, Bourges, Mehun, and Amboise; and during his abode in that neighbourhood, he received several embassies from foreign princes and states, especially from England and Burgundy: and it was there he declared in council his resolution of making war upon the duke of Burgundy, and his son the count de Charolois; on which the Ban and Arriere-Ban were ordered to be raised, and a large augmentation to be made to the body of frank-archers.

AFTER this affair was dispatched, the king made several new ordinances and establishments for the better defence of his kingdom, and the garrisoned towns in it; and accordingly he made the marshal de Loheac his lieutenant of Paris and the Isle of France; M. de Geilon had the government of Champagne, and the government of Normandy was given to the count de St. Paul constable of France, who formerly was the king's enemy, and had joined with the duke of Burgundy and the count de Charolois.

SOME time after this, in February 1467, an ambassador from Bretagne arrived at Paris, who, after he had had audience of the king, set out for Flanders to wait on the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Charolois his son. The many civilities that the king shewed this ambassador, made some persons of note imagine that the affair between the king and his brother was amicably adjusted, at which they were extremely glad.

IMMEDIATELY after this the king set out from Paris in order to visit Rouen, and several other places in Normandy; and during his stay at Rouen, he sent for the earl of Warwick out of England, and went by water, attended by several of his nobility, as far as Bouille, to meet him, which was situated on the Seine, about four leagues from Rouen. He arrived there on the 7th of June about dinner time, where he found a magnificent entertainment prepared for him and his nobility; and after dinner the earl of Warwick came to pay his compliment to the king, after which he went to Rouen by water, and the king and his nobility by land. The magistrates of Rouen in their formalities were ordered to go out and meet the earl of Warwick, and receive him upon his landing at the key-gate of St. Eloy, with abundance of pomp and ceremony, bearing before him crosses, banners, holy water bottles, and the relics

of several saints, attended by the priests in their copes; and after this manner he was conducted to the church of Notre-Dame, where he made his offering, and from thence to a magnificent apartment prepared for him in one of the religious houses. Soon after this the queen and young princesses came to Rouen, and the king staid there with the earl of Warwick about a fortnight, after which the earl took leave of his majesty, and returned to England, accompanied by the admiral of France, the bishop of Laon, M. John de Pompaincourt, M. Olivier le Roux, and several others, whom the king had ordered to wait upon him thither.

THE king presented the earl of Warwick during his stay at Rouen with several valuable and rich presents; amongst the rest, a piece of gold plate, and a large gold cup set with precious stones. The duke of Bourbon also presented him with a fine diamond, and several other thing's of value; besides, he and his whole retinue had all their expenses borne by the king from their first landing in France, to their re-embarking for England. After the earl's departure the king returned from Rouen to Chartres, where he staid some time; and in this month died Philip duke of Burgundy, and his body was carried with great solemnity to Dijon, and interred in the church of the Carthusians.

IMMEDIATELY after this, the king ordered a proclamation to be published, by which, in order to repeople his good city of Paris, that had been greatly diminished by war, sickness, and other misfortunes, his majesty gave leave to strangers of all nations, of what crimes soever they had been guilty, except high treason, to come and settle in the city, suburbs, or precincts thereof; promising to grant them the same privileges as his own subjects, and to defend and protect them, even not excepting those that had been banished to St. Malo and Valenciennes. At the same time also by sound of trumpet was published an order, commanding all the nobles and gentry holding any lands or tenures by homage or fealty, even not excepting those of the Isle of France, as well in Paris as elsewhere to be ready in arms by the 15th of August.

ABOUT this time the admiral of France and those that were ordered by the king to wait on the earl of Warwick into England returned, where they had staid a long while without doing any thing, and brought with them some hunting horns and leathern bottles as a present from the king of England to the king of France, in return for the valuable ones his majesty and the duke of Bourbon had made the earl of Warwck at his departure from Rouen.

And on Friday the 18th of August the king arrived at Paris about nine at night, attended by the duke of Bourbon and several of the nobility.

ON Tuesday the first of September the queen also came from Rouen to Paris by water, and landed at Notre-Dame; where her majesty was received by all the presidents and counsellors of the court of parliament, the bishop of Paris, and several persons of quality in their robes and formalities. There was also a certain number of persons richly dressed to compliment her on the part of the city; and abundance of the chief citizens and counsellors of Paris went by water to meet her majesty in fine gilded boats covered with tapestry and rich silks, in which were placed the queristers of the Holy Chapel, who sung psalms and anthems after a most heavenly and melodious manner. There was also a great number of trumpets, clarions, and other softer instruments of music, which altogether made a most harmonious concert, and began playing when the queen and her maids of honour entered the boat, in which the citizens of Paris presented her majesty with a large stag made in sweet meats: besides a vast quantity of salvers heaped up with spices and various sorts of delicious fruits; roses, violets, and other perfumes being strewed in the boat, and as much wine as every body would drink. After the queen had performed her devotions to the Blessed Virgin, she came back to her boat, and went by water to the Celestins' church gate, where she found abundance more of persons of quality ready to receive her majesty, who immediately upon her landing, with her maids of honour, mounted upon fine easy pads, and rode to the hotel des Tournelles, where the king was at that time, and where she was received with great joy and satisfaction by his majesty and the whole court, and that night there were public rejoicings and bone-fires in Paris, for her majesty's safe arrival.

ON the 14th of September the king, who had ordered the Parisians to make standards, published a proclamation commanding all the inhabitants from sixteen to three score, of what rank or condition soever, to be ready to appear in arms that very day in the fields; and that those who were not able to provide themselves with helmets, brigandines, &c. should come armed with great clubs under pain of death; which orders were punctually obeyed, and the greatest part of the populace appeared in arms ranged under their proper standard or banner, in good order and discipline; amounting to four score thousand men; thirty thousand of which were armed with coats of mail, helmets, and brigandines, and made

a very fine appearance. Never did any city in the world furnish such a vast number of men, for it was computed there were three score and seven banners or standards of tradesmen, without reckoning those of the court of parliament, exchequer, treasury, mint, and Chastellet of Paris, which had under them as many or more soldiers than what belonged to the tradesmen's banners. A prodigious quantity of wine was ordered out of Paris to comfort and refresh this vast body of men, which took up a vast tract of ground; extending themselves from the end of the laystall between St. Anthony's gate and that of the temple as far as the town ditch upwards to the wine press; and from thence along the walls of St. Anthoine des Champs to the Grange de Ruilly; and from thence to Conflans; and from Conflans back again by the Grange-aux-Merciers, all along the river Seine quite to the royal bulwark over against the tower of Billy; and from thence all along the town ditch on the outside of the Bastile and St. Anthony's gate. In short, it was almost incredible to tell what a vast number of people there were in arms before Paris, yet the number of those within was pretty near as great.

ABOUT this time a terrible war broke out between the Liegeois, and the duke of Burgundy and their bishop, cousin to the duke of Burgundy, and brother to the duke of Bourbon; whom they besieged in Huye, and after a long siege took the town, but the bishop made his escape; and towards the latter end of it the king sent four hundred lancers under the command of the count de Dampmartin, Sallezart, Robert de Conychan, and Steuevot de Vignolles, with about six thousand frank-archers, picked and chosen out of Champagne, Soissonnois, and several places in the Isle of France. As soon as the Burgundians heard that the Liegeois had taken Huye they resolved immediately to take the field with their whole army, and to march against them and destroy them with fire and sword, to be revenged of them for the Burgundians they had slain upon their taking the town. Accordingly they declared war against them throughout all their dominions, by the ceremony of a naked sword in one hand, and a burning torch in the other; signifying that this was a war of blood and fire.

ABOUT the same time, the king sent the bishop of Evreux, who was lately made a cardinal at Rome, M. John de Ladrishce treasurer of France, and several others, in an embassy to the count de Charolois, to negotiate some secret affair with that prince.

ON Sunday night about nine, there was such terrible thunder and

lightning as had scarce been known in the memory of man; and during the whole month the heats were so prodigious, that they were looked upon as very strange and unnatural.

ON Thursday the 15th of the same month the king received advice that a great detachment of Bretons had possessed themselves of the town and castle of Caen in Normandy, and from thence marched to Bayeux, which they also surprised, and turning out the garrison put some of their own troops in it. The king was extremely concerned at this news; and immediately sent the marshal de Loheac, who had the command of a hundred lancers of Bretagne, into Normandy, to see how affairs stood there.

ABOUT this time M. Anthony de Chasteauneuf lord of Lau, great butler of France and seneschal of Guienne, great chamberlain to the king, and the most beloved and rewarded of any favourite the king ever had, was by his majesty's order moved from the castle of Sully upon the Loire, where he had been long a prisoner, to the castle of Usson in Auvergne, by M. Tristan l'Hermite the king's provost marshal, and William Cerisay newly chosen register in parliament; and upon this removal, there was a rumonr that he was executed, but it was a false report.

ON Tuesday the 20th day of October the king set out from Paris for Normandy, and lay that night at Villepereux, and the next at Mantes. Before he left Paris, he sent for some of his captains and officers of his army, and ordered them to get the troops that were under their command in readiness to follow him into Normandy, or wherever there should be most occasion for them; and on the same day he published certain letters and ordinances, by which he declared, that it was his royal will and pleasare that for the future all the officers of his kingdom, both civil and military, should continue in their places; and that no place should become vacant but by death, resignation, or forfeiture; resolving to dispose of no places but what became vacant by one of the three abovementioned ways, and therefore it would be in vain for any one to expect or solicit for a post upon any other terms, since he designed to do justice to every one. After this declaration he set out from Mantes for Vernon on the Seine, where he staid some time; during which the constable of France, who came thither to pay his respects to the king, found out an expedient how to conclude a peace between his majesty and the duke of Burgundy for six months from the date of the articles, without including the Liegeois, who were actually in arms against the duke of Burgundy, in hopes of

being assisted by the king as they were promised; but by this treaty they were baulked in their expectations, and left in the lurch. As soon as the treaty was signed and sealed by the king, the constable of France went to wait on the duke of Burgundy to acquaint him with it.

SOON after this, M. John de Balüe bishop of Evreux, M. John Ladrische, and the rest that had been sent into Flanders to negotiate an affair at the duke of Burgundy's court, came to Vernon to give the king an account of their embassy; immediately after which the king left Vernon and came to Chartres, where he staid until the arrival of the greatest part of his artillery from Orleans, which was to be employed in the reduction of Alençon and several other towns in the same province. And afterwards the king sent M. John Prevost into Flanders, with the articles of peace, to the duke of Burgundy.

UPON the 26th the bishop of Evreux, the treasurer de Ladrische, M. John Berart, and M. Jeffery Alnequin arrived at Paris in order to review the banners, and inspect several things that the king had given them in charge. After that the king went from Chartres to Orleans, Clery, and other towns in that neighbourhood; and afterwards to Vendome, from whence he marched with great part of his artillery, and a considerable body of troops, to Mount St. Michael. In the mean time the Bretons with a strong army left their own country, and penetrated into Normandy as far as the city of Orange, and other towns in that province, and also dispersed themselves in small bodies all over Normandy, as far as Caen, Bayeux, Constances, and other places. About the same time the duke of Burgundy taking advantage of the peace that was concluded between him and the king, in which the Liegeois were excluded, marches against them with his whole army, and lays siege to their capital city, who being baulked in their expectation of those succours that the king promised to send them, and seeing their ruin near at hand, were at last forced to surrender all their towns to the count de Charolois, besides giving him a vast sum of money and consenting to have their gates pulled down, and part of their walls demolished.

ON the 22d of November, the bishop of Evreux and the rest of the commissioners appointed for that purpose, reviewed the bands of the tradesmen as they were drawn up and ranged under their respective banners, in several places in the city. And the very same day the king commanded a proclamation to be issued out, com-

manding all persons that used to serve in the wars, to repair forthwith to certain commissaries appointed to receive and give them pay. And the next day M. John Prevost returned from the duke of Burgundy's court, whither the king had sent him with the articles of peace, and brought his majesty back the answer the count de Charolois had given him in relation to that affair. On Thursday the 16th of November there was another review made of all the banners without the gates of Paris. As soon as the review was over, the bishop of Evreux and the rest of the commissioners, with M. John de Ladrische treasurer of France, M. Peter l'Orfeure, lord Dermenonville, and several of the king's officers set out from Paris to wait upon the king who was between Mans and Alençon with a prodigious army consisting of a hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, in order to oppose the Bretons; upon which his majesty ordered the greatest part of his artillery to be brought up, to be employed in the siege of Alençon.

DURING these transactions there were some overtures of peace which hindered the king from entering upon action; and so by consequence his army was forced to destroy and eat up all the flat country for twenty or thirty leagues round Mans and Alençon. In the mean time the count de Charolois, who had already destroyed the Liegeois, and overrun the country, retired to St. Quintin, and ordered a proclamation to be issued throughout his whole dominions, commanding all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and those forces that were already raised, to repair to St. Quintin by a certain day upon pain of imprisonment, in order to be reviewed by certain commissaries appointed for that purpose. The same proclamation he caused to be published in Burgundy, commanding all his subjects of that dutchy to repair to Montsavion by the 22d of December, as a place of general rendezvous, where several commissaries were also appointed to list and enter them in his service; from whence they were ordered to march and join the forces at St. Quintin, which were to act in conjunction with those of the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, against the king of France. Upon publishing this proclamation, several merchants of Paris that were gone into Burgundy to buy up some commodities, made a quick return, without doing any business; and the count de Charolois ordered all his forces to rendezvous at St. Quintin on the 4th of January following.

ON Innocent's day, which was the 28th of December, the duke of Bourbon who came by the king's order to put strong garrisons into his frontier towns, and to cover his country, that the Bur-

gundians might not penetrate into it, arrived at Paris, and with him the marshal de Loheac, who, according to common report, was to be lieutenant of the city. The duke of Bourbon made some stay at Paris; but the marshal de Loheac set out two days after for Rouen, and several other towns in Normandy, to put them in a posture of defence, according to the king's orders; where he remained a considerable time. The Parisians were extremely civil to the duke of Bourbon, and during his stay there, he was caressed by several of the chief citizens, who made feasts on purpose for him. In the mean time the city of Alençon, which was in the hands of the Bretons, was surrendered to the king by the count du Perche son to the duke of Alençon, who commanded in the castle at the same time that the Bretons were masters of the town. All this time the king did not stir from Mans; and during his stay there, he sent the pope's legate whom we have already mentioned, Anthony de Chabannes, count de Dampmartin, the treasurer Ladrische, and several others on an embassy to the duke of Berry, to offer terms of accommodation; and at last the king consented to the calling the three estates of the kingdom. Tours was the place appointed for their meeting, where, according to order, they were assembled on the first of April 1468; upon which the king left Mans, and came to Montils near Tours, Amboise, and thereabouts.

AS soon as the three estates of the kingdom were assembled, the king came and acquainted them with the occasion of their meeting; and had from time to time several debates and conferences with them concerning the affair between him and his brother the duke of Berry, till the time of their breaking up, which was till Easter day 1468. There were present at this assembly the king, the king of Sicily, the duke of Bourbon, the count du Perche, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the cardinal of Angers, several other lords, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and abundance of other persons of quality and condition; besides several ambassadors from all parts of France. And by this august assembly it was agreed and resolved, after a long and mature deliberation, in order to end the dispute between the king and his brother M. Charles, concerning his appennage, that his majesty should allow him twelve thousand livres a-year in land, with the title of count or duke; and that he should be obliged to give and allow him besides, an annual pension in money of three score thousand livres more, without any prejudice to the rest of his majesty's children, who hereafter might come to the crown, and be required to give the same appennage. To which the king, being extremely desirous to live in perfect peace and union with his brother, at last consented, and

willingly gave him the annual allowance of three score thousand livres, seeing he generously relinquished the dutchy of Normandy, saying, it was not in the king's power to dismember or give away any thing that belonged to the crown. And as for the duke of Bretagne, who had sided with M. Charles and had formerly taken several towns in Normandy, being suspected to hold a correspondence with the English, the ancient enemies of France, it was agreed by the said assembly, that he should be summoned to surrender the towns he was possessed of, and that upon refusal, and the king's having certain advice of his having made an alliance with the English, his majesty should immediately endeavour to recover them by force of arms, and the three estates of the kingdom promised to stand by and support him; the clergy with their prayers and estates, and the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with their estates and persons. And moreover, the king was extremely desirous that justice should be fairly and impartially administered through the whole kingdom; and therefore he proposed to this assembly the chusing some person of honour and quality out of the three estates, to regulate and take care of that matter; and the whole assembly were of opinion, that nobody was so fit to be employed in that office as the count de Charolois, who was a peer of France, and nearly allied to the crown. After this debate was over, the king left Tours, and went to Amboise; and a little after he sent to the assembly then sitting at Cambray, to know how they approved of the resolution that had been taken by the three estates of the kingdom that were convened at Tours, as you have already heard.

AFTER the king had dispatched this affair, he went to Meaux, in Brie, where he ordered a certain person born in Bourbonnois to be beheaded for some crimes he had committed, and amongst the rest for discovering the king's secrets to the English, the ancient enemies of France. Just before this the king was graciously pleased to grant an Act of grace and indemnity; and the prince of Piedmont the duke of Savoy's son was sent to Paris with full power and authority to release all the prisoners out of gaol.

ABOUT the same time the Burgundians or the Bretons, who had invaded Normandy, surprised the Lord de Merville between St. Saviour de Dive and Caen, and made him deliver up his castle into their hands, in which there were a small number of frank-archers. As soon as they had surrendered it, they hanged the Lord de Merville, plundered the castle, and afterwards set fire to it. After this the king left Creil, and went to Compeigne, where

he staid some time, and then returned to Senlis, and from thence the duke of Bourbon went to Paris, where he arrived on the Assumption of our Lady. Some time before this the king had sent M. de Lyon, the constable of France, and several other lords, on an embassy to the duke of Burgundy, to endeavour to adjust the difference between them without coming to an open war, notwithstanding he had already sent an army into Normandy under the command of the admiral of France, who had been so successful as in a month's time to drive the Bretons out of Bayeux. On Saturday the 20th of August 1468, M. Charles de Meleun Lord of Normanville, who had formerly been steward of the king's household, was brought out of the castle of Gaillart, where he had newly been committed prisoner, under the command of the count de Dampmartin, and publicly beheaded in the market-place of Andely; according to the sentence that had been pronounced against him by the provost-marshal. After this the king staid some time at Noyon, Compeigne, Chauny, and other places thereabouts, till the 15th of September, where he received the agreeable news of the duke of Bretagne's and his brother Charles's readiness to consent to the terms of accommodation that his majesty had proposed to them; and that his brother M. Charles was ready to accept of his annual pension of three score thousand livres Tournois, till his appennage could be fully settled by the duke of Calabria and the constable of France, who were the persons he had chosen to settle and manage that affair. The duke of Bretagne on his part offered to surrender the towns he had taken from the king in Normandy, provided his majesty would restore those that his troops were in possession of in Bretagne; to which the king readily consented.

THE king immediately sent an express to the duke of Burgundy, who lay encamped between Esclusiers and Cappy, to acquaint him with this accommodation; but he would give no credit to it, till it was further confirmed by certain advices from the duke of Bretagne and M. Charles; however, he would not retire with his army, but still continued in the same post between Esclusiers and Cappy, behind the river Somme. During his encampment there, several persons of quality were deputed to wait on the duke of Burgundy; amongst whom were the constable of France, the cardinal d'Angers, and M. Peter Doriolle, in hopes of accommodating matters amicably between him and the king, which his majesty was extremely desirous of; but the officers of his army were of another mind, and begged the king would give them leave to attack the duke of Burgundy in his camp, no questioning but that they should defeat him, and oblige him to accept of what terms

his majesty should propose; but the king would not hear of it, and upon pain of death forbid them to attempt any thing against him. And from that time to the 12th of October there was a great discourse of the king's having made a truce with the duke of Burgundy till the April following; and, upon the hopes of that truce, the king resolved to return from Compeigne to Creil and Pontoise, wherefore he sent his harbingers on before to prepare his lodgings, but afterwards he altered his resolutions, and went in great haste from Compeigne to Noyon, where he had been but a little time before. In the mean time, Philip de Savoy, Poncet de Riviere, the lord du Lau, and several others that were confederate with them, did abundance of mischief. And on Saturday, the 8th of October, a proclamation was issued out, commanding all the nobility and gentry, within the precincts of Paris, that held any lands or tenures by homage or fealty of the Crown, to be ready in arms at Gonesse, and to march from thence on the Monday following, wherever they should be commanded; at which several persons in Paris were astonished, believing, by this preparation, that no truce had been made. After this the king left Noyon, and the duke of Burgundy set out from the army for Peronne, whither the king, attended only by the duke of Bourbon, the cardinal d'Angers, and a few of the officers of his household, went immediately to pay the duke of Burgundy a visit, who received him with all the respect and honour imaginable, as in duty he was obliged to do; and after a long conference together, the difference that was between them was amicably adjusted. The duke of Burgundy on his part swore homage to the king, and vowed never to attempt any thing against his majesty for the future; and the king comfirmed and ratified the treaty of Arras, and several other things; upon which a courier was immediately dispatched to acquaint the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with the news of this accommodation, and to order the bishop of Paris to cause a general procession to be made, and Te Deum to be sung in Notre-Dame church, which was accordingly performed; and the night concluded with bonfires, fountains running with wine, and the usual solemnities on such occasions. In the mean time, news came that the Liegeois had taken and killed their bishop and all his officers; at which the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Bourbon, were extremely concerned; and there was a great talk that the king and the duke of Burgundy would go in person to destroy the Liegeois and ruin their country, to be revenged on them for their late barbarous action of murdering their bishop. But immediately the news of the bishop's death was

contradicted; however, the Liegeois obliged him to say mass, and afterwards humbly submitted to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign lord; being willing to put an end to those calamities and misfortunes they had already brought upon themselves.

ABOUT this time the king went to Halle in Germany, where he made but a short stay; during which, at the duke of Burgundy's intercession, he pardoned Philip de Savoy, and the rest of his confederates, and received them again into his favour. From Halle his majesty went to Namur to visit the duke of Burgundy, whom he resolved to accompany to the siege of Liege, and had his quarters assigned him in the suburbs of that city during the whole siege. which lasted some time; and he was attended by the duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, M. de Beaujeu, and the bishop of Liege, who were all brothers. It seems the bishop of Liege was sent out of the town to wait on the duke of Burgundy, in order to make terms of capitulation with him in behalf of the Liegeois, who offered to surrender the town and all that was in it, provided he would spare the lives of the inhabitants; but he would not grant them those conditions, vowing to sacrifice his whole army rather than not force them to surrender at discretion, and ordered the bishop of Liege to be detained, notwithstanding he told him he had solemnly promised the Liegeois to return into the city, and live or die with them, if he could not obtain any honourable conditions for them. As soon as the Liegeois were informed that the duke of Burgundy had detained their bishop against his will, they made several sallies upon the Burgundians and the king's forces, and all they took prisoners they put to death. However, notwithstanding all this, on Sunday the 30th of October the duke of Burgundy ordered his men to prepare for storming the town, which was done the same day; and after little or no resistance, the king, the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, with the lords de Lyon, de Liege, and de Beaujeu, entered it; out of which the greatest part of the inhabitants that were in health had retired just before the last attack, leaving only a few old men, women, children, priests, and nuns; whose throats were all cut by the soldiers, who committed a thousand other barbarous and inhuman actions, such as ravishing the women, and killing them afterwards, defiling of nuns, even in the very churches, and murdering the priests while they were consecrating the host at the altar. And not being satisfied with this scene of blood and horror, they plundered the town, set fire to it, and demolished the walls.

AFTER this action was over, the king returned to Senlis and Com-

peigne; where he ordered the court of parliament, the exchequer, treasurers, and the rest of the civil officers of his kingdom to attend him; and upon their arrival he made several laws and ordinances; and having no design of staying there long, he ordered the cardinal d'Agners to acquaint them with the terms of accommodation between him and the duke of Burgundy, which were specified and contained in two-and-forty articles, which were openly read to them by the said cardinal; who told them, that it was the king's royal will and pleasure that these articles of peace should immediately be ratified and confirmed in parliament, under such penalties as he declared to them. The king having dispatched this affair, drew nearer to Paris, but would not enter the city; however, the duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, M. de Beaujeu, the marquis du Pont, and several other great lords came and staid there some time.

ON Saturday the 19th of November the peace between the king and the duke of Burgundy was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all the public streets of Paris. At the same time there was another proclamation issued out by the king's order, commanding every body for the future not to speak against, or reflect upon, the duke of Burgundy, either by speeches, signs, pictures, libels, or scandalous verses, under very severe penalties, which were explained and specified in the said edict.

IN February the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors arrived at Paris, to hasten the signing the articles of peace that was concluded between the king and him; upon which the king wrote expressly to the mayor and the rest of the civil magistrates of Paris, to treat and entertain them handsomely, and his majesty's orders were punctually obeyed; and the ambassadors were nobly entertained and feasted. In the mean time, the articles of peace we have already mentioned were registered in all the courts of Paris.

IN April 1469, M. John Balüe cardinal of Angers, on whom the king had in a short time conferred vast riches and honours, doing more for him than for any prince of the blood, and whom the pope, by his majesty's recommendation, had advanced to a cardinal's cap, most shamefully betrayed the confidence the king had reposed in him; and having neither God in his thoughts, nor the honour nor interest of the kingdom before his eyes, basely betrayed his majesty into the duke of Burgundy's hands at Peronne; where he advised him to that ignominious peace, which was there concluded between them; and then persuaded him to accompany the duke of Burgundy to the siege of Liege, which had taken

up arms against him purely upon the king's account; so that in short, his majesty's going thither was the chief occasion of the ruin and desolation of the poor Liegeois. But to aggravate the matter, the king, the duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the nobility that attended his majesty, were very near being all killed or taken, which would have been the greatest blow the kingdom of France had ever received since its first establishment. The cardinal not being contented with this piece of villany, immediately contrives how to act a greater; and therefore, upon the king's return to Paris in his way to Tours, he uses his utmost endeavours to induce his majesty to fall out with his good citizens of Paris, who had hitherto expressed so much zeal and loyalty for his person. After this he employed all his cunning arts and stratagems to foment and inflame the difference that was between the king and his brother M. Charles. But finding himself disappointed there, and having certain advice that all matters were amicably adjusted in the late journey the king made to Tours and Angers, and that they were perfectly reconciled to each other, he tries to raise jealousies and misunderstandings between the king and the rest of the nobility, as he had formerly done. And in order to create as much trouble and confusion as possibly he could in the kingdom, he dispatches a certain emissary of his, with letters to the duke of Burgundy, to acquaint him that the peace or agreement that was lately concluded between the king and his brother M. Charles was directly contrary to his interest and advantage, and made on purpose to turn their arms jointly against him; wherefore he advised him to stand upon his guard, and immediately take the field, to prevent their designs. Several other arguments he made use of to induce the duke of Burgundy to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army; but by good fortune his letters were seized and carried to the king, who, upon the discovery of his treacherous designs, immediately ordered him to be sent prisoner to Montbazon, where he was committed to the charge and custody of M. de Torcy and several other officers. After this the king seized upon all his goods, lands, and chattels, of which he ordered an inventory to be made, and also appointed M. Tanneguy du Chastel governor of Rousillon, M. William Cousinot, M. de Torcy, and M. Peter Doriolle, as commissioners to examine him. The king, some time afterwards, disposed of the cardinal's goods as his majesty thought fit; his set of plate was sold, and the money carried into the treasury for the king's use; the fine hangings of his palace were given to the governor of Rousillon; his library to M. Peter Doriolle: a fine piece of cloth of gold, valued at twelve hundred crowns, with a great quantity of sables, and a large piece of scarlet embroider-

ed with gold, was given to M. de Crussol; and his robes, with a little more of his furniture, were sold to pay the clerks and other officers that were employed to take the inventory.

IN the mean time the king and queen of Sicily came to pay a visit to the king at Tours and Amboise, and were nobly and kindly entertained by his majesty. After which, attended by the duke of Bourbon, and several other lords of his kingdom, he made a tour to Niort, Rochelle, and several other places in that neighbourhood; where he met his brother the duke of Guienne, and by the grace of God, and the assistance of the blessed virgin, a firm union and friendship was settled between them, to the great joy and satisfaction of the kingdom; upon which Te Deum was ordered to be sung in Notre-Dame church in Paris, and bonfires and rejoicings were made in all the cities and towns in France; and after that the king came back to Amboise, where he had left the queen, who had been very instrumental in this late reconciliation. Some time afterwards the king resolved in council to attempt the reduction of the earldom of Armaignac, and if the enterprise succeeded, promised to give it to his brother the duke of Guienne; and in order to reduce it to his obedience, he sent a considerable body of forces with some cannon, which were to be followed in case of need by the whole army. After the king had finished his preparations for this expedition, he went to Orleans, where he staid five or six days, and then returned to Amboise again.

ON Saturday the 4th of November 1469 was published, by sound of trumpet in all the streets of Paris, the league offensive and defensive, that was lately concluded between France and Spain, in the presence of both the criminal and civil lieutenants of that city, and the greatest part of the examiners of the Chastellet. And from that time the king, the duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the nobility that attended on his majesty, staid at Amboise and in that neighbourhood till Saturday the 23^{d} of December; upon which day the duke of Guienne, attended by all the nobility of his dutchy, came to wait on the king at his Chateau de Montils near Tours, where his majesty was extremely glad to see him. And as soon as the queen was informed of the duke of Guienne's being there, her majesty immediately left Amboise, and being attended by the dutchess of Bourbon, her maids of honour, and several other ladies of the court, came to pay him a visit, and to feast and entertain him. In the mean time the country of Armaignac was delivered up into the king's hands without any manner of bloodshed; and the king, queen, duke of Guienne, and the dutchess of Bour-

bon, spent their time at the Chateau des Montils in feastings and diversions till Christmas. And after the duke of Guienne had taken his leave of the king and queen, and the whole court, and was set out for his dukedom, the king went back to Rochelle, St. John d'Angeli, and other neighbouring countries, where he called an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, to consult about some important affair, and to appoint new officers in the dutchy of Guienne, who might fairly and impartially administer justice to his subjects. And after the king had settled that affair, he returned to Amboise, where he staid some time; during which he sent his ambassadors to the duke of Bretagne with the order of St. Michael, which he had lately instituted, as he had done to several other lords of his kingdom: but the duke of Bretagne at first refused the honour his majesty designed him, and would not wear it, pretending he could not take the oath belonging to that order, having already accepted of that of the Golden Fleece from the duke of Burgundy, and was become his friend and confederate in arms; at which the king being highly incensed, and not without cause, immediately ordered a considerable body of his men at arms and archers, with some cannon and field pieces, to be ready to march into Bretagne, and lay the country under contribution; but before those forces were ordered to march, the king gave the duke of Bretagne ten days time to consider of it, and to acquaint his majesty with his resolution.

ON Wednesday, the 13th day of February, was published in all the public streets of Paris the king's mandate, by which his majesty acquainted the mayor of Paris, that he had received certain advice from England, that King Edward IV. and the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with whom that king had been at war for some time, were reconciled to each other, and that they had unanimously agreed in parliament to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army; wherefore the king, in order to oppose and prevent their designs, had commanded the Ban and the Arriere-Ban to be raised, and ordered the mayor of Paris forthwith to summon all the nobles and not nobles, all the privileged persons and not privileged persons, within the precincts of that city, holding any lands by homage or fealty of the crown, to be ready in arms on the first of March following, on pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. By the same letters patents, the mayor of Paris and all other officers belonging to the king were forbidden, under the same severe penalties, to admit of any excuse or certificate from any persons whatsoever holding lands or tenures by homage or fealty of the crown; and that

whosoever should refuse to obey the summons, should be looked upon as enemies to the king and government, and be punished as rebels and traitors to their country. On the same day news was brought to Paris that the duke of Burgundy was seen in Ghent with a red cross and garter upon one of his legs, which was the order of Edward IV. king of England; upon which the duke was immediately declared an enemy to the kingdom, and looked upon as an Englishman.

IN May 1470, the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, with their ladies, who had been driven out of England by Edward IV. with a slender retinue and some ships landed at Honfleur and Harfleur in Normandy; where they were kindly received and entertained by the admiral of France, who lodged the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, the count de Vuasonfort, the ladies, and some of the chief of their retinue in his own palace; and took care to have their ships laid up safely in the harbours of Honfleur and Harfleur. A little after the ladies and their attendants removed to Valogne, where fine apartments were prepared for them.

AS soon as the duke of Burgundy had advice of the earl of Warwick's arrival in France, he immediately sent letters to the parliament to let them know he was informed that the king had favourably received and entertained the earl of Warwick in some of his towns in Normandy, which was acting directly contrary to the treaty that was concluded at Peronne between his Majesty and him; and humbly desired the court of parliament that they would make the king sensible of this infringement, and persuaded him not to countenance the earl of Warwick and his party, whom he had declared were enemies to the kingdom; otherwise he should be obliged to seize upon his person wherever he found him, though it was in the very heart of France; however, the earl of Warwick staid at Honfleur till the latter end of June. In the mean time, the king drew his forces out of several garrisons, and ordered them to march into Normandy and Picardy, where they ruined and destroyed all the flat country thereabouts. In the mean time, the king still kept about Tours, Amboise, Vendome, and other places thereabouts; whither the queen of England and her son the prince of Wales, with several of the English nobility, came to wait upon the king; and, after a long conference with his majesty, the English returned to Honfleur, Valogne, St. Lo, and other places in Normandy. During these affairs, the

duke of Burgundy ordered all the effects belonging to the merchants in France, that were in his dominions, to be seized, till some restitution was made to the merchants of his country, from whom the English had taken several ships.

ON Saturday, the last of June 1470, between two and three in the morning, the queen was brought to bed at the castle of Amboise of a prince, who was christened Charles by the Archbishop of Lyons, the prince of Wales, son to the late king of England, Henry VI, standing godfather, and the dutchess of Bourbon godmother. The birth of this prince occasioned great joy at court; Te Deum was ordered to be sung at Paris, and bonfires and rejoicings were made in all the cities and towns in France. And soon after this, the king of Sicily, the duke of Guienne, the duke of Bourbon, the lords de Lyon and Beaujeu, and several others, were sent to Angers, Saumur, and other places thereabouts, to endeavour to accommodate matters between the king and the duke of Bretagne, where they staid some time before they could settle the point; but at last the business was determined to the satisfaction of both of them; upon which the duke of Bretagne sent his ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy to deliver up the treaty of alliance that had been lately made between them; and when they informed him of the duke of Bretagne's reconciliation with the king, he seemed highly displeased and out of patience. In the mean time, while the earl of Warwick, whom we mentioned before, was making all the preparations imaginable in Normandy to return to England, the duke of Burgundy fits out a great fleet, and, having sufficiently victualled and manned it with English, Burgundians, Picardians, and seamen of other nations, he puts to sea; and sailing round by the coast of Normandy, thought to fall in with the earl of Warwick's squadron, near Laire, and fight them; but not finding them there, he dropt anchor, and waited in expectation of them; during which time the king left Amboise, and went a pilgrimage to Mount St. Michael; and, after having performed his devotions there, he returned by Orange, Tombelaine, Constances, Caen, Honfleur, and several other places on the coast of Normandy, where the admiral of France put in to victual his fleet; on which the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and their whole retinue, went on board, together with a few archers and other soldiers that the king had ordered for the safety and defence of their persons. As soon as they were ready to set sail, the poor English, Burgundians, and Picardians, who had lain all this time in expectation of the earl of Warwick's squadron, and had

spent all their provisions, weighed anchor, and sailed home to their duke with hungry stomachs, without doing any thing; at which his highness laughed heartily, though he had no reason for it, having spent a great deal of time and money to no purpose. No sooner was the Burgundian fleet out of sight, but the earl of Warwick, attended as before stated, set sail, and the wind serving, in a little time arrived on the coast of England, and landed in the night at Dartmouth or Plymouth; and immediately upon his landing, he sent a party of his men ten miles up into the country, to seize upon a baron of the kingdom, who little dreamt of that descent, and was sleeping quietly in his bed; but they soon roused him, and giving him but just time to put on his clothes, hurried him away to the earl of Warwick, who ordered him to be beheaded the next morning. After this, he marched from Dartmouth to a neighbouring town, where he was well received, and where he left his artillery and heavy baggage when he went for Normandy. He had scarce been landed three days, and put what forces he had with him into a little order, when three score thousand men in arms came voluntarily in to him, offering to venture their lives and fortunes in his service; whereupon he immediately took the field, and marched directly in search of king Edward, so that it was above a fortnight from the day of his landing, before we could hear any news of him in France. And then the king received certain advice that the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence were in full march with a powerful army in search of king Edward; and that their affairs were in such a prosperous condition, that all the nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of England, but especially the people of London, had forsaken king Edward, and were come in to the earl of Warwick, who had delivered Henry VI. out of the Tower, where he had been long a prisoner, and reinstated him in the possession of his kingdom. Upon which the earl of Warwick was made governor and protector of England under Henry VI. and immediately marched into the city of London, where the citizens feasted and entertained him nobly. After which he released all the French prisoners that were in England, and sent them home without any ransom; but siezed upon all the effects belonging to the duke of Burgundy's subjects. At last, king Edward finding himself abandoned and forsaken by all his subjects, leaves his queen in England, and goes over to his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, with a slender retinue, to solicit troops and money to recover his kingdom.

AFTER this, the king wrote letters to Paris to acquaint them that the queen of England, wife of Henry VI. the prince of Wales,

and his princess daughter to the earl of Warwick, the countess of Warwick her mother, the lady Wiltshire, and several other ladies of the English court, were coming to Paris attended by the counts d'Eu, de Vendome, de Dunois, Monsieur de Chatillon, and several other noblemen and persons of quality; and that it was his majesty's command that the bishop, university, the court of parliament, and the mayor and alderman of Paris in their robes and formalities, should go out and meet them, and compliment the queen of England in his name.

SOON after this, the queen, the dutchess of Bourbon, the maids of honour, and several other ladies of the court came along with his majesty to Paris, where they all staid till the 26th, and then his majesty set out from thence for Senlis, Compeigne, and the neighbourhood of those places, where the greatest part of his army that was to act against the duke of Burgundy lay.

HE ordered a large train of artillery to be brought from Compeigne, Noyon, and elsewhere, both by sea and land, into Picardy and Flanders; and published a proclamation by sound of Trumpet in Paris, commanding all the nobility and frank-archers of the Isle of France to be ready in arms to follow him, and join the rest of the army. During this time great preparations were making at Paris; and a great quantity of cannon, ammunition, and provisions, were getting ready for the army.

ABOUT this time, all the handy-crafts-men in Paris, such as masons, carpenters, joiners, and the like, were pressed by the king's orders; not excepting those belonging to the towns and cities that had lately surrendered to his majesty. The command of this body of workmen was given to M. Henry de la Cloche the king's attorney in the Chastlellet at Paris, who was a loyal subject, and was to lead them to the town of Royes, where they were to be employed in repairing the old fortifications, and in making new ones; and when they had finished their work there, they were employed in doing the same in other towns that had lately submitted to the king, which took up a great deal of time, and kept them employed till Easter-day: at which time the king made a truce for a little while with the duke of Burgundy, who was closely besieged in his park between Bapaume and the city of Amiens by the king's army; and was reduced to so miserable a condition, that had it not been for the truce, both he and his whole army must certainly have perished or surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. Since the beginning of the war to the day

the truce was agreed on, the king's army defeated the Burgundians and the Picardians in several smart engagements, and took a considerable booty from them in the dutchy of Burgundy; not to mention their incursions into the countries of Charolois and Masconnois, where they enriched themselves by the plunder they got, and took a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom were several persons of quality, who paid handsomely for their enlargement; besides a great number killed in several actions that happened between them. Some persons of quality on the king's side would have been prodigious gainers by this war, had not his majesty obliged them upon the treaty to deliver up all they had taken from the enemy; at which abundance of the nobility that had a great respect for the king were highly displeased. During this cessation of arms, the king, the duke of Guienne, and several other lords and men of quality went to Ham, and staid there with the constable of France, who was extremely proud of the honour his majesty did him. During the king's abode at Ham, several ambassadors arrived from the duke of Burgundy, and as many were sent by the king to the duke's camp; but notwithstanding all their embassies forward and backward, it was a long time before they came to any resolution. At last a truce for one year only was agreed upon between the king and the duke of Burgundy; and commissioners were chosen on both sides to accommodate the differences between them, and to terminate the dispute between the soldiers of each side. As soon as this affair was settled, every one retired to his own house, and the towns that had been taken before the treaty were garrisoned by the king's soldiers.

ABOUT that time great quarrels and contests arose in England, between Henry of Lancaster king of England, the prince of Wales his son, the earl of Warwick, and the rest of the lords of the kingdom, who were of king Henry's side against Edward de la March, who had usurped the crown from Henry. This civil war had occasioned already abundance of murder and bloodshed, and was not like to be at an end yet; for in June 1471, the king received certain advice from England, that Edward de la March with a puissant army of English, Easterlings, Picardians, Flemings, and other nations that the duke of Burgundy had sent him, had taken the field, and was going to oppose king Henry's forces, which were commanded by the earl of Warwick, the prince of Wales, and several other lords of that party. In short, the battle was bravely fought, and a vast number of men were killed and wounded on both sides, but at last Edward de la March gained the victory, and king Henry's army, partly by the treachery of the duke of Clarence,

and partly for want of conduct, was entirely defeated. The poor young prince of Wales, who was a lovely youth, was barbarously murdered after the action was over, and the valiant earl of Warwick finding himself betrayed, and scorning to fly, rushed violently into the thickest of his enemies, and was killed upon the spot. Thus died this great man, who was so desirous of serving his king and country, and who had cost king Henry so much money to bring him over and to fix him in his interest.

IN July 1471, died the count d'Eu, a person of great wisdom, honour, and probity, heartily devoted to the interest of his country, and one that faithfully served the king to the utmost of his power. Upon his death, the king took possession of the earldom of Eu, which he gave to the constable of France, which was highly displeasing to his brother the count de Nevers, who thought to have enjoyed that earldom with the rest of his estate after his brother's decease, as being his right and lawful heir.

FROM this month of July to Christmas, nothing of importance happened in the kingdom of France; several conferences indeed there were in the mean time between the commissioners chosen on both sides, to adjust the disputes that were between the king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to settle a firm and lasting peace.

IN the same year the duke of Guienne, after his return from Amiens, began to grow a little dissatisfied with the king; and sent for the count d'Armaignac, whom the king had banished the kingdom at the same time that he deprived him of his earldom. The count immediately upon that summons waits upon the duke of Guienne, who gives him the greatest part of his earldom, against the king's consent and positive commands to the contrary.

IN May the duke of Calabria, nephew to the king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and to whom the king had offered his eldest daughter in marriage, leaves his dutchy of Lorrain, and goes in person to the duke of Burgundy's court, to treat of a marriage with his daughter; which was very strangely and unaccountably done of him, after the honour which the king, who was his sovereign lord, had designed him, to think of marrying the duke of Burgundy's daughter who was only a subject and a vassal to the king. But before this, the duke of Burgundy had often made war in France in favour of the duke of Guienne, pretending his design was to give him his daughter in marriage; but he never intended it, deluding him as he had done others with fair promises and hopes of that match.

ON Thursday the 14th 1472, the king received certain advice from M. Malicorne, a great favourite of the duke of Guienne's, that his master was dead at Bourdeaux. And immediately after, M. de Craon, M. Peter Doriolle general of the finances, M. Oliver le Roux, and the rest of the ambassadors that were sent to the duke of Burgundy returned, and gave the king an account of their negotiation, and the truce which was prolonged till the 15th of June following. However, the duke of Bugundy, notwithstanding the truce, took the field with his army, and fortified his old post between Arras and Bapaume in a place called Hubuterne in Artois.

AFTER this the duke of Burgundy still continued to play his mad pranks; and went on in his old obstinate ways, as he had formerly done. On Tuesday the 11th of June 1472, he sent a great detachment of his forces to summon Nesle, in which there was one named le Petit Picart who commanded five hundred frank-archers of the Isle of France, who refused to obey his summons; and sent him word, that he would defend the town and castle to the last extremity: upon which the Burgundians made several attacks, but were always repulsed by captain Picart and his garrison. The next day about five in the morning the countess of Nesle attended by captain Picart and the chief of the town went out to wait on the bastard of Burgundy who commanded that detachment, in order to capitulate and make some honourable terms for the garrison. At last the bastard of Burgundy agreed to spare their lives, provided they would immediately surrender the town, and march out with leaving their arms, horses, bag and baggage behind; to which they were forced to submit. Upon their return, they acquainted the garrison with what hard terms they must submit to; and accordingly captain Picart having drawn up his men in a body in the market-place, commands them to dismount and lay down their arms, and imprudently delivers up the town to the Burgundians before the articles of capitulation were signed. No sooner were the Burgundians masters of the town, but they immediately fell upon the garrison, who were naked and unarmed, and killed several of them; not sparing even those that fled to the church for protection, without any manner of regard to the common feelings of mankind, or the promise they had made them to spare their lives. Towards the latter end of this barbarous and inhuman action, the bastard of Burgundy entered the church on horse back, which swam in blood, and when he beheld the pavement all strewed with the dead bodies of these poor wretches, he said it was a glorious sight, and was pleased to find he had such good butchers in his company. Neither did his thirst of blood and ven-

geance cease here, for the next day he ordered the captain to be hanged, and the town to be set on fire. After this glorious expedition, they marched the next day, which was Sunday, to Royes, in which there was a strong garrison, consisting of fourteen hundred archers, commanded by Peter Aubert bailiff of Meleun and Nugon. Besides these forces, there were several volunteers and captains of the army; and amongst the rest Loisel de Balagny, governor of Beauvois, M. de Mouy, the lord de Rubemprè, and several others, who had with them about two hundred lancers all well armed and mounted. However, the king had just before caused the old fortifications of the town to be repaired, and new ones to be made, which had added considerable strength to the place, and had provided it with every thing necessary for a long defence; yet they surrendered the town on the 16th of May to the Burgundians, and marched shamefully out, leaving their cannon, horses, arms, bag and baggage behind them, after the king had been at the expense of a hundred thousand crowns of gold in erecting magazines, and putting it into a posture of defence. After the duke of Burgundy had turned out the king's garrison in this naked and miserable condition, he took possession of the town; and after some stay there, he came before Beauvois, which he likewise summoned, and upon their refusing to surrender, he resolved to besiege it; and immediately upon his arrival, which was on Saturday the 27th of June 1472, he commanded his soldiers to storm it on every side; but they were bravely repulsed by the inhabitants of the same place. The very same night William de Valce the seneschal of Normandy's lieutenant, came to their relief with a reinforcement of two hundred lancers, just as the Burgundians were going to make a vigorous attack; upon which they mounted the walls, and repulsed the Burgundians, who little expected so warm a reception. The next day M. de Crussol, Joachim Rouault marshal of France, M. de Bueil, Guerin le Groing, M. de Torcy, and several other noblemen of Normandy, with a strong detachment arrived there also; who behaved themselves handsomely during the whole siege, and gave signal marks of their courage and conduct. The Parisians were serviceable also to the besieged, and constantly supplied them with ammunition and provisions; and during the siege several warm disputes and bloody actions happened between the Burgundians and the king's troops, in which several of the former were killed and wounded.

ON Thursday the 2d of July, the Lord de Rubemprè arrived at Paris from Beauvois, and brought letters from the governor of that place directed to M. Gaucourt, the king's lieutenant of Paris, and to the

mayor and aldermen, in which he acquainted them with the miserable condition that the duke of Burgundy and his whole army was reduced to; that a halfpenny loaf was sold for three pence in their camp; that the duke of Burgundy himself was grown desperate; and was resolved to have the town, though with the loss and ruin of his whole army; and therefore begged of them that they would immediately send him some of their field-pieces, a body of their crossbow-men, and a supply of provisions and ammunition; which were accordingly sent him under a guard of three score crossbow-men of Paris commanded by the bastard Rochouart lord of Meru. And on Thursday the 9th of July, about seven in the morning, the duke of Burgundy began to batter the town wall over against the gate of the hotel de Dieu, with all his great and small cannon; and having made a breach, ordered his men to fill up the ditch with bavins, timber, and hurdles, and to be ready with their scaling ladders; which orders were instantly performed, and a party of Burgundians came with great boldness and resolution, and furiously attacked that part of the wall that was opposite to the hotel de Dieu; but they were warmly received, and repulsed by M. Robert Destouteville lord of Beyne and mayor of Paris who was posted there with some of the king's troops. This attack lasted from seven in the morning till eleven; during which action, the Burgundians had fifteen or sixteen hundred men killed and wounded, and the number would have been greater, and their loss more considerable, had not all the gates facing the Burgundian army been so strongly barricadoed, that in the hurry and confusion of the storming the town, they could not get them open to make a sally and fall upon the enemy at the same time; at which all the noblemen and officers were extremely concerned, for if they could have come handsomely to have engaged them, they would certainly have made a terrible slaughter among them; for at that time the garrison consisted of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, commanded by the count de Dampmartin, Joachim Rouault marshal of France, Sallazart, William de Valce, Mery de Coue, Guerin le Groing, the lords de Beyne and Torcy, and several other experienced officers of note and quality. During the whole action, the besieged lost but four men, and that through their own rashness, as the report goes; neither did the Burgundians, from their first investing of the town to the 9th of July, kill any more than four soldiers with their cannon, notwithstanding their constant firing from their batteries. The next day after this attack, M. Denis Hesselin mayor of Paris sent another body of crossbow-men to Beauvois with arms, ammunition, provisions, and some surgeons to take care of the sick and wounded.

ON Friday the 10th of July, which was the next day after the attack, Sallazart with a brigade of his own regiment, sallies out of Beauvois; and by break of day gets into the Burgundian camp, where they killed all they met with, and burnt three fine tents with all that was in them, in one of which there were two men of quality killed who offered a vast sum of money to save their lives. At last, the whole camp took the alarm, and his soldiers shouting out—"A Sallazart, à Sallazart," made the Burgundians directly run to their arms, and in a moment's time they were ready with a considerable body to oppose him; upon which Sallazart thought fit to retire, which he did in very good order, and brought with him to Beauvois two pieces of cannon, one of which was a fine brass cannon named one of the twelve Peers, that the king lost at the battle of Mont l'Hery, and the rest that they could not bring off they flung into a ditch by the way. Sallazart was closely pursued, and received several wounds; his horse was also wounded in several places of the body; however, he made a shift to carry him to Beauvois, where he dropt down dead immediately upon his arrival there. From that sally to the 21st of July no great action happened on either side.

ON Wednesday, the feast of St. Magdalen, the duke of Burgundy shamefully raised the siege of Beauvois, after having lain twenty days before it, and bombarding it night and day, without doing any considerable damage to the town, or killing many men. Twice in that time indeed, he attempted to storm the place, but was as often repulsed; and in both actions lost a considerable number of men; amongst the rest several persons of note and distinction.—In his retreat he lost the greatest part of his artillery, which the garrison of Amiens, who fell upon his rear, took from him. The duke of Burgundy being disappointed in his design of taking Beauvois, grew desperate; and commanded his army to burn the standing corn, and to destroy and set on fire all the towns and villages through which they marched, in their way to St. Valery near Crotoy, which was immediately surrendered to him, there being but a small garrison in it, and the place itself not being capable of making a long defence against such a powerful army. From thence they marched to Eu, which was also surrendered to him on the same account. On Wednesday the 29th of July, the constable of France with several other officers of the garrison of Beauvois marched out with eight hundred lancers, and took the rout towards Arques and Monstiervillier in the county of Caux, to intercept the Burgundians, who, it was believed, would march that way: and so they did, and encamped between that place, Eu, and Dieppe, near

a village called Ferriers, where they lay a long time without doing any thing, except taking the new castle of Nicourt, which made no resistance. After remaining there three days, upon their retreat, they set fire to the town and castle, which was a thousand pities, for it was a fine town and castle, and capable of being made a place of great strength. After this the duke of Burgundy set fire to Longueville, Fahy, and several other towns and villages in the bailiwick of Caux, and all the mighty actions his army performed from their raising the siege of Beauvois, to the first of December 1472, was only burning and destroying wherever they came. In the mean time the king, who was in Bretagne with an army of fifty thousand men, lay still and did nothing; being wheedled and cajoled by the smooth words and fair promises of the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors, who still flattered him with the hopes of peace; besides, his majesty was tender of the lives of his subjects, and was willing on any reasonable terms to prevent the effusion of christian blood; not delighting in war and slaughter, as the duke of Burgundy did, who had already given a sufficient demonstration of his bloody and revengeful temper, by the many cruel and inhuman actions he had committed, and the barbarities he was daily guilty of. After the duke of Burgundy was returned from Caux, where he had burnt and destroyed every thing, as you have already heard, and had been vigorously repulsed before Arques and Dieppe, he broke up from that country and marched to Rouen, where he met with a warmer reception than he had hitherto found before any town he had already besieged; so that after some time spent in vain, and a number of his men being killed and wounded by frequent sallies, he was at last forced to abandon the siege, and shamefully to march off towards Abbeville; upon which there was a report, that he designed to form the siege of Noyon, whereupon the lord de Crussol and several others of the king's officers were immediately sent thither with a good body of troops to garrison the town; who ordered some new works to be thrown up, on which they planted a fine train of artillery, and supplied it with ammunition, provisions, and whatever else was necessary for the putting the place in a good posture of defence. But after all these preparations, the Burgundians never invested the town; however, it suffered considerably on their account, for the officers were obliged to burn down the suburbs to hinder them from making a lodgement there.

ABOUT this time there was a discourse that the Burgundians were marching towards Lorrain and Barrois; upon which the king sent a detachment of five hundred lancers, with all the nobles of the

Isle of France and Normandy, besides a number of frank-archers under the command of M. de Craon his lieutenant-general, which were quartered in several towns in Champagne, where they lay above two months, and then marched back without doing any thing.

IN the mean time, the duke of Burgundy prevailed with the emperor of Germany to go as far as Luxemburg, and from thence to the city of Mets; to persuade the inhabitants to admit of a Burgundian garrison, but his imperial majesty finding them utterly averse to it, returned to Luxemburg, and from thence to Germany.

ABOUT the same time, the duke of Burgundy sent an agent to Venice to borrow money of the Venetians to pay the six hundred lancers belonging to that state, which he had agreed to take into his service for three months. They were forced to march through the dutchy of Milan, and from thence to upper Burgundy, being too weak to engage the king's army, which was posted on the frontiers of Burgundy, and hindered them from joining the duke of Burgundy's forces any other way.

AT the same time, the king married his eldest daughter, Anne of France, who was offered to the late duke of Calabria, to M. de Beaujeu the duke of Bourbon's brother.

ABOUT this time the duke of Burgundy, partly by treason, and partly by surprise, entered Nivernois, where he took several places from the duke of Nevers, as Roche, Chatillon, &c. At that time also the king's ambassadors that had been assembled before at Senlis, met together at Compeigne, in hopes of finding the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors there according to their appointment, but they did not come; so that after a long stay there to no purpose, the king's ambassadors returned to Paris, and then went back again to Compeigne in January, and staid there till the 5th.

ABOUT the 20th of January 1473, the constable of France, who had turned the lord de Creton and the whole garrison out of St. Quintin, and took possession of it for himself, made his peace with the king, and his majesty was very well reconciled to him; and by the agreement that was concluded between them, the constable was to remain in St. Quintin, and to have Meaux and several other places that the king had taken from him, restored again: commissioners were likewise appointed by the king's order to inquire after those persons that had spoken reflectingly of the constable concerning the seizure of St. Quintin, in order to have them severely

punished; he had also a great sum of money remitted for the payment of his troops, which was stopped immediately after the taking of St. Quintin. About this time the king came from Amboise to Senlis, and staid some time in that neighbourhood; during which the majesty's ambassadors and those of the duke of Burgundy held several conferences; and a truce was agreed upon till the middle of May, in hopes by that time a firm and lasting peace might be concluded between their respective masters.

ON Wednesday, the 20th of April 1474, the king ordered all the officers, citizens, and inhabitants of Paris to be reviewed; which was accordingly done, and they were all in arms, and drawn up in order without the gates of Paris, from the Bastile St. Anthoine all along the town ditch as far as the tower of Billy, and from thence to the Grange-aux-Merciers. On the other side also they were drawn up in the same order of battle, and made a gallant appearance in their red coats with white crosses, and were computed to be in all about four-score thousand men, including those that belonged to the train of artillery, of which there was a great store brought out into the field that day. The king, attended by the count de Dampmartin, (who made a great figure that day), Philip de Savoy, M. du Perche, Sallazart, and several other general officers of the army, with all his guards, was at the review. The king of Arragon's ambassadors were also there to wait upon his majesty, and were surprised to see one city produce such a vast number of men in arms. After the review was over, the king went to Bois de Vincennes to supper, and took the ambassadors along with him; and some time after presented the two chief ones with two gold cups richly embossed, that weighed forty marks of gold, and cost three thousand two hundred crowns, and after that his majesty returned to Senlis, where he staid some time; during which he received two embassies, one from the duke of Bretagne, and the other from the emperor of Germany: the chief ambassador of the last embassy was the duke of Bavaria, and the chief of the first was Philip des Essars, lord of Thieux, the duke of Bretagne's steward of his household, who had formerly declared himself against the king; however, his majesty laying aside all animosities, received him very kindly, gave him a present of ten thousand crowns, and made him inquisitor-general and justice in Eyre of Brie and Champagne, turning M. de Chatillon out of that post on purpose to oblige the said Philip des Essars.

ABOUT the same time of the king's being at Senlis, Ermenonville, and thereabouts; the duke of Burgundy sent his ambassa-

dors to wait on his majesty, who staid there a great while, but did nothing; and presently afterwards the king went to Compeigne, Noyon, and several other places in that neighbourhood, where the constable of France came to wait on the king in order to adjust some difference that was between them. The king and he had an interview in the open field near a certain village thereabouts, and both were attended by a strong guard for the security of their persons. The constable of France having thus made his peace with the king, who generously forgave and pardoned all his rebellious actions, he solemnly swore never to be guilty of the like again, but henceforward to obey and serve the king, as a loyal and dutiful subject ought to do, against all invaders and opposers whatever.

ABOUT this time the king, who had a singular love for his people, and was willing to prevent the effusion of christian blood, prolonged the truce with the duke of Burgundy, his mortal enemy, for another year; and in April 1475, though he had received several embassies from the emperor of Germany, humbly to entreat his majesty not to make any longer truce with him, but that he would give him leave to enter his territories by force of arms, and make him submit to what terms his majesty should offer: promising moreover, that whatever conquests or acquisitions he should make in any of the duke of Burgundy's dominions, should be made over to the king without putting him to the expense of either men or money. But notwithstanding all these advantageous offers, a truce was concluded between the king and the duke of Burgundy, who immediately broke it, and committed several acts of hostility, ruining and destroying abundance of the king's subjects living in those countries that bordered upon his dominions, for which he never made any reparation, and which was looked upon to be a base and audicious action, for a vassal thus to ruin the countries and subjects of his sovereign lord and master.

ABOUT this time the duke of Burgundy, whose restless ambition would not suffer him to sit still, had invaded some part of Germany, and besieged Nuz, a large and strong town, situated upon the Rhine near Cologne, before which place he lay a considerable time with his whole army, and all his artillery. Not long after this, the Burgundians surprised a town in Gastinois called Molins en Gibers, whither his majesty also sent another body of forces with some cannon, in order to retake it. In short, the duke of Burgundy and his allies, notwithstanding the truce, still continued to make incursions into the king's dominions, to seize his towns whenever they had an opportunity, and to ruin and destroy his subjects.

ABOUT this time Edward IV. king of England sent his heralds to the king, to demand the dutchies of Guienne and Normandy, which he claimed as his lawful right; and upon refusal to declare war against him. The king returned a very civil answer, and sent king Edward the finest horse he had in his stable, as a present.

IN February following the Germans, who were besieged in Nuz, by the assistance of the inhabitants of Cologne and some other Germans of the circle of Austria, found out a way to throw some provisions into the town in spite of the duke of Burgundy, who kept it closely besieged, and had caused several large vessels well manned to come up the Rhine in order to intercept the convoy, but to no purpose, for it arrived safe; and his ships, (in which were about six or seven thousand Burgundians, who were all drowned), were sunk or split in pieces; and besides those, a vast number had already been killed before Nuz.

ABOUT the same time the city of Perpignan was surrendered to the king, on condition that the garrison should march out with their arms, horses, bag and baggage, leaving only their artillery, of which they had a very fine train, for the king's use.

ON the 7th of April 1475, the league that was lately concluded between the emperor and the king, was published in Paris; but first of all the king ordered it to be proclaimed before the lodgings of M. du Maine, the duke of Calabria, and the duke of Bretagne's ambassadors. In the same month the king received two embassies, one from the duke of Tuscany, and the other from the emperor of Germany; and the ambassadors were nobly treated and entertained not only by the king, but by all the nobility of the court. In the beginning of May the king attended by the admiral of France, and the other officers of the kingdom, set out from Paris to Vernon on the Seine, whither his majesty went to consult about the military operations of the ensuing campaign, the truce being expired on the last day of April, and from whence he returned to Paris on the 14th of the same month.

ON the feast of the holy cross the king's army invested Mondidier, which had also refused to surrender upon the summons, but afterwards they considered better of it; and finding the king's forces were actually preparing to storm the town, on Friday the 5th of April they beat the chamade, and offered to surrender, provided they might march out, and be safely conducted to the next garrison town belonging to the duke of Burgundy, which was grant-

ed on condition of leaving their horses, arms, bag and baggage behind them; so the king's troops immediately took possession of the town, which they afterwards demolished, as they did Tronquoy.

ON Saturday, the 6th of May, the town of Royes and the castle of Moreul were surrendered to the king upon the same terms. The taking of these towns in so short a time by the king's army, struck such a terror into the duke of Burgundy's subjects, that they either fled before it, or else came in and joined it; so that the king's army being daily augmented by the Burgundian troops that came over to them, all the cities and towns in Burgundy, Flanders, and Picardy, were soon reduced to the king's obedience.

IN July, notwithstanding the news that the constable of France had written to the king, his majesty received advice from the emperor, that he had thrown a fresh supply of troops into Nuz; had taken out all the sick and wounded; and provided the town with provisions and all other necessaries for a year longer; and that an action had happened between his forces and the duke of Burgundy's, in which the latter had lost a great part of his artillery, plate, and money, which had been sent to pay his army. On Tuesday, the 27th of June, the admiral of France, whom the king ordered to march with a body of men into Flanders and Picardy to plunder and destroy the countries with fire and sword, drew near Arras; and having placed his men in an ambuscade, he ordered forty men at arms to advance towards the city gates; upon which part of the garrison of Arras immediately sallied out and attacked them, who according to their orders retired to the place where the rest of their detachment lay in ambush, who all on a sudden fell so furiously upon the Burgundians, that they entirely broke and defeated them, several of whom were killed, and abundance taken prisoners; and among the latter was M. James de St. Paul, governor of Arras, and other persons of note and distinction, whom the admiral of France carried with him when he went to summon the city; and told the inhabitants, that if they would not instantly surrender the town to the king, who was their lawful sovereign, he would certainly behead their governor and the rest of the men of quality he had taken prisoners.

ON Thursday, the 29th of August, the king attended by the duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, and several other persons of quality, besides a vast number of officers of the army, consisting of a hundred thousand horse, marched from Amiens to Picquigny, which was the place that had been appointed for the interview between his ma-

jesty and Edward IV. king of England, who had brought with him his van-guard and his rear, which were drawn up in order of battle near Picquigny. Upon Picquigny bridge the king had ordered two large pent-houses to be erected opposite to each other; one for himself, and the other for the king of England. In the middle between these two pent-houses was built a large wooden grate, somewhat like a lion's cage, about breast high; so that the two king's might lean over it and discourse together. The king of France came first to the grate; upon which an English baron, whom king Edward had commanded to wait there for his majesty's arrival, was dispatched in all haste to acquaint king Edward with it, who lay strongly encamped with twenty thousand English at a place about a league from Picquigny, and who came attended only by twenty men at arms of his guards, who were ordered to stay on the other side of the river, at the foot of the bridge, during the whole conference between the two kings. In the mean time it fell a-raining prodigiously, which did a considerable damage to the housings and furniture that the nobility and officers of the French court had prepared on purpose for this interview, and which were rich and magnificent. As soon as the king of England came within sight of the king, he threw himself upon one knee, and so he did twice before he came up and saluted his majesty, who received him with all the marks of honour and respect imaginable. After some compliments had passed between them, they began to discourse about the affair for which this interview was appointed, in the presence of above a hundred persons, among whom were the duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, several other lords, and all the chief officers of the finances. After they had talked together for about a quarter of an hour, the king ordered every one to withdraw; and the two kings had a private conference together, which lasted a considerable time, and when it was over, the king openly declared that there was a truce concluded between them for seven years, which was to begin from this day, the 29th of August 1475, and end on the same day 1482. This truce, which was soon after proclaimed in Paris, and all other cities and towns of the kingdom, related chiefly to trade and commerce; and by this treaty the English, whether armed or unarmed, provided they were not more than an hundred in one company, were permitted to go and come when and where they pleased, all over the kingdom of France. As soon as this affair was concluded, the king ordered the seventy-five thousand crowns to be remitted to king Edward, made considerable presents to some of the lords that attended on him, and ordered money to be given and distributed among his trumpeters and heralds, who highly extolled the bounty and generosity of the

king. The king of France, besides all this, promised king Edward to pay him fifty thousand crowns of gold yearly, and nobly entertained the duke of Gloucester, the king of England's brother, to whom he also made considerable presents. King Edward immediately ordered all the English that he had sent to reinforce the garrisons of Abbeville, Peronne, and other towns in the duke of Burgundy's possession, to evacuate those places and join the army, with which he marched back to Calais, where he embarked for England. M. Herberge the bishop of Evreux waited on king Edward as far as Calais; where he left two English barons till he had sent the king something out of England that he had promised him. The lord Howard was one of these barons that were left as pledges for the performance of king Edward's promise, and the master of the horse to the king was the other; they were both of them highly valued and esteemed by the king of England, and were very instrumental in concluding the late treaty between the two kings. When the English barons took their leave of the king, his majesty presented them with a set of gold and silver plate, and sent an order to Paris allowing them permission to have what quantity of wine they pleased to carry over with them into England, provided they paid for it.

ON Monday, the 16th day of October 1475, the truce in relation to trade and commerce, that was concluded for nine years between the king and the duke of Burgundy, was solemnly proclaimed by sound of trumpets in all the public streets of Paris, and it was to commence on the 14th of September 1475, and to end on the same day of the month 1482. By this treaty all the subjects of Burgundy were to have full liberty of trading in any part of France, and during the term of nine years to settle and live there if they pleased.

THE duke of Burgundy having promised by his ambassadors in October last, when the truce was concluded between him and the king for nine years, to deliver up the constable of France to his majesty, was now forced, much against his inclination, to do it; and he was accordingly delivered up into the hands of the admiral of France, M. de St. Pierre, M. de Boucage, M. William de Cerisay, and several others, who brought him to Paris, where he was afterwards beheaded on Tuesday the 19th of December 1475, and his goods confiscated to the king.

AFTER the constable of France's death, it plainly appeared that he had been guilty of several notorious crimes; and the whole

course of his villanous and treasonable practices were openly declared in parliament, and all his under-hand dealings and correspondence with the duke of Burgundy were fully discovered. Then we perfectly knew the whole mystery of that affair; and how the duke of Burgundy and he had often endeavoured to corrupt and debauch the duke of Bourbon's principles, and draw him over to their party; and that at last, after many fruitless attempts, how he dispatched a subtle agent of his, named Hector de l'Ecluse, to the duke of Bourbon, to acquaint him that the English had a design to invade France, and that if he would join with them and the duke of Burgundy, he questioned not but to conquer the whole kingdom, and that a great part of it should be annexed to his territories as a reward for his assistance. This was the master-piece of his villany and treason; but it seems the duke of Bourbon had too much honour to hearken to such proposals, told the said Hector de l'Ecluse that he would have no hand in it, and that he had rather be reduced to beggary, than ever consent to the ruin of either the king or kingdom.

IN February 1475, the king, who was at Tours or Amboise, set out from thence for Bourbonnois and Auvergne, from whence he went to Notre-Dame de Puy to perform his devotions, and afterwards into Lionnois and Dauphinè. While the king was at Notre-Dame de Puy, he received an express that brought him the news of the defeat of the duke of Burgundy's army by the Swiss, as he was endeavouring to penetrate into Switzerland, which happened after the following manner. After the taking of Ganson, the duke of Burgundy marched with his army along the lake of Verdun towards Fribourg, and by the way took two small castles situated upon the mountains, just at the entrance of them; but the Swiss, who had intelligence of his approach, and were also informed of his taking Ganson, marched towards him, and on Friday the first of March, towards night, they arrived at the two abovementioned castles, which they immediately invested after such a manner as to prevent the garrisons from making any sallies, and placed about six thousand men with fire-arms in a little copse between the two castles near the place where the duke of Burgundy lay encamped with his whole army. The next day, very early in the morning, as the duke of Burgundy was marching forward with his artillery, bag and baggage, this body of Swiss, upon a signal given them, starts out of the ambush where they had lain all night, and on a sudden made so terrible a fire with their small arms upon the Burgundian van-guard, as killed most of the chief officers, and entirely broke and dispersed them; and not-

withstanding the duke of Burgundy did all he could to rally his men, and make them face the enemy once more, their consternation was so great, that he could not bring them up to stand a second charge; and the Swiss being animated by this success, and eager to improve the advantage they had gained over the enemy, as soon as they had discharged their muskets, fell on sword in hand, and entirely routed the whole army. At last, the duke of Burgundy finding the battle was lost, and that he was in danger of being taken prisoner, in great agony and confusion mounts his horse, and being attended by only four officers of his army, made his escape to Joigne, which was sixteen French leagues from the place where this defeat happened. In this action, which happened on Saturday the second of March 1475, the duke of Burgundy lost the greatest part of the chief officers and men of quality of his army, besides all his artillery, bag and baggage. The Swiss also retook both the castles, and hung up all the Burgundians they found in them. Afterwards they retook the town and castle of Ganson, and ordered the Germans, to the number of five hundred and twelve, that the Burgundians had hanged, to be cut down, and so many of the Burgundians that were in Ganson to be hanged up in the same halters.

IN May 1476, the duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding his defeat near Ganson, was resolved still to push on the war against the Germans, and to besiege Strasburg; but not being in a condition to do it without a fresh supply of men and money, he sends M. William Hugonot, and twelve other deputies, into his own dominions to acquaint his subjects, that though he had been defeated by the Swiss, yet he was resolved to be revenged on them, and to push on the war with greater vigour; and therefore being unable to do it without a great supply of men and money, he commanded all his subjects by these deputies of Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and other towns in Flanders, to exert themselves upon this occasion, and give him the sixth part of their estates, and such a number of men as he should demand. And in order to prevail with them to consent to his demands, he bid the deputies tell them that the Germans were got between him and home, and that without a fresh supply of forces, he could not return into his own dominions. To which remonstrance the inhabitants of the abovementioned towns made answer, that they were resolved to grant no more supplies either of men or money to carry on the war; but that if the German army was too strong for him, and hindered him from coming home, they would venture their lives and all they were worth to bring him safely into his own dominions.

IN the mean time the king staid at Lyons, feasting and enjoying himself; where the king of Sicily his uncle came to wait on him, whom his majesty entertained very nobly, shewed him the diversions of the fair that was kept in that city, and made several balls and entertainments, to which the handsomest ladies of Lyons were always invited on purpose to divert and entertain him.

SOME time after this the king, who was at Lyons, and had great part of his army with him, received certain advice that the duke of Lorrain, in conjunction with the Swiss and Germans, besides a good body of Lorrainers, were in motion to oppose the duke of Burgundy, who had rashly and imprudently penetrated into Switzerland, and with his whole army was set down before a little town in that country named Morat. And on Saturday the 22d of June 1476, between ten and eleven in the morning, the duke of Lorrain, at the head of all those forces we have already mentioned, attacked the duke of Burgundy, and at the first charge entirely broke and defeated his vanguard, which consisted of twelve thousand men; and the slaughter and confusion was so very great, that the count de Romont, who commanded them, had much ado to make his escape. After this defeat the garrison of Morat joined the duke of Lorrain's army, which forced the duke of Burgundy's intrenchments, where they gave no quarter, but killed all they found in them; so that the duke of Burgundy was at last forced to retire with the remains of his broken army that had saved themselves by flight: nay, he himself fled as far as Joigne, which was sixteen French leagues from the field of battle; and in this action he lost all his artillery, plate, money, jewels, tents, pavilions, and, in short, every thing of value that was in his camp. As soon as the battle was over, the Germans and Swiss returned the duke of Lorrain many thanks for his care and conduct in the action; and in consideration of the great services he had done them, they presented him with all the duke of Burgundy's artillery, to make him amends for what he lost at Nancy, when the duke of Burgundy by force of arms sacked that town, and carried away all the cannon that he found in it. The heralds that were appointed to take an account of the slain, report that there were twenty-two thousand five hundred Burgundians killed on the spot, besides a vast number in the rout, for the duke of Lorrain's army pursued them as far as Joigne, and afterwards burnt and destroyed the whole earldom of Romont in Savoy, putting all to the sword they could meet with, without any distinction of age or sex.

AFTER this the duke of Lorrain marches to Strasburg, and from

thence, with a body of four thousand men detached from the grand army, goes and besieges Nancy, in which there was a garrison of twelve hundred Burgundians, and after he had given some directions to the officer that commanded a body of troops under him, he returned to Strasburg again, from whence he sent several convoys of provisions and ammunition, and afterwards set out himself for the camp before Nancy, to command at the siege in person.

AFTER the duke of Burgundy's defeat at Morat, and the besieging of Nancy, the town was surrendered to the duke of Lorrain, on condition that the garrison, who were all Burgundians, should march out with bag and baggage, and the usual marks of honour, which was granted them; and as soon as the duke of Lorrain was master of it, he immediately put a strong garrison of his own troops in it, and provided it with ammunition, provision, and all things necessary for a long defence; and it was well he acted so prudently, for scarce had he been a month in possession of the town, when the duke of Burgundy, who was retired to Riviere, a town near Salins in Burgundy, with what forces he could raise, comes and besieges it again, upon which the duke of Lorrain marches into Switzerland to solicit more troops in order to relieve the garrison, and raise the siege of Nancy.

AFTER this the king of Portugal, who laid claim to the kingdom of Castile, and in short, to all Spain, in right of his queen, left his kingdom, and came to the frontiers of France, and from thence to Tours, to visit the king, and to desire his majesty to assist him with some troops to recover those kingdoms. He was received by the king with all the marks of honour and respect imaginable, and during his stay at Tours, he was nobly treated and entertained by the king and several of the nobility of the court.

IN the mean time the duke of Burgundy, who, as you have already been informed, had besieged Nancy in Lorrain, put the garrison to such great straits and necessities, that for want of provision they were forced to capitulate and surrender the town upon articles. And on Sunday the 5th of January the duke of Lorrain arrived with an army of twelve or fourteen thousand Swiss and Germans, in order to raise the siege of Nancy, and fight the duke of Burgundy. On Saturday the 6th of January, the duke of Lorrain arrived with an army of ten thousand Swiss, besides Germans and Lorrainers at St. Nicholas de Varengeville.

ON the Sunday following, the lords of Switzerland and Lorrain

marched from thence to Neufville, and a little beyond that place they halted some time, to consider how they might draw up their forces to the best advantage; and accordingly they divided their army into two bodies, one of which was commanded by the count d'Abstain, and the governors of Fribourg and Zurich, and the other by the chief magistrates of Bern. About noon the two bodies began to march at once; one towards the river, and the other along the high road leading to Nancy. The duke of Burgundy, who had intelligence of their coming, had quitted his intrenchments, and drawn up his army in order of battle ready to receive them. In the front, between him and one of his enemy's bodies, there was a little brook and two strong hedges; and on the high road, along which the other was marching to engage him, he had planted all his cannon and field-pieces; and as soon as ever the Swiss came within bow-shot, the Burgundians discharged a whole volley of arrows, which did no execution; upon which that body quitted the high road, and marched higher towards the wood, till they had gained an eminence opposite to the duke of Burgundy's army. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy commands his archers, who were all on foot, to face about; and at the same time ordered two squadrons of his men at arms commanded by James Galiot and M. de Lallaing to attack the enemy. As soon as the Swiss had gained the rising ground opposite to the duke of Burgundy's army, they immediately faced about; and marching up to him with all the fury and intrepidity imaginable, made such a terrible fire upon the body of foot that he commanded, that they entirely broke and defeated them. The other body of Swiss marched at the same time to engage the two squadrons commanded by James Galiot and M. de Lallaing, whom they entirely routed at the first charge. Upon this, the right wing of the Burgundians, who had not yet been engaged, attacked the Swiss, by whom they were repulsed and at last entirely defeated; so that when the foot began to give ground and run away, the horse presently followed them, and endeavoured to make their escape by the bridge of Bridores, which was about a league from Nancy, in the way to Thionville and Luxemburg. But the count di Campobasso having secured that pass by a good body of troops, and the duke of Lorrain and his men following them close at their heels, vast numbers of them threw themselves or were driven into the river, where they were drowned; and the rest were either killed or taken, very few or none making their escape: so that there was a greater number killed in the rout, than on the field of battle. Some of the Burgundians finding they could not get over the bridge, retired to the woods in hopes of saving themselves; but they were pursued thi-

ther by the peasants of the country, who killed them as fast as they could find them, so that for four leagues round, the fields and highways were strewed with the bodies of dead men. The pursuit lasted till two hours after night, and then the duke of Lorrain began to inquire what was become of the duke of Burgundy; whether he had made his escape or was taken prisoner; but nobody could give any account of him, and immediately the duke of Lorrain dispatched a certain person to one John Dias of the city of Metz, to know if he had passed through that place in his retreat, who sent his highness word the next morning, that he had not; that he was not at Luxemburg, neither could any person tell what was become of him. On Monday, which was Twelfth-day, the count di Campobasso met with a page that was taken prisoner, belonging to the count de Chalon, who was with the duke of Burgundy in the battle. This lad, upon examination, confessed the duke of Burgundy was killed; and the next day, (on diligently searching after him, they found him stripped stark naked, and the bodies of fourteen men more in the same condition, at some distance from each other. The duke was wounded in three places, and his body was known and distinguished from the rest by six particular marks; the chief of which was, the want of his upper teeth before, which was beaten out with a fall; the second was a scar in the throat occasioned by a wound he received at the battle of Mont l'Hery; the third was his great nails, which he alway wore longer than any of his courtiers; the fourth was another scar upon his left shoulder; the fifth was a fistula in his right groin; and the last was a nail that grew into his little toe. And upon seeing all these above-mentioned marks upon the body, his physician, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the bastard of Burgundy, M. Oliver de la Marche, his chaplain, and several other officers that were taken prisoners by the duke of Lorrain, unanimously agreed it was the body of their lord and master, the duke of Burgundy.

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat and death of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Lorrain and the rest of the generals of the army called a council of war, the result of which was, that a considerable body of forces should immediately be sent into the dutchy of Burgundy and throughout the other provinces, in order to reduce the towns that were garrisoned by Burgundian troops to the king's obedience; which was immediately put in execution, and most of the towns surrendered without any opposition, as likewise did the the country of Auxerre, the subjects of which took the oath of allegiance to the king.

IN June the prince of Orange, who had been highly affronted by M. de Craon, lieutenant-general of the king's army in Burgundy, was resolved to be revenged on him and the king also, who it seems had taken the government of a province from him, and given it to M. de Craon; and therefore he persuades all the countries, cities, towns, and other places, which before had submitted to the king at his request, to revolt and rise up in rebellion against him. There was a Burgundian knight named M. Claude de Vaudray, that joined with the prince in this undertaking, and managed the war with tolerable success against M. de Craon. But at last M. de Craon having intelligence that the prince of Orange was in a little town called Guy, marched immediately and besieged it, and about two days after he had invested it, he received advice that M. Chasteauguyon was marching to relieve it, upon which he left a few troops before the town, to hinder the garrison from making any sally, and with the rest of the army advanced to meet M. Chasteauguyon the prince of Orange's brother, whom he entirely defeated; and in this action there were above fourteen hundred persons of note and distinction killed on both sides; and for this victory the king ordered general processions to be made in the Church of St. Martin in Paris.

IN July 1477, the duke of Guelders with about fourteen or fifteen hundred Germans came and encamped at Pont d'Epierre near Tournay, with a design to burn the suburbs of that place, upon which the garrison of Tournay made two sallies; in the first the duke himself was slain, and in the last the whole body of the Germans and the Flemings were entirely defeated, two thousand of them killed upon the spot, and seven hundred taken prisoners, for which the king ordered Te Deum to be sung, and bonfires to be made in the streets of Paris.

ABOUT the same time, the king, who was in Picardy, left that country; having first made the bastard of Bourbon, (who was admiral of France), his lieutenant-general, with whom he left a good body of forces to secure the country, and cover the frontiers of his kingdom. The king's troops under the bastard of Bourbon's command were quartered in Arras, Tournay, la Bassee, and in several other towns upon the frontiers of Flanders, and in those countries that still held out for the lady of Flanders, daughter to the late duke of Burgundy.

IN May 1478. All that the king did during this whole month in Picardy, was only taking a little town called Condé, which was

still in the hands of the Burgundians, and which stood very incommodious for the garrison of Tournay; for all the convoys both of provisions and ammunition must of course pass by it. There happened to be some German troops belonging to the duke of Austria in it, who at first seemed resolved to stand a siege, but when they saw the prodigious army with which the king had invested it, they immediately surrendered the town upon honourable terms, as they did also the castle some time after.

ABOUT this time, the king, who was gone into Picardy with a design to reduce all the countries, towns, and places that were in the possession of the late duke of Burgundy at his decease, and which belonged to his majesty, had assembled the greatest army, and provided the largest train of artillery that ever was seen in France. He forbore entering upon any action for a long time, in hopes of accommodating matters between him, the Flemings, and the duke Maximilian of Austria, whom they acknowledged for their sove reign; to facilitate which the duke of Austria sends ambassadors to Cambray and Arras to treat with the king about it, who talked mightily of surrendering up to the king the counties of Artois, Boulogne, Douay, Orchies, St. Omer, and other towns, besides the whole dutchy of Burgundy; and upon the bare promises only of these ambassadors the king imprudently delivers up Cambray, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and several other towns. The duke of Austria, upon the pretence of being near the king, and having the conveniency of frequent conferences, came and encamped with an army of twenty thousand men between Douay and Arras, where he amused the king with specious words and fair promises till the end of June; and then, notwithstanding the king had so generously given up those towns to him, he openly declared he would not stand to the promises his ambassadors had made in his name, nei ther was that affair brought to any conclusion.

IN this month the king had better success in Upper Burgundy, whither his majesty had sent a considerable body of forces under the command of M. d'Amboise governor of Champagne to recover some troops that had revolted from him. M. d'Amboise was so fortunate, that in three weeks he retook Verdun, Monsauion, and Semur in Auxois, partly by storm, and partly by composition. Afterwards he besieged Beaulne, which also was surrendered to him upon certain articles, the chief of which were, that the inhabitants should pay forty thousand pounds to preserve the town from being plundered; that they should discharge all their debts that were owing to the merchants of Paris, and of other cities in

the kingdom; and that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their bag and baggage, and be conducted to such a place mentioned in the articles.

IN July, the king, who was at Arras, received two extraordinary embassies; one from Maximilian duke of Austria, and another from the Flemings; and when the ambassadors had been heard by the king and his council, a cessation of arms was agreed upon between the king, duke Maximilian, and the Flemings, for one year, during which time there was to be a free intercourse of trade between the subjects of both princes.

IN April 1479, the king, who was in the county of Touraine, began to make preparations for the ensuing campaign, being resolved to push on the war with vigour as soon as the cessation of arms between him and the duke of Austria, which was almost expired, was ended. Besides, the duke of Austria had sent no ambassadors to him to treat of a prolongation of the truce, and therefore his majesty might reasonably conclude, that his intentions were to renew the war as soon as the treaty was expired.

IN May following, notwithstanding the truce was not expired, the inhabitants of Cambray treacherously admitted the Flemings, Picardians, and other soldiers belonging to the duke of Austria's army, into the city, which his majesty thought had been safe enough in the hands of so vigilant and loyal a governor as the lord de Fiennes. As soon as the duke of Austria's forces were masters of the town, they drove the king's garrison out of the castle; and immediately afterwards a detachment of three or four hundred Flemings and Picardians presented themselves before the town and castle of Bouchain, upon intelligence that the inhabitants would murder the king's garrison and open their gates to them, which accordingly they did upon their first approach, and killed all the king's soldiers except one archer, who had the good luck to escape. The king was extremely incensed and provoked at this unfair and treacherous manner of proceeding, seeing his troops had not committed the least act of hostility, nor given them any occasion or pretence for violating the truce; and therefore he immediately sends a considerable body of the nobles and frank-archers of the kingdom, with a large train of artillery, under the command of the governor of Champagne, to reduce the towns and places in the dutchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comte that had lately revolted from him, who was so very fortunate as to retake the strong castle of Rochefort by storm, which he plundered and put all the garri-

son to the sword. From thence the governor of Champagne, who was also the king's lieutenant-general, marched with his army to Dole, which upon their refusing to surrender, he immediately attacked, carried it by storm, plundered it, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and razed the city to the ground.

ON Saturday, the 3d of July 1479, the bishop of Lombes abbot of St. Dennis in France, arrived at Paris as ambassador extraordinary from the king of Spain, and was met and complimented without the city gates by the mayor and aldermen, and all the persons of quality of that city, whom he afterwards nobly entertained at St. Dennis. About the same time a young prince of the kingdom of Scotland named the duke of Albany, who had been driven out of the kingdom by the king his brother, arrived at Paris, where he was received with all the marks of honour and civility imaginable, and treated and entertained at the king's expence during his stay in France.

IN the year 1480, the lord Howard and several other ambassadors from England arrived in France, to treat with the king about prolonging the truce that was concluded between him and the king of England. The king received the ambassadors very kindly, feasted and entertained them nobly, and made them considerable presents, when they left France in order to return to England.

DURING winter, and even till April, at which time the truce between the king and the Flemings was to expire, nothing was attempted on either side, for the Flemings had sent ambassadors to the king at Tours to desire the cessation of arms might be continued a year longer; to which his majesty readily consented, in hopes some expedient or another might be found in all that time to settle an honourable and lasting peace between him and them, which would put an end to a war that had already been the occasion of spilling so much christian blood.

ABOUT the same time ambassadors from Edward IV. king of England arrived in France to treat with the king about the prolongation of the truce, and his majesty did them the favour to meet them at Chateau Regnault, and as soon as they had dispatched the affair which they were sent to negotiate with the king, they returned to England; and afterwards the prolongation of the truce between the two kings was proclaimed by sound of trumpet at Paris. Some time after this, the king fell very ill at Plessis-du-Parc near Tours, and his physicians were of opinion that his majesty was in

a dangerous condition, but in a little time he grew better, and in less than a month was perfectly recovered of his illness.

IN the year 1481, notwithstanding the cessation of arms, the king's troops in the garrison towns upon the frontiers of Picardy committed several hostilities, and had frequent skirmishes with the duke of Austria's, and all the prisoners that were taken on both sides were immediately hung up, without permitting any, of what degree or rank soever, to be ransomed.

ABOUT the same time, the king, who had been very ill at Tours, removed to Tovars, where his majesty grew worse, and his physicians were of opinion he was in a dangerous condition; whereupon he made several large offerings and gifts to abundance of churches in the kingdom, in hopes to recover his health by these pious acts of charity and devotion. In his sickness he made a vow to go a pilgrimage to St. Claude, which he accordingly performed as soon as he had recovered strength enough to undertake the journey. Before he left the county of Touraine, he went to see the dauphin, whom he had scarcely ever seen before, and when he took his leave of him, he gave him his blessing, and having committed him to the care and tuition of the lord Peter de Bourbon, whom he had made his lieutenant-general, he commanded him to obey that lord, and be ruled by him in every thing till his return.

IN the year 1482, on Thursday the 4th of May, between four and five in the morning, died the most noble and illustrious princess Joan of France, wife to John duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, in the castle of Moulins in Bourbonnois, of a violent fever, and was buried in the church of Notre Dame at Moulins. She was a lady of great wisdom and piety, and was extremely lamented by the duke her husband, her servants, and all the people of France, upon account of the many extraordinary virtues and amiable perfections she was endowed with.

IN the same year, about October, the king fell violently ill, and thought he should have died at Plessis-du-Parc near Tours: and therefore, as soon as his majesty had recovered a little strength, he went to Amboise, where he made several long remonstrances to the dauphin in behalf of his servants and officers of his household and kingdom; exhorting and desiring him to be kind to all of them, but especially to monsieur Oliver his barber, and M. John de Doyac governor of Auvergne, who had done him many consi-

derable services, and always been very loyal and faithful subjects. He also recommended the lord de Bouchage and the lord Guyotpot bailiff of Vermondois, as being very wise and able counsellors, and desired the dauphin to make use of their advice in all state affairs. Moreover, he entreated him to continue all the officers in their posts and employments, and to have a tender regard to his people, whom he had already too much harassed and oppressed. Lastly, he recommended the lord des Querdes for military affairs, as being an officer of great valour and conduct, and the fittest person to make a general of any in the kingdom of France. After this, the king returned to Montils near Tours.

IN October and November several ambassadors arrived from Flanders to treat of a peace between his majesty and the Flemings, which was concluded, to the great joy and satisfaction of both parties, by a marriage between the dauphin of France and the duke of Austria's daughter, upon which the king immediately ordered Te Deum to be sung, and bonfires to be made in the public streets of Tours.

IN January the ambassadors that had concluded the peace between the king and the Flemings, upon the marriage between the dauphin and the countess of Flanders, daughter to the duke of Austria, arrived at Paris, and were met and complimented in the king's name by the bishop of Marseilles, the mayor and aldermen of the city, and several other persons of quality, who nobly feasted and entertained them; and the next day they set out from thence to wait upon the king at Amboise, who received them very kindly, as did also the dauphin; and upon their taking leave of the king, his majesty presented them with thirty thousand crowns, and afterwards they returned to Paris, where the articles of peace were ratified and confirmed in the court of parliament, and afterwards read and published by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of that city: and as soon as the publication was over, monsieur le Picard bailiff of Rouen treated the ambassadors and all the king's officers with a splendid and magnificent dinner.

ON Saturday the 19th of April 1483, the lord de Beaujeu and his lady came to Paris in order to go into Picardy to meet and compliment the dauphiness, whom by the treaty of peace the Flemings were to deliver to the lord de Beaujeu, who was to conduct her to Paris.

IN April, Edward IV. king of England died of an apoplexy, though

some say it was of a surfeit, occasioned by drinking too much of some rich wines that the king had made him a present of; however, he lived long enough to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and to leave the succession of the crown to his eldest son Edward V.

ON Monday the second of June, the dauphiness, accompanied by madame de Beaujeu, the admiral of France's lady, and several other ladies of quality, made her public entry into Paris about five in the afternoon; and all the streets through which the dauphiness passed were lined with soldiers, hung with tapestry, and crowded with persons of quality richly dressed who came thither on purpose to compliment and pay their respects to her; and in honour to the day of her arrival, all the prisoners in Paris were immediately set at liberty.

IN July, the nuptial ceremony between the dauphin and the lady Margaret of Austria was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Amboise, at which all the nobility and chief persons of the kingdom were present.

ON Monday the 25th of August, the king fell very ill at Montils near Tours, and in two hours' time lost his speech and his senses; and the news of his death came to Paris on Wednesday the 27th of the same month, upon which the mayor and aldermen ordered the city gates to be shut up, and a strong guard to be placed at each of them, that none might go out or in without being examined, which made the common people cry out that the king was dead; but it was a false alarm, for his majesty was only in a fit, out of which he presently recovered, and lived till Saturday the 30th of August, and then died about six or seven in the evening of the same day.

AS soon as he was dead, his body was embalmed, and buried in the church of Notre-Dame de Clery at Montils, having in his lifetime ordered it should be so, and positively commanded the dauphin not to bury him in the church of St. Dennis, where three kings of France his illustrious predecessors were interred. He never gave any reason for it, but some people were of opinion it was for the sake of the church, which he had liberally endowed, and out of a singular veneration for the Blessed Virgin who was worshipped there, after a more solemn manner, than in any other place of the kingdom. The king had, during his whole reign, by the evil advice of M. Oliver his barber, M. John de Doyac, and several other wicked counsellors that were about his person, committed

great injustice in his kingdom, and so miserably oppressed and harassed his people, that the very reflection of his tyrannical usage of them stung him to the heart, and almost drove him to despair; so that when he lay upon his death-bed he sincerely repented of all his sins, and gave prodigious sums of money to the clergy to pray for his soul, and rewarded them for their prayers, with what he had by violence and extortion gotten of his subjects. It must be owned that his was a very busy reign, and full of many great and important actions; yet he managed his affairs so well, that he forced all his enemies to submit to his mercy, and was equally dreaded both abroad and at home. He lay for a long time before his death under a very sharp and severe illness, which forced his physicians to make use of violent and painful applications, which though they were not so successful as to recover his health, and save his life, yet doubtless they were very beneficial to his soul, and perhaps the chief means of saving it from eternal damnation, and fixing it in paradise, through his tender mercy who liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

THE END.

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